CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME 3

Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

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Continued by
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आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME 3

Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, art and archaeology, language and literature

by

Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

edited by

TARA CHANDRIKA

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1. EVOLUTION OF THE TANTRAS

The words tantric and tantrism in the context of Buddhism have created moments of bleakness and the minds of scholars have been blurred. The first use of this term in English is attested by the Oxford English Dictionary in 1891: De La Saussaye, Hist. Sc. Rel. lxxv.622. "Tantrism... is common to Buddhist and Hindu communities." Earlier in 1820, Alexander Csoma de Koros brought to the fore the titles of several tantras in his analysis of the Kanjur and an abstract to the contents of the Tanjur. The popularisation of the terms stems from Tibetology. The traditional Indian terminology is Saṁhitā for Vaiṣṇava, Āgama for Śaiva, and Tantra for Śākta tantras. The Āgamas systematised the worship of *images* in homes and in temples. The images replaced the Vedic sacrifice: *pratimā* substituted the *yajña* (Mahadevan 1954:46, 53). Likewise every Buddhist tantra has a main deity, whose multiple emanations become the complex mandalas. The primacy of statues is the Urgrund, the heart-work of the tantras, whether Hindu, Buddhist or Jain. Tantra in its wider connotation was applied to a large spectrum of texts, traditions and rituals of various denominations while its specific and hence restricted application was to Śākta contexts. This has conditioned European, and through them all modern scholarship to equate tantras to the preponderance of the feminine principle. Winternitz (1927:388, 389) points out: "Thus the Vajrayana is a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas.... The only thing which distinguishes the Buddhist tantras from the tantras of the Śāktas, is the sparse element of Buddhism which is still to be found in them."

The European concept of the tantras is summed up by Pott without mincing words: "In my opinion it is these elements—pervasion by the feminine principle, and the demonization of the deities—which define the extent to which one can speak of "tantrism" in the sense in which this term is generally taken today. ...If we ask ourselves whether there is any question of tantrik developments in a structure such as Barabudur, then we can confidently assert that here there is still no sign of it; i.e., that there is no trace of the influence of the feminine principle nor of a demonization of particular categories of deities." (Pott 1966:115).

The Sri Lankan, Sanskrit, Chinese, Indonesian and Tibetan tantric traditions clearly indicate that tantras have a vast spectrum, with several strands of thought and ritual. Their designations vary with time and space, with significant accents of perception.

SRILANKAN TRADITION

In Sri Lanka, there are two terms for the esoteric tradition. They occur in the following four forms in Pali texts:

i. vetulla, vetulya, from Sanskrit vaitulya;

ii. vedaḷha, vedalla, from Sanskrit vidṛdha.

The term vetulyavāda is found in Mahāvaṁsa 36.41 (Stede cites it from Dīpavaṁsa 22.45), and *Vetulyavādino* in Mahāvaṁsa 36.111. Stede says: "The Pali form is not clear; it probably rests on dialectical translation of a later term." Vi-tula and vi-tulya mean 'incomparable, excellent', and therefrom is derived vetulya> vetulla. Its meaning was not understood and it changed to vepulla (Sanskrit vaipulya), the ever-expanding, developing form of Buddhism in contradistinction to the comparatively conservative Theravāda.

The Kathāvatthu Commentary 17.6 (text 167, trans. 318) speaks of the Vetulya [ka]s: "This view is now held by those of the Vetulyakas, who are known as the Mahāsuññatāvādins." In the prefatory notes C.A.F. Rhys Davids (xliv) asks: "And who shall reveal which divergent group or groups were covered by the intrusive name Uttarāpathakas— 'Northern-districters?' Equally mysterious are the intrusive Vetulyakas belonging to a group called the Great-Voiders—Mahāsuññavādins." In 18.1 (text 171, trans. 323), 23.1 (text 197, trans. 365) the commentary cites the opinions of the Vetulyakas or Vetulyas. They are referred to with disdain as "those who hold the view just discussed" (17.7), "adherents as above" (17.8, 9), "from the same sources" (17.10), and "foregoing heresy" (18.2).

The Kathāvatthu 17.1C (trans. 321) controverts the view of the Vetulyakas:

"*Controverted Point*: That it should not be said that 'Anything given to the Buddha brings great reward'."

"*From the Commentary*: From the same source comes the theory that because the Exalted Buddha did not really enjoy anything, but only seemed to be doing so out of conformity to life here below, nothing given him was really helpful to him."

Kathāvatthu 18.1 (trans. 323) has the following passage whence we can deduce that the Buddha was in essence transcendental (lokottara):

"*Controverted Point*: That it is not right to say 'The Exalted Buddha lived in the world of mankind'.

"*From the Commentary*: Some, like the Vetulyakas, carelessly interpreting the Sutta, 'born in the world, grew up in the world, dwelt, having overcome the world, undefiled by the world,' hold that the Exalted One, when born in the heaven of Delight (Tusita-bhavana), dwelt there while visiting this world only in a shape specially created. Their citation of the Sutta proves nothing, since the Master was undefiled, not by being

out of the world, but by the corruptions of heart with respect to the things in the world."

Kathāvatthu 18.2 (trans. 324):

"*Controverted Point*: That it is not right to say 'The Exalted Buddha himself taught the Norm.

"*From the Commentary*: This is another point in the foregoing heresy. The created shape taught the Norm on earth to the Venerable Ānanda, while the Exalted One lived in the city of Delight and sent forth that shape."

Kathāvatthu 23.1 (trans. 365):

"*Controverted Point*: That sexual relations may be entered upon with a united resolve.

"*From the Commentary*: Such a vow may be undertaken, some think—for instance, the Andhakas and the Vetulyakas—by a human pair who feel mutual sympathy or *com*passion [not passion merely], and who are worshipping, it may be, at some Buddha-shrine, and aspire to be united throughout their future lives."

The Vetulla-piṭaka is referred to by Buddhaghosa in his commentaries:

i. Sārattha-ppakāsinī commentary on the Saṁyutta-nikāya 2.202 (with the variant Vedalla-piṭaka in the printed Sinhalese edition C).
ii. Manoratha-pūraṇī commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya 3.160: *Guḷhavessantara-guḷhaummagga-guḷhavinaya-vedallapiṭakānam* (no. v.1).
iii. Vedalla-piṭaka in Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī commentary on the Dīgha-nikāya 566.
iv. Samanta-pāsādikā commentary on the Vinaya-piṭaka 4.742: *guḷhummagga guḷhavessantara guḷhavinaya vedaḷhapiṭakādīni pana abuddhavacanāni*.

The term vedaḷha is Pali *ve* = Skt. *vai* from the prefix *vi-* + *daḷha* = Skt. *dṛḍha*. Daḷha in Pali means firm, strong, steady, proficient. The Vetulyakas must have prided in being firm inspite of opposition from all around and also strong in their beliefs arising out of doctrinal proficiency. Buddhaghosa says that they do not represent the words of the Buddha.

The Dīpavaṁsa 22.43, 45 speaks of vitaṇḍa-vāda. Mahāvaṁsa 36.41 refers to the suppression of the Vetulya doctrine (vetulyavāda), 36.111 that followers of Vetulya doctrine (*vetulyavādino bhikkhū*) were like a thorn in the doctrine of Buddha. Cūlavaṁsa 42.35 refers to the defeat of Vetullavādino in a controversy at the hands of Jotipāla.

The aforesaid Pali texts refer to the doctrine as Vetulyavāda, their adherents as Vetulyavādino, Vetulya, Vetulyaka, and their canon as Vetulla-piṭaka, Vedalla-piṭaka, Vedaḷha-piṭaka.

The Ratu Baka Inscription of Śaka 714 (AD 792–93) refers to their vanquishing spirit and their quashing of 'heretical' beliefs:

loke carṣi-vara-pravāhi-samayān ākramya yo dīpyate
vitrastāḥ pratiyānti tirthya-vṛṣabhā yasya prabhāv-oddhatāḥ/
nānā-dṛṣṭi-(vi)marśa-vṛndam api yo bhasmīkaroti kṣaṇāt
tam sarvv-ānu(niba)ndha-pradahanaṁ saddharmma-vahnin name //2//

I pay homage to Him who is the fire of noble Dharma, who shines forth quashing the prevailing beliefs of outstanding heretics, struck by whose majesty the heretics (strong like) bulls panic away in fright, who in an instant reduces to ashes the numerous attachments to heresy and who burns out all bondages.

Śubhākarasiṁha, the great master who introduced tantras into China, is known in Chinese as Shan-wu-wei (Japanese pronunciation *Zemmui*) which means Abhaya 'fearless'. The Mahāvairocana-sūtra translated by Śubhākarasiṁha, describes six stages of 'fearlessness' (abhaya) or freedom from fear in a bodhisattva's spiritual progress (Chou 1945:252 n.3) The Mount Fearlessness—Abhayagiri was the major centre of Esoteric Buddhism of Vetullavāda in Sri Lanka till the 15th century.

SANSKRIT TRADITION

Edgerton 1953:570 says that vaitulya is "doubtless secondarily modified by confusion with Sanskrit vaipulya from vipula." He gives the meaning: "(*work of*) *great extent,* or acc. to Burnouf, Introd. 62f., *development.*" It is applied by the sūtras to their own texts, like the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra:

1.3 *vaipulya-sūtra-rājam...saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṁ*
19.12 *sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ* (v.l. mahā left out)
21.6, 22.15, 65.1, 181.6 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṁ...sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ*
46.6 *vaipulyasūtrāṇi vadāmi*
98.11 *vaipulyasūtrāna,* 98.11 *vaipulyasūtrāṇi ca dhārayeta.*

In the sundry fragments of manuscripts from Kashgar, collected by N. F. Petrovsky, the title is constantly *sūtram mahāvaitulyaṁ bodhisattvotpādam* in place of *sūtrāntaṁ mahāvaipulyaṁ bodhisattvāvavādam* (SP. 65.1, no.1). In the Central Asian ms of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra we find *sarva-mahāyāna-sūtra-vaitulya-param-āmṛta* (Thomas ap. Hoernle MR. 95.8).

Winternitz 1927:249: "While he sits absorbed in deep meditation in the middle watch of the night, a ray of light bursts forth from the parting of his hair, penetrates into the worlds of heaven and plunges all the gods into excitement. The gods immediately begin a song in praise of the exalted Buddha, and soon Īśvara and other gods appear before the Lord, throw themselves at his feet and implore him, for the salvation and blessing of the world, to reveal the excellent Vaipulya-sūtra, called Lalita-vistara." The

Lalita-vistara characterises itself as:

4.17 *Lalitavistaro nāma dharma-paryāyaḥ sutrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo*

7.9 *idaṁ...vaipulya-sūtraṁ hi mahā-nidānaṁ/*

438.20 *Lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāya-sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-vikrīḍitah.*

In the 12th stanza of the Māra-vijaya-stotra we find *atula* as an epithet of mantra and *vipula* as an adjective to virtue:

iti toṭaka-mantra-varair atulair
parikīrtya mayā tava varṇa-lavān/
yad upārjitam adya śubhaṁ vipulaṁ
śivam astu tato bhuvi deva-nṛṇām//

The Vaitulya-sūtras were new, without (*vi*) a comparison (*tulya*), incomparable. They were also *vipula:* immense, immeasurable, their first manifestation was infinite Light or Amitābha: "But the sheer volume of words is nowhere near as formidable as the content itself; like most Mahayana Buddhist works, everything is done on a gargantuan scale. If one simile is good, ten are always much better" (Cook 1977:23). The later manifestation of Amitābha, Vairocana shared the same immensity: "The traveller who has seen many of the impressive sights of Japan is nevertheless still very impressed by the overwhelming figure of Vairocana, and rightly so, because the figure was meant to impress. Tōdai-ji is the central temple of the Japanese branch of Hua-yen Buddhism, and Vairocana is the cosmic Buddha, whose body is infinitely large, and whose life is infinitely long. In fact, the Hua-yen universe which has been described in the foregoing pages is said to be the very body of this Buddha, and his presence shines sublimely forth from every particle in the universe. Hence his name, Vairocana, the Buddha of Great Illumination, whose light shines into every corner of the universe...Tu-shun, the first patriarch of Chinese Hua-yen, says:

The past practices of the Buddha Vairocana
Cause oceans of Buddha-lands to be purified.
Immeasurable, incalculable, infinite,
He freely pervades all places.
The Dharma-body of the Tathāgata is inconceivable;
It is formless, markless, and incomparable." (T 1867.513c, Cook 1977:90–91)

The term vaitulya has been totally replaced by vaipulya in the extant Sanskrit texts.

Lévi 1937:390 mentions a Vepulla mountain in Sri Lanka whence the daughter of a god brought a block of jewel, shining like a lamp and similar to the jewel of a cakkavatti.

The insertion of the Trapuṣa–Bhallika chapter in the Vaipulya-sūtra Lalita-vistara is an indication that Vaipulya traditions had their origins in the Udīcya regions, whose epicentre was Balkh. The Buddhist monks of Balkh—with the convergence of Iranian, Hellenic and Buddhist traditions in their language, ideas, sense of history and world-view —could not but enshrine them in the texts they authored, amplified, read or adored. It is but natural that odd metaphors in the texts are palimpsests hiding such a Weltanschauung of bhikṣus of the Iranian-speaking world. In their etymological association we can discern the origins of the tantras with their emphasis on the light of the *bodhi* or enlightenment of Lord Buddha, which became *abhi-sambodhi* or Super-Enlightenment of Vairocana. The *bodhi* or *sambodhi* of Theravāda evolved and transcended into the *abhi-sambodhi* in Vaipulya/Vajrayana. In certain contexts bodhi-maṇḍa is replaced by vajra-maṇḍa (Nj 372, 373). It shows that the more developed conceptualisation was vajra.

Kern (1898:5): "The Tripiṭaka properly so-called, has for a large part yielded the material for the Vaipulya-sūtras, which if not all of them were composed by the Mahayanists have at least been adopted by them and incorporated in their new canon. Outwardly the Vaipulya-sūtras are distinguished from the older sūtras by a different manner of composition and by the change of idiom. We regularly find in them sections in a redaction in prose, followed by one in verse, the latter being in substance only a repetition of the former or, may be, in some cases the source of the narrative in prose. The idiom of the prosaical part is a kind of Sanskrit; that of the verses, Gāthās, is a veiled Prakrit somewhat clumsily sanskritised as much as the exigencies of the metre permitted." The summing up of the substance of prose into a Gāthā may reflect the fact that the earliest Vaitulya-sūtras originated in the NW. The Gāthā represented the most sacred part in the Zoroastrian tradition of the north-west.

The Candrapradīpa-sūtra is cited in the Śikṣā-samuccaya 354.6: *nāhaṁ vaitulya-śikṣitaḥ*. This passage is from the Samādhirāja, ch. 24 (fol. 109b of the Hodgson ms. at the Royal Asiatic Society).

Lamotte 1976 interprets the word vaipulya as follows:

xxv: "The Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (Vkn), 'Teaching of the [bodhisattva named] Unstained Glory' is ranked as one of the developed sūtras (Vaipulya-sūtra) of the Great Vehicle in Buddhism."

lxii: "The theories expounded in the Vaipulya-sūtras were systematized, probably in the third century, by Nāgārjuna, author of the famous Madhyamakakārikā."

lxxxvii: "the Vkn is closely linked to the earliest known recensions of the Prajñāpāramitās, the Ratnakūṭa, the Avataṁsaka and the Mahāsaṁnipāta, and belongs to the same philosophico-mystical movement. We know how this developed later and culminated in the vast collections known by the generic name of Vaipulya-sūtras."

lxxxviii: "A few years later, in the course of a second, even third turning of the Wheel of the Law, Śākyamuni gathered, in Śrāvastī or Vaiśālī, chosen assemblies of Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas, taught them the Mahayana and expounded to them the voluminous Vaipulya-sūtras. In general, the Śrāvakas, who would have been incapable of understanding it, got no wind of this teaching, but it was noted by the gods."

"Five hundred years after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa, when the Good Law was gradually declining and the Buddha's work threatened, the Mahayana-sūtras began to spread in the world. The Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna discovered, in the Nāgas' palace, seven precious coffers filled with Mahayana-sūtras."

"Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa describes itself as a mahāvaipulya-mahayana-sūtra and as belonging to the Avataṁsaka; but the contents are in the spirit of the Mantrayana" (Nakamura 1980:319).

"The Prajñāpāramitā thought came to be combined with Vajrayana ideas. This fact is best exemplified in the case of Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcāśatikā, Rishukyō, the most widely accepted scripture in Japanese Vajrayana." (Nakamura 1980:320).

The Buddhist Prajñāpāramitā-naya-sūtra has a parallel in the Naya-sūtra which formed one of the four or five sections of the Niḥśvāsa-tattva-saṁhitā referred to in the Sdok-kak thom inscription from Cambodia. This inscription refers to the introduction of tantric texts and the Devarāja cult into the country during the reign of Jayavarman II, in the beginning of the ninth century (BEFEO 15:70–71, Bhattacharyya 1982:54).

"The nine main Buddhist texts in Nepal are known as the basic Vaipulya-sūtras: "This has been very well manifested in the Vaipulya-sūtra or Nava Vyākaraṇa or Nine Dharmas which contain nine prominent Buddhist works—(1) Lalita-vistara, (2) Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, (3) Gaṇḍa-vyūha, (4) Suvarṇa-prabhāsa, (5) Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, (6) Daśabhūmika, (7) Samādhirāja, (8) Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, and (9) Tathāgata-guhyaka. They are also known as Nava Khaṇḍa. These texts are held in high esteem and though these volumes deal with different aspects of Buddhist philosophy the Buddha is elevated to His divine posture rather than that of a human being as pictured in the Pali canon." (Sakya 1981:46).

The tantras have been explained *tanoti vipulān arthān tattva-mantra-samanvitān* (Woodroffe 1975:34). The use of the word *vipula* can be significant: does it point to their earlier appellation *vaipulya*.

CHINESE TRADITION

The most extensive record of the Vaipulya or Mahāvaipulya-sūtras is preserved in the Chinese translations of Sanskrit texts. The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a comprehensive source for them, from the second century AD onwards. The Chinese titles indicate that

they are Vaipulya texts. In certain cases, Chi-hsu 智旭 has specified sūtras of the Vaipulya class in his 閱藏知津 'Guide for the Examination of the Tripiṭaka' in 48 rolls (Nj x, xxvi, xxxii) completed in 1654 after twenty years of hard toil (T 100.74). Nanjio has reproduced these indications of the Vaipulya-sūtras in his catalogue. They have been included in chronological order at the end of this presentation.

The Chinese word for Mahāvaipulya is *ta-fang-kuang* 大方廣 or 大方等 *ta-fang-tang* Some sūtras of the Mahāsannipāta class (Nj 61ff.) are Mahāvaipulya-sūtras (Nj 61, 63, 65, 72, 75). The first sūtra of the Avataṁsaka class bears the title *Ta-fang kuang fo-hua-yen ching* 'Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra" (Nj 87, K 79). It means that this collection of sūtras was the efflorescense (avataṁsaka) of the Mahāvaipulaya-sūtras. Avataṁsaka means 'a garland, ring-shaped ornament, ear-ornament, ear-ring, crest' (MW). The Chinese translation of avataṁsaka is *hua-yen: hua* 'flower, blossoms' *yen* 'ornament': "Hua-yen is regarded as the highest form of Buddhism by most modern Japanese and Chinese scholars....Hua-yen, Flower Ornament..." (Cook 1977 blurb). The Tibetan translation of avataṁsaka is *phal-po-che* or *phal-chen* which Jäschke and S.C. Das take to mean Mahāsāṅghika. *Phal-chen-sde-pa* occurs in the Blue Annals 1.243. *Phal-cher* is 'manifold, universally, general' (Jäschke 342a). The Tibetan term for mahā-vaipulya is *śin-tu-rgyas-pa-chen-po* (Toh. 44). The Avataṁsaka was rendered into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde and revised by Vairocana in the 8th century.

Buddhāvataṁsaka occurs in the Divyāvadāna 162.26: *Bhagavatā tathādhiṣṭhitaṁ yathā sarva-loko 'nāvṛtam adrākṣīd Buddhāvataṁsakaṁ yāvad Akaniṣṭha-bhavanaṁ...*, 401.16: *Bhagavatā Śrāvastyām tīrthyān vijayārthaṁ mahāprātihāryaṁ kṛtam Buddhāvataṁsakaṁ yāvad Akaniṣṭha-bhavanaṁ nirmitam mahat tatkālaṁ tatraivāham āsam mayā tad Buddhavikrīḍitaṁ dṛṣṭam iti.*

Avadāna-śataka 1.87.9: *mahāprātihāryaṁ vidarśitaṁ Buddhāvataṁsaka-vikrīḍitaṁ yad-darśanād rājā... suprasannaḥ...*

Edgerton translates avataṁsaka as 'a large number, collection', which does not seem to be correct. Avataṁsaka means 'flower ornament'. Buddhāvataṁsaka is literally the flower of the Buddha, the flowering Buddha-land, on the analogy of Udyāna, the flowering oasis of North-Western India and of the modern town Chaman 'garden' with its honeyed grapes.

The Divyāvadāna speaks of the Buddhāvataṁsaka and Akaniṣṭha-bhavana in an ascending order: from the Bu° to the Ak°. Akaniṣṭha-bhavana is the paradise of Sarvavid Vairocana of the yoga-tantras (Lessing/Wayman 1968:215). Likewise Buddhāvataṁsaka should also be a paradise, the heaven of the Rocana of Avataṁsaka-sūtras. For the title Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra we have the analogy of Sukhāvatī-vyūha, Sukhāvatī being the

Paradise of Amitābha.

The Chinese vaipulya in Nj 252 corresponds to vaidalya in Tib. (Toh. 227), so also Nj 253 = Toh. 227. Vaidalya is thus equivalent to vaipulya.

The fundamental tantra of the caryā division is a Vaipulya text. Its Sanskrit title is given in the Tibetan Kanjur as: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharmaparyāya (Toh. 494). The Chinese title (Nj 530, T 848, K 427) is shorter: Mahāvairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-sūtra.

The fundamental tantra of the yoga division, Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (Nj 1355, T 874) is also a Vaipulya-sūtra according to Chi-tsing. Texts with the words vajraśekhara-yoga, vajraśekhara or yoga in their titles, pertain to the yoga tantras which developed on Vajraparvata. A number of them are classified as Vaipulya-sūtras.

The tantra Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (Nj 1056, T 1191, K 1138) is a Mahāvaipulya-sūtra. The Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti (Nj 1370, Toh. 360) is a Vaipulya-sūtra. It begins the tantras in the Derge Kanjur (Toh. 360, Wayman 1973:234).

A survey of the Chinese Vaipulya-sūtras leads us to the following conclusions:

1. Vaipulya and vaidalya are identical terms.

2. The tantras are Vaipulya texts. The mūla tantras of two of the four divisions, namely the caryā and yoga tantras, are Vaipulya-sūtras. In the titles they are not termed tantras. Vaipulya is an earlier appellation of the traditions that were later termed the tantras.

3. The Vaipulya-sūtras accepted the variegated continuity of development. All the manifestations of Buddhism were owned and the interdependence of all these traditions flowed into a mainstream. We know from the Chinese Tripiṭaka that Vaipulya-sūtras comprised of:

i. Early Vaipulya-sūtras.
ii. Sūtras of the Ratnakūṭa class, like the Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Nj 23/5).
iii. Sūtras of the Mahāsannipāta class, e.g. Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra (Nj 61).
iv. Sūtras of the Avataṁsaka, e.g. Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra (Nj 87). The central deity of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras was Rocana, who later on developed into the Vairocana of the caryā and yoga tantras.

4. The tantras were not reckoned as a separate class in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, as in the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur.

5. The Chinese Tripiṭaka has preserved in some Chinese titles themselves the categorisation of (mahā)vaipulya.

Besides Vaipulya and Mahāvaipulya, Sino-Japanese has the following expressions:

Chiao (Jap. kyō) = tantra
Jap. Shingon = Mantrayana
Vaipulyayāna
Esoteric (Jap. Mikkyō) as distinguished from Exoteric
Vajraśekhara-yoga, or simply yoga

The term *chiao* (Jap. *kyō*) 教 tantra is used by Amoghavajra (AD 705–74) in 教 mūla-tantra in two titles (T 1215, 1216). He uses 大教王 mahātantrarāja in the translation of the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (T 865, Nj 1020). In the tenth century, Dānapāla (in China 980–1017) employed daikyōō 大教王 /mahā-tantra-rāja in the titles of Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (T 874, Nj 1017), of Sarva-rahasya-tantrarāja (T 888, Nj 1385, K 1452), and of Guhyasamāja (T 885, Nj 1027).

The Japanese word Shingon-mikkyō is a common designation for Mantrayana since the eighth century. The expression Vaipulya-yāna occurs in the supplementary chapter 32(1) of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra twice (Yamamoto 1990:173). The Chinese expression is 大乘宗 (T18.45). This is a Vaipulya-sutrendrarāja in the Tibetan title. The term Vaipulya-yāna is like Mahayana, Mantrayana. Its usage confirms that Vaipulya was a specific tradition in the development of Buddhism, which was later on designated tantra in Sanskrit and Tibetan.

Vajrayana is recorded rather late in the Sādhanamālā (225.10) by Edgerton. The Sādhanamālā could have been edited by Abhayākaragupta (AD 1114). The earliest reference is in the Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (AD 705–74) where it is given in Siddham script.

Can vajra refer to the town of Bazira, in the north-west of India? In his Indian campaign "Alexander captured the towns of Ora (or Nora) and Bazira (the people of which repaired to the impregnable hill-fort of Aornos on the Indus) and finally Aornos (modern Una): all in the territory of the Assacenoi in the present Swat and Buner" (Sircar 1973:21). The word vajra in Vajrayana may embody the Iranian connotation of *buzurg, vuzurg* 'elders, ancestors' (compare pitṛyāna) referring to the reinstatement of ancient pre-Buddhist ideas, though in a changed garb, within the syndrome of Buddhist development, thus constituting a unique (vi-tula) step. This principle was an essential element in the evolution of the tantras. Hindu deities were introduced in the tantras. For instance, the Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu mandalas have Hindu deities in their exterior enceintes. In the Shingon denomination or Japanese Vajrayana, Shintō deities were incorporated into the Vajrayana pantheon as emanations of Buddhist deities. The assimilation of native deities into Buddhism is referred to as the honji-suijaku theory, in which the indigenous Japanese deities are the manifestations (suijaku) of the true nature (honji) of the various Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Mrs. Alicia Matsunaga (1969) has traced the rise and devel-

opment of the theory of assimilation from Early Buddhism onwards in her fascinating work *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation.*

The word *mikkyō* 'secret teaching' or esoteric Buddhism is a common term in Japan for the tantras. *Mik* (for mitsu) means *guhya.* It is distinguished from *kengyō* 'exoteric teaching', a general term for all Buddhist teachings, both Theravāda and Mahayana, other than *mikkyō.*

INDONESIAN TRADITION

The Indonesian Nāgarakṛtāgama (AD 1365) uses the word *kabajradharan* 'bajradhara land' in 62.1: *Gantoṅ Viṣṇu-rare kabajradharaṇekā paṅhli śrī narendrā//* "Gantong Viṣṇu-rare was to be bajradhara (tantric Buddhistic) land; that was the illustrious Prince's compensation" (translation by Th. Pigeaud 1960:3.71). In cantos 76 and 77 Rakawi Prapañca specifies the free domains (*dharma lĕpas*) of the Śaivas and Buddhists. The free domains of the Buddhists (*kasogatan*) are classified into *kavinayan* and *kabajradharan* (77.1) The *kavinayan* are monasteries which observe strict disciplinary regulations, while *kabajradharan* are monasteries of the Bajradhara sect, whose monks are married (*akrama* 77.1). The *kabajradharan* pertain to Vajrayana (Kern, BKI. 69/1914.37).

The Nāgarakṛtāgama 43.3 speaks of Tantra Subhūti, a tantra authored by Subhūti (Krom 1927:2.307). Bharāḍa is spoken of as accomplished in the tantras (*pĕgat riṅ tantra* 68.2). Further on in 69.1, an old scholar is called *tantragata.* 64.3 speaks of *saṅ viku boddha-tantra* 'monks of the Buddhist tantras' and in its last quarter *tĕtĕs riṅ śāstra tantratraya* 'sharp in the three tantras', namely the kriyā-, caryā-, and yoga-tantras.

Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan (Kats p. 50) speaks of *deva viśeṣa* or Supreme Being in various denominations:

deva viśeṣa is:	among:
bhaṭāra Parama-śūnya	Bauddha
bhaṭāra Parama-Śiva	[Śaiva]
bhaṭāra Puruṣa	śiṣya bhagavān Kapila
saṅ hyaṅ Ātmā	Kaṇakabhakṣya-śiṣya
bhaṭāra Nirguṇa	Vaiṣṇava
phala ni pratyakṣa	ācārya nirākāra
bhaṭāra Ratnatraya and bhaṭāra Pañca-tathāgata	ācārya sākāra

The followers of Pañca-tathāgata are the *ācārya sākāra* or worshippers of images. It confirms the fact stated at the outset that the tantras concentrated on the image(s).

Thus the Indonesian terms for the tantric system are tantra, tantra-traya, and sākāra, and kabajradharan for tantric monasteries.

TIBETAN TRADITION

1. Introducing the phal-chen section of the catalogue of the Derge Kanjur (f. 119r), Situ paṇ-chen writes that Vaipulya contains the Avataṁsaka (phal-chen) and Ratnakūṭa (dkon-brtsegs) texts:

gsum-pa ḥkor-lo tha-maḥi mdo bzhugs tshogs-che-baḥi skor-la/ phal chen daṅ dkon-brtsegs gñis-las/

daṅ-po śin-tu-rgyas-pa-chen-poḥi mdo-sde saṅs-rgyas-phal-po-che ni/ brdaḥ-rñiṅ-du saṅs-rgyas rma-ga-chad-du grags-śiṅ/ yaṅ sñan-gyi goṅ-rgyan-duḥaṅ bsgyur-ba yod-de/ de-lta-buḥi mtshan deḥaṅ bye-brag-gi miṅ spyi-la btags-par-gsal-te/ mdo ḥdiḥi leḥu ñi-śu-rtsa-dguḥi bar-du phal-po-che zhes dkar-chag ldan-dkar-ma sogs-su bśad-pa gaṅ-zhig/ des lhag-ma-rnams-laḥaṅ mtshan de-ltar grags-paḥi phyir-ro// des-na mtshan de-lta-bu-daṅ-ldan-paḥi mdo-sde ḥdi-la/ spyir ślo-ka ḥbum daṅ/ leḥu brgya yod-pa-las/ sṅon (f. 119v) *na-landa bi-hā-ra-la meḥi dgra byuṅ-baḥi rkyen-gyis/ ma-tshaṅ-baḥi ḥphro ji-tsam-bzhugs-pa bsgyur-ba-la/...*

Phal-chen and phal-po-che are Avataṁsaka, and Mahāvaipulya is śin-tu-rgyas-pa-chen-po (Toh. 44). Phal-chen is the Buddha Prabhūta in the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra 236. Phal-po-che is *mahākāya* in Udrāyaṇa-avadāna 37.21 (*skye-bo phal-po-che=mahā-janakāya)*. The Mahāvyutpatti 1329 and 7697 has phal-po-che for Avataṁsaka. Thus Avataṁsaka represented the gigantic, the colossal to the early Tibetan translators who created the first technical terms of Tibetan Buddhism. Images of Rocana, the central deity of Avataṁsaka, are thus gigantic.

2. Atiśa (died AD 1054) classified the tantras into seven divisions in his commentary Bodhi-mārga-pradīpa-pañjikā (Toh. 3948) on his own Bodhi-patha-pradīpa:

i. kriyā-tantra/bya-baḥi rgyud
ii. caryā-tantra/spyod-paḥi rgyud
iii. kalpa-tantra/rtog-paḥi rgyud, has works like:
   Tārā-bhava-tantra (Toh. 726)
   Trisamaya-vyūha-rāja (Toh. 502)
   *Kalpa-samuccaya
iv. ubhaya-tantra/gñis-kaḥi rgyud, has works like:
   Māyājāla (Toh. 466)
   Padmanarteśvara
v. yoga-tantra/ rnal-ḥbyor-gyi rgyud
vi. mahāyoga-tantra/ rnal-ḥbyor-chen-poḥi rgyud
   Later became the 'father tantras'/ pha-rgyud;
vii. anuttara-yoga-tantra/rnal-ḥbyor-bla-ma-med-paḥi rgyud
   Later became the 'mother tantras'/ma-rgyud (Lessing/Wayman 1968:100n.1).

Helmut Eimer, The classification of the Buddhist tantras according to the Vajra-jñāna-samuccaya, discusses the divergent order of the divisions of tantras and tries to interpret them.

3. The Vaitulya/Vaipulya tradition, starting with sūtras like Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Lalita-vistara and others, continued to develop, and culminated in Vajrayana. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayana tradition. The transmission of the cycle of tantras commences with Theravāda sūtras in the Tibetan exegesis of Mkhas-grub-rje:

A 1. the biography of Śākyamuni
2. compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hīnayāna tradition
3. compilation of the Word in the Mahayana tradition.

B Sūtras which show principally the Pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:
1. Vinaya-vastu, arising from the first promulgation (*bkaḥ*) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the 'Four Truths' (Toh. 1–7).
2. The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. śūnyatā) (Toh. 8–30).
3. The Ratnakūṭa and Avataṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experience) (Toh. 44 Avataṁsaka and 45–93 Ratnakūṭa).
4. The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels of Law, arranged in a single major class (Toh. 94–359).

C Tantras which show principally the Vajrayana fall into four divisions:
1. Anuttara-yoga-tantra (Toh. 360–478);
2. Yoga-tantra (Toh. 479–93);
3. Caryā-tantra (Toh. 494–501);
4. Kriyā-tantra (Toh. 502–827).

The four divisions are presided over by a distinctly differentiated deity:

kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus
caryā-tantras	Abhisambodhi-Vairocana
yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana
anuttara-yogi-tantras	Guhysamāja Akṣobhya
anuttara-yoginī-tantras	Cakrasaṁvara

The Tibetan classification of the tantras into four divisions is a misunderstanding of the Śaiva Siddhānta system which consists of four pādas (quarters) of (i) jñāna/knowledge or vidyā/doctrine, (2) caryā or conduct, daily rituals; (3) kriyā or ritual, which gives rules of initiation and methods of worship; and (4) yoga. The Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha of

the early 14th century defines the Śaiva system as: *tripadārtham* (of Pati, Paśu, Pāśa), *catuṣ-padaṁ mahātantram*. The Vāyavīya Saṁhitā 11.10.30 of the Śiva-purāṇa in its exposition of this system, describes dharma (religion) as catuṣpāda, consisting of jñāna, caryā, kriyā and yoga pādas.

Louis de la Vallée Poussin (JRAS 1901:900–01) has compared the four divisions to the four parts of the Vaiṣṇava Padmatantra:

first jñānapāda: introductory and exegetic
second yogapāda: āsana-bheda-vidhi, prāṇāyāma-lakṣaṇa, and other matters
third kriyāpāda: construction of houses, villages, temples, idols, altar
fourth caryāpāda: practical worship at festivals, dīkṣā-vidhi, etc.

The mandala represents the placement of deities in an architectural structure of the metaphysical system of a tantra. It has three main concentric areas of: (i) the inner sanctum, (ii) the circuit of circumambulation, and (iii) the outer corridor. The devotee passes through the *āvaraṇa* deities as he enters the temple, utters the name of each deity ending with *namaḥ*, and offers a flower (Desai 1989:61).

The division of sutras and four divisions of tantras are illustrated on the ceiling of Chu-yung-kuan, known as one of the important nine gates to China at least since the Han dynasty. During the conquering dynasties of Liao, Chin and Yüan (AD 922–1368) the gate was a link in the journey between the homeland of the barbarians and the capital of Peking in China. The Chu-yung-kuan Arch was constructed in the reign of Shun-ti (ruled 1323–67), the last emperor of the Yüan dynasty Ḥphags-pa Lama (1239–80) took Anigo, a prince of Nepal, to China where he built many stupas and temples and made many sculptures in the "Indian style" (西天梵相). This style continued after his death in 1306. The vault of the Arch has five mandalas of the sūtras and four divisions of tantras:

anuttara-yoga tantras	Akṣobhya
yoga tantras	Sarvavid [Vairocana]
caryā tantras	Vajrapāṇi
kriyā tantras	Amitābha
sūtras	Śākyamuni

The names of the five main deities are stated in the Mongolian and Uigur inscriptions (Murata 1967:1.335). These have been identified here for the first time.

The system of the Chu-yung-kuan Arch is clear in the pantheon of the Pao-hsiang Lou Pavilion, whose construction was completed on 20 July 1653. It was inhabited by Emperor Ch'ien-lung's mother, who was very religious. It has 766 (out of 786) preserved images or inscribed pedestals, and a large central image of Tsoṅ-kha-pa. Its six chapels pertaining to sūtras and tantras are as follows:

	Main deity	Nos. in Clark	Statues
1. sūtras	Śākyamuni	1M1–9, 1A1–61, 1B1–61	131
2. anuttara-yogi tantras	Akṣobhya	2M1–9, 2A1–61, 2B1–61	131
3. anuttara-yoginī tantras	Cakrasaṁvara	3M1–9, 3A1–61, 3B1–61	131
4. yoga-tantras	Sarvavid Vairocana	4M1–9, 4A1–61, 4B1–61	131
5. caryā-tantras	Abhisambodhi Vairocana	5M1–9, 5A1–61, 5B1–61	131
6. kriyā-tantras	Amitāyus	6M1–9, 6A1–61, 6B1–61	131
			786

For a detailed analysis see pages 133–139

Every chapel has an inscription to indicate the sutras or divisions of tantras of its statuettes. The nine middle statues (M) are named in the Tibetan inscriptions.

They pertain mainly to the deities in the mandalas of Vajrāvalī, which are detailed in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī.

The statuettes are not in their original order. They have been disturbed over the centuries.

Some of the statuettes are in duplicate.

The series is not always complete, e.g. the statues of tithis from the 6th to the 13th are present (3A5–8,18, 3B11, 12, 35), but scattered. They are from the kāya-circle of the Kālacakra-mandala whose deities pertain mostly to time. In the centre are Pūrṇimā (Full Moon) and Amāvasyā (New Moon), surrounded by tithis-devīs beginning from Pratipadā to Caturdaśī (Nsp. introd., p. 81).

Abhayākaragupta wrote a manual of mandalas (dkyil-ḥkhor-gyi cho-ga) entitled Vajrāvalī. He described them at length in the Niṣpannayogāvalī. Ever since they have been used for initiations. Abhayākara does not divide them according to the four divisions of tantras. Non-classification has been debated by Tibetan masters, for instance, in the Blue Annals (Roerich 1047): "The mahāpaṇḍita from Kāśmīra (Śākyaśrībhadra) bestowed on three occasions the initiations of the Vajrāvalī. On the first two occasions he performed all (the mandala rites)accompanied by rites of the Anuttara-tantra (only). On the last occasion he said: "The Tibetans are very suspicious! Had I not divided (these mandalas) according to the different classes of tantras, they would not accept the initiations." Therefore he divided them according to the classes of tantras and thus bestowed the initiations.

"Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal heard it from Ravīndra. He maintained the point of view, that by being initiated into the twenty-eight mandalas one could obtain (the initiations) of all the others.

"The lo-tsa-ba Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (the Yar-kluṅs lo-tsa-ba) obtained it from Bhūmiśrī, the mahāpaṇḍita of Kāśmīra. He used to bestow initiations, having arranged

them into 45 mandalas.

"His Holiness Śrī Vanaratna, the mahāpaṇḍita of Eastern India, bestowed on two occasions the initiation of Vajrāvalī at the royal palace of Sneḥu-gdoṅ. He used to bestow all these initiations according to the system of the Anuttara-tantra. Some remarked that it was not proper to initiate according to different classes of tantras, but he replied: ("It would be good to divide them." They again inquired:) "Well then why did you not perform them in accordance with this method?" He replied: "Did I not bestow on you the initiation according to the method of Abhaya? Abhaya did not divide the initiations according to the different classes of the tantras, why should I do so?"

Darba 1938:137–243 classifies the 45 mandalas of the Vajrāvalī as follows:

		Nsp
Anuttara-yogi tantras		
1 (137)	Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra	(Nsp 1)
2 (139)	Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya	(Nsp 2)
3 (141)	Vairocana Mañjuvajra	(Nsp 20)
4 (143)	Kṛṣṇa Yamāri	(Nsp 15)
Anuttara-yoginī tantras		
5 (145)	Saṁvara Vajrasattva	(Nsp 3)
6 (147)	Saṁvara, 4-faced, 12-armed, black	(Nsp 12)
7 (149)	Saṁvara, 1-faced, 2-armed, blue	(Nsp 12/2)
8 (151)	Saṁvara, 1-faced, 2-armed, yellow	(Nsp 12/3)
9 (153)	Vajravārāhī, red	(Nsp 12)
10 (155)	Vajravārāhī, blue	(Nsp 12)
11 (157)	Vajravārāhī, yellow	(Nsp 12)
12 (159)	Krodha Hūṁkāra	(Nsp 11)
13 (161)	Cakravartī Vajrasattva Jñānaḍāka	(Nsp 25)
13 (163)	Cakravartī Vajrasattva Buddhaḍāka	(Nsp 25)
13 (165)	Cakravartī Vajrasūrya Ratnaḍāka	(Nsp 25)
13 (167)	Cakravartī Padmanarteśvara Padmaḍāka	(Nsp 25)
13 (169)	Cakravartī Heruka Vajraḍāka	(Nsp 25)
13 (171)	Cakravartī Paramāśva Viśvaḍāka	(Nsp 25)
14 (173)	Vajrāmṛta	(Nsp 7/1)
15 (175)	Vajrahūṁkāra	(Nsp 7/2)
16 (177)	Amṛta Raktapa (=Heruka)	(Nsp 7/3)
17 (179)	Amṛtakuṇḍalin	(Nsp 7/4)
18 (181)	Buddhakapāla, 25-deity, black	(Nsp 13)

19 (183)	Buddhakapāla, 9-deity, blue	(Nsp 10)
20 (185)	Mahāmāya	(Nsp 9)
21 (187)	Yogāmbara	(Nsp 14)
22 (189)	Jñānaḍākinī	(Nsp 4)
23 (191)	Citta Kapāla-Hevajra	Nsp 8/1 (acc. to Brtag-gñis tantra)
24 (193)	Kāya Hevajra	(Nsp 8/2): Heruka
25 (195)	Vāg Hevajra	(Nsp 8/3): Heruka
26 (197)	Citta Hevajra	(Nsp 8/4): Heruka
27 (199)	Kāya Hevajra	(Nsp 5/1)
28 (201)	Vāg Hevajra	(Nsp 5/2)
29 (203)	Citta Hevajra	(Nsp 5/3)
30 (205)	Hṛdaya Hevajra, Sāyudha~	(Nsp 5/4)
31 (207)	Vajraḍāka (centre)	(Nsp 24/1)
31 (209)	Buddhaḍāka (east)	(Nsp 24/2)
31 (211)	Ratnaḍāka (south)	(Nsp 24/3)
31 (213)	Padmaḍāka (west)	(Nsp 24/4)
31 (215)	Viśvaḍāka (north)	(Nsp 24/5)
32 (217)	Vajra-Nairātmā	(Nsp 6/1)
33 (219)	Vajra-Nairātmā	(Nsp 6/2)
34 (221)	Kurukullā	(Nsp 6/3)
35 (223)	Vajratārā, 8-armed	(Nsp 16)
36 (225)	Kālacakra	(Nsp 26)
Yoga-tantras		
37 (227)	Vajradhātu Vairocana	(Nsp 19)
38 (229)	Śākyasiṁha	(Nsp 22)
39 (231)	Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara	(Nsp 21)
Caryā-tantras		
40 (233)	Bhūtaḍāmara Vajrapāṇi	(Nsp 23)
Kriyā-tantras		
41 (235)	Mārīci	(Nsp 17)
42 (237)	Pratisarā	(Nsp 18)
43 (239)	Vasudhārā	
44 (241)	Grahamātṛkā Mahāvidyā	
45 (243)	Vijayā	

Another series of tantric initiations is by Mitra-yogin (*mi-tra brgya-rtsa*) which consists of sixty-five mandalas:

Kriyā-tantra

1. Sarasvatī
2. Parṇaśabarī
3. Sitātapatrā
4. Uṣṇīṣavijayā
5. Jambhala
6. Śākyamuni
7. Arpacana Mañjughoṣa
8. Avalokita, 4-armed
9. Khasarpaṇa Avalokita
10. Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara
11. Hayagrīva
12. Acala
13. Vajravidāraṇa
14. Sūtrakrama Vajrapāṇi
15. Amṛtakuṇḍalī Vajrapāṇi
16. Nilāmbara Vajrapāṇi
17. Nīlastūpa Vajrapāṇi
18. Lcags-sbugs-ma Vajrapāṇi
19. Khyuṅ-śam-can Caṇḍa Vajrapāṇi
20. Kṛṣṇajvāla Garuḍa
21. Akṣobhya

Caryā-tantra

22. Jagadbhadra Vajrapāṇi

Yoga-tantra

23. Vairocana
24. Amitāyus
25. Vajrapāṇi, white
26. Vajrapāṇi, blue
27. Krodha Agnijvāla
28. Vajrapāṇi, blue
29. Vajrapāṇi, blue
30. Vajrapāṇi, blue

31. Krodha Trailokyavijaya
32. Amoghasiddhi
33. Bhūtaḍāmara
34. Vajrasattva
35. Guhyaka Mañjuśrī
36. Jñānasattva Mañjuśrī
37. Nāmasaṅgīti
38. Prajñāpāramitā
39. Vairocana
40. Vajrasattva

Anuttara-yoga tantras

41. Ṣaḍānana Yamāntaka
42. Yamāntaka
43. Vajrabhairava
44. Vajrabhairava
45. Vajrabhairava
46. Mahācakra, Vajrapāṇi
47. Śaṁvara 4
48. Cakrasaṁvara
49. Cakrasaṁvara, Sahaja
50. Mṛtyutrāṇa (?) Saṁvara
51. Advayavajra's Saṁvara
52. Vajravārāhī, 3-faced, 6-armed
53. Vajravārāhī, 2-faced
54. Vajravārāhī, Arthasādhanī
55. Vajravārāhī, Chinnamuṇḍā
56. Vajravārāhī, Naro-tapa-krama
57. Maitrī-ḍākinī
58. Vajravārāhī, 4-faced
59. Vajravārāhī
60. Mahāmāyā-Heruka (Sgyu-ma-chen-*mo* He-ru-ka)
61. Vajrasattva Heruka
62. Jinasāgara
63. Hayagrīva Padmanarteśvara
64. Tārā
65. Vajra-Mahākāla, 4-armed

4. The Nyingma school began in the seventh century AD and was fully established in the ninth century by Guru Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita, and King Thrisong Detsen. The Nyingma is the oldest school, and the mother of the other schools. According to Nyingma tradition the entire Buddhist sutric and tantric teachings are classified as "Nine Yānas" (*Theg-pa dgu*):

The Three Sutric Yānas:

a. Śrāvaka-yāna (ñan-thos), Hīnayāna
b. Pratyekabuddha-yāna (raṅ-saṅs-rgyas), Hīnayāna
c. Bodhisattva-yāna (byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ), Mahāyāna.

The Three Outer Tantric Yānas (phyi-rgyud sde-gsum):

a. Kriyātantra (bya-rgyud)
b. Caryātantra (spyod-rgyud)
c. Yogatantra (rnal-ḥbyor-rgyud).

The Three Inner Tantric Yānas (naṅ-rgyud):

a. Mahāyoga (rnal-ḥbyor-chen-po)
b. Anuyoga (rjes-su-rnal-ḥbyor)
c. Atiyoga (śin-tu-rnal-ḥbyor)

(Thondup 1986:34–36 for the basic philosophy of the six classes of tantras).

The three outer and the three inner yānas of the tantras, in fact, represent the historical evolution of the tantric systems. This binary classification reflects the theogonic evolution from two dominant cults of the north-western region, namely photism or the cults of light and erotism or arcane cults. Maitreya, Amitābha, Rocana, Vairocana and Mahāvairocana represent the major manifestations of phototropic tendencies. Akṣobhya and his numerous epiphanies are an evolution of the erototropic tendencies. Akṣobhya became the prototype of esoteric deities. The guhya denominations had to be bold, to know no fear (abhaya) and to be unflinching, unshakeable (akṣobhya). Akṣobhya of the Akṣobhya-vyūha evolved into the Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya. Guhyasamāja does not have families and represents an earlier phase. The phototropic and erototropic theogonies evolved as a collateral development. The Mahāsāṅghikas were in the NW a century after the nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni and they were not averse to local cults. These cults were standardised and universalised by writing full-length sūtras.

NORTH-WEST INDIA: THE MINGLING OF INDIAN, IRANIAN AND HELLENIC IDEAS

The Vetulyakas or precursors of the tantric adherents are termed Uttarāpathakas or those of the northern regions. Ancient Indian "geographers place the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārīdvīpa between the Eastern Punjab and the Oxus" (Sircar 1973:1). The role of the Udīcya regions came to the fore during the lifetime of Lord

Buddha himself.

The chief divisions included in Uttarāpatha in Pali literature are Kāśmīra, Gandhāra and Kamboja. This region was famous for its horses (Vinaya 3.6, Samantapāsādikā 1.175) and horse-dealers brought them down to Varanasi (Jātaka 2.287). Kaṁsabhoga was located in Uttarāpatha, where king Mahākaṁsa ruled the city of Asitañjana (Jātaka 4.79). Mahāvastu 3.303 mentions Ukkalā in Uttarāpatha as the residence of Tapassu and Bhallika. Takṣaśilā (ibid. 2.166) was also in Uttarāpatha. There was regular trade between Sāvatthī and Uttarāpatha (Petavatthu comm. 100). The Utpalāvatī of the Divyāvadāna (p. 470) can be Utkalavāti. Ukkalā has been wrongly identified by Malalasekera (1937.1330) with Orissa. Trapuṣa–Bhallika had come from Ukkalā. According to the Theragāthā Commentary (1.48f.) they were caravan merchants from Pokkharāvatī, a town in Ukkalā. Puṣkalāvatī was in Uttarāpatha or NW India. Mahāvastu 3.303 does place Ukkalā in Uttarāpatha. Trapuṣa–Bhallika hailed from the regions which included Bactria. Bailey's etymology of Tu-khara (Gk. Thogara) shows that Utkalā is its Sanskritised variant: *ut*=tau 'great', Kala=Khāra. The town-name Utkata in the Divyāvadāna and Mahāvyutpatti deserves re-consideration.

Can the tribal name Śākya be related to Śaka? The Śākyas at Kapilavastu used statues of Yonakas holding lamps as decorations (Majjhima-nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā, Narain 167). The horse of the Buddha was named Kanthaka. He was white like a conch-shell, and in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven he had a magnificent palace of veḷuriya gems (Vimānavatthu 73f). Kanthaka is translated into Tibetan as Bsṅags-ldan (Mvy. 4772) 'praiseworthy, praised, extolled', as it came from the land of the finest horses. It refers to *kanthā* which at the end of tatpuruṣa compounds in neuter implies a town of the Uśīnaras (Pāṇini 2.4.20). It is the toponymic suffix in Central Asian names of cities like Yar-kand, Tash-kand, Samar-kand. The horse of the Buddha must have been a thoroughbred from Central Asia, and hence was known as Kanthaka 'the Central Asian horse'.

The Buddhas of the 'Three Times' are popular in China: Dīpaṅkara of the past, Śākyamuni of the present, and Maitreya of the future. Dīpaṅkara is the first of twenty-four Buddhas while Śākyamuni is the last. Hsüan-tsang localises the cult of Dīpaṅkara at Nagarahāra, near Hadda in south-east Afghanistan. The name of Dīpaṅkara translated as 'Constant Light', 'Universal Light', 'Blazing Torch' discloses a close proximity to the Iranian cult. His connection with light and fire is underlined in the Shotorak sculptures by flames bursting from the shoulders. The number twenty-four is used by the classical writer Plutarch, to define the 24 Yazatas/Adorable Ones of Zoroastrianism. In the Jātakas the number is 24, but 28 Buddhas are named. In Sanskrit chronology, Dīpaṅkara precedes Amitābha and not Śākyamuni (Soper 1959:178f.). Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future too is a NW phenomenon. The Greeks depicted the Muse of History as having two faces, one

looking to the past and the other to the future. Symbolically their essence is in the present. Prevailing in the North-West, it gave rise to the concept of Tri-samaya-vyūha Muni with the Three Buddhas of the Three Times. Buddhism was transmitted to China from the North-West. Chinese Buddhism has preserved several traits of this region, as we shall see later on. The first lay devotees of the Buddha were two merchants Trapuṣa–Bhallika who came from Bactria. On return they erected, during the lifetime of the Master himself, the first Buddhist stūpa, where they deposited his nail clippings and hair. Bhallika is associated with Balkh (*Cambridge History of Iran* 3/2.955). When Viḍūḍabha, the king of Kosala and son of Prasenajit, vanquished the Śākyas, they migrated to Udyāna, during the lifetime of the Buddha. The Śākya prince killed the king of Udyāna and gained his kingdom (Beal 1884:1.128f). The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang uses the name Virūḍhaka (Pi-lu-tse-kia), which has been denigrated to Viḍūḍabha in Pali. Its suffix *-bha* denotes an animal, as in the terms garda-bha, śara-bha, ṭiṭṭi-bha. Hsüan-tsang met the king of Bamiyan who was of Śākya extraction (Beal, Life, p. 53). The Śākyas had close connections with the NW, and this facilitated the spread of Buddhism in the region.

The schism of the Theravādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas took place at the Second Council around 380 BC. Shortly after they were in the NW, the syncretic tendencies began to evolve at a fast pace. The NW had two main streams of Iranian and Hellenic traditions. The Iranian stream comprised Zoroastrianism, Mithraism and local light cults. The Parthians and Kushans (Yueh-chi) were active contributors to the evolving transcendental tendencies in Buddhism. From the second century AD they translated the Sanskrit sūtras into Chinese. The fire of divine glory (Avesta **hvarenō-bagha*) had been removed to Kabul from Chorasmia (Bundahishn 17.5–6). The Iranian and other cults in Kabul and the neighbouring regions influenced Buddhism. As Buddhism spread with the caravans of traders, it was syncretised with the prevailing cults and practices.

Plutarch mentions twenty-four important Yazatas in Zoroastrianism. Among the twenty-four Buddhas Dīpaṅkara is the first. Dīpaṅkara, his fraternity and hermitage must have been the heart and soul of the beautiful frontier town of Ramma city (*ramya* 'beautiful' Watters 1.191). Its lotus-lakes blooming with flowers made it Padmapura (Chinese Lien-hua-ch'êng or Hua-shi-ch'êng, Watters 1.191). The religious prominence of Dīpaṅkara and his school gave it the name "Dīpaṅkara city" (Watters 1.188) or Dīpavatī. It must have been a flourishing commercial entrepot on a trade route and Hsüan-tsang refers to its wealth (Beal 1884:1.91). In course of time, with the ascendance of Buddhism and the construction of stūpas and monasteries, the city got its new name Nagara-hāra, wherein *nagara* means a market-place and *hāra* is a monastery (vi-hara).

In the trinity, Dīpaṅkara represented the light cult of Zoroastrianism, Śākyamuni

Buddhism, and Maitreya the solar cult of Mithraism:

Dīpaṅkara	Past	Zoroastrianism
Śākyamuni	Present	Buddhism
Maitreya	Future	Mithraism

The foremost among the twenty-four important Yazatas is Mithra (ERE. 6.293a). He is the god who gives victory to armies (ERE. 12.864b). Buddhism needed victories in its onward march. Victory was the future. Maitreya symbolised this victorious future. An organic nexus was created between Buddhism and Iranian cults by the legend of Dīpaṅkara giving a predictive assurance to Śākya when a bodhisattva that he should become a Buddha (Beal 1884:1.92). The NW of India came to be associated with past time. The 'stories of the past' (*atīta-vatthūni*) are mostly referred to NW India (*Gandhāra-raṭṭha*). When Buddhists adopted folk tales into their own sphere in the Jātakas, the process of incorporation took place in the *paccuppanna-vatthūni* 'stories of the present' i.e. the life of Śākyamuni. Geiger 1943:32 says: "The differences between the scenes of action is very striking. The 'stories of the past' are mostly referred to Western and Northern India (Gandhāraraṭṭha, etc.), but the 'stories of the present' to the East (Kosala-raṭṭha, Magadharaṭṭha, etc.)."

The seven Tathāgatas have a parallel in the seven Ameshā Spentās or Holy Immortals who are personifications of Ahuramazda and six of his chief attributes:

i. Ahura Mazda, the living wise or all-giving lord
ii. Vohu Manō, the good mind
iii. Asa-vahīsta, the best order or the excellent holiness
iv. Kshathra Vairya, the absolute power
v. Spenta-Armaiti, the beneficient piety
vi. Haurvatāt, the wholeness
vii. Amērētāt, the immortality.

The north-western frontiers of India, the Uttarāpatha of Buddhist literature, the udīcya region of śilpa texts, was steeped in Iranian connections from very ancient times. These areas, especially Bactria, formed spheres of influence as well as ruled territories of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Indo-Parthians and Sassanians. The Parthian period deserves special notice when the liberal hold of Zoroastrianism led to the efflorescence of Buddhism among the East Iranians on the peripheries of India.

The Parthian Arsacid era commences in 247 BC. The Parthian empire began its expansion around 176–71 BC under Phraates I. His brother Mithradates I (c. 171–138 BC) wrested districts from Eucratides of Bactria. The eastern provinces comprised Drangiana, Sakastan and Arachosia, the latter comprising the modern province of Kandahar. These provinces were subject to the central government of the Parthian king only for limited

periods. In Kandahar and Punjab, an independent Indo-Parthian dynasty arose in the first century AD with its centre at Taxila. The kings had Iranian and peculiarly Parthian names. The Indo-Parthian empire came to an end with the Kushan invasion in AD 78. After an existence of 400 years in Iran, the Parthian empire was overthrown by the Sassanians. The Sassanian dynasty was "founded by Ardashir I in AD 226 and destroyed by the Arabs in 637. The dynasty is named after Sāsān, an ancestor of Ardashir I" (EB. 1965:20.4). Ardashir subdued Seistan (Sakastan), Balkh (Bactria), Khwarizm (Chorasmia), etc. Since these territories pertained to the Kushan empire, the implication is that he overcame the Kushans (EB. 1965:17.569). Al-Tabari confirms that the kings of the Kushans, of Turan (Quzdar, south of Quetta), and of Makran submitted to victorious Ardashir. Among the 27 provinces of the Sassanian empire enumerated in the inscription of the Kaaba-e-Zardusht under Shapur I (AD 241–72) figure: (21) Seistan, (22) Turan, (23) Makran, (25) India (extent undefined), (26) Kushanshahr, extending from Peshawar to Tashkent, Sogdiana and the borders of Kashgaria (EB. 1965:17.570).

The Parthians themselves were the earliest translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The very first translator was the Parthian prince An Shih-kao. Shih-kao means 'lokottara' which is of significance in its emphasis on the expanding school of the Lokottara-vādins who were to become the foundation for later-day Esoteric Buddhism.

Parthia was known in Chinese as *An-si* 'Arsak, the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia'. *An* was prefixed to the names of translators from this country. An Shih-kao was a royal prince who ceded the kingdom to his uncle and became a monk. He came to China in AD 148 and worked there till AD 170 (Nj ii.4). "The arrival in AD 148 of a Parthian missionary, An Shih-kao at Loyang marked the beginning of a period of intense activity"....He is "the first undoubtedly historical personality in Chinese Buddhism. It was probably he who initiated the systematical translation of Buddhist texts and who organized the first translation team. In this respect his importance is indeed very great" (Zürcher 1972:30, 32).

In AD 181 An Hsüan 'Upāsaka of An-si' arrived at Loyang, joined his countryman An Shih-kao and translated two Buddhist works (Nj ii.6). An Hsüan had come to Loyang as a merchant, and obtained the Chinese military title of cavalry commander for specified 'meritorious work'. Both worked with a Chinese named Yen Fo-t'iao the first known Chinese monk. An Hsüan translated together with Yen Fo-t'iao the Ugradatta-paripṛcchā (T 322). This sūtra is a summary account of the career of a Bodhisattva, and wholly belongs to Mahayana (Zürcher 1972:34).

An Fa-hsien 'Parthian Dharmabhadra' translated two sūtras, including the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, which were already lost in AD 730 (Nj ii.17). "The Kao-sêng ch'uan and later catalogues speak of the two Parthians T'an (-wu)-ti (? Dharmasatya) and

An Fa-hsien (?Dharmabhadra). They all arrived in or shortly after AD 250 at Loyang, which at that time still must have been the stronghold of Buddhism in the North" (Zürcher 1972:55).

The Parthian śramaṇa An Fa-ch'in translated five works at Loyang during AD 281–306 of which one is the sūtra on unlimited changes of the supernatural footsteps (Nj 148, ii.25), and the legend of Aśoka (T 2042), which was destined to play a role in early Chinese Buddhism (Zürcher 1972:70).

Besides the Parthians, other Iranian-speaking peoples too were active in the transmission of Buddhism to China, like the Yüeh-chih (Chih), the Khotanese (Yü), and the Sogdians (K'ang). The overwhelming Chinese evidence is an indication of the devotion of the Eastern Iranians to Buddhism and their dedicated missionary activities in China. The following Yüeh-chih were active in translating Buddhist sūtras into Chinese:

AD		Nj
147	Chih Lokakṣema	ii.3
185	Chih Yao	ii.7
190	Chih Liang, disciple of Lokakṣema	Zürcher 1972:36
223–53	Chih Ch'ien	ii.18
155–256	Chih Chiang-liang-chieh	ii.22
301	Chih Fa-hu (Dharmarakṣa)	ii.33
373	Chih Shih-lun	ii.35
c. 390	Chih T'an-yüeh	Zürcher 1972:144

Chih 支 is the ethnikon for Yüeh-chih monks. Dharmarakṣa (active c. 266–308) is the greatest Buddhist translator before Kumārajīva (Zürcher 1972:65–70). He made Ch'ang-an the major Buddhist centre in Northern China. He was "the itinerant preacher, organizer and supervisor" of the Buddhist Order. "Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sūtra completed the series of the five Mahayana scriptures which more than any other texts were destined to exert a profound influence upon the development of early Chinese Buddhist thought: Prajñāpāramitā, Śūraṁgama-samādhi-sūtra, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and Sukhāvatī-vyūha" (Zürcher 1972:70). Around 400 lived the last Yüeh-chih monk Chih T'an-yüeh, who was teacher to Emperor Hsiao-wu (reigned 373–97). He introduced a new way of chanting Buddhist verse which became very popular (Zürcher 1972:144, also 23, 24, 32, 36, 47–51, 54, 55, 61).

The word Kushan has three forms in Sanskrit: (i) Kuṣāṇa; (ii) ghoṣa, and (iii) Kuśa. Narain (1990:163, 165) gives the forms Guṣaṇa, Khuṣaṇa, Koshana. Kuṣa-dvīpa refers to the Kushan dominions. Ghoṣa is a Sanskritisation of Kuśa, where the intial *k*

pronounced with a tone is *gh*. Even today, the *gh* is pronounced in Panjabi as *k* with a tone. It is parallel to Gesshi, the more ancient Japanese pronunciation of Yueh-chih 月氏; also written 月支 Yueh-shih. The Yueh-chih were forced to flee their earlier home in the Kansu province by the Hsiung-nu or Hūṇas. The Japanese pronunciation of Yueh-c(s)hih is Gesshi, with an initial *g*, as in ghoṣa. Aśvaghoṣa, a native of Śrāvastī, could have been a Kushan (ghoṣa). The great Pali commentator Buddhaghoṣa came to Sri Lanka in the fifth century during the reign of king Mahānāma (458–80). He was born in a brahmana family of Uttarāpatha (Geiger 1943:28) and could well have been of Kushan (ghoṣa) extraction. The Ghosh in Bengal are kāyasthas, who were administrators attached (stha) to the Kushans of Iranian origin (kāya=kai= kavi=king in Avesta). Compare the suffix -*an* in Kush-an with Tur-an, Ir-an, Bami-yan (bami 'resplendent'), Azerbaij-an, in keeping with the standard formation for district names in -*an* (Melikian–Chirvani 276)

The nexus of the Iranian Weltanschauung and Buddhism gave rise to the Sumeru, the mandala corresponding to the cosmocratic cities of the Pre-Achaemenian Ecbatana and the Parthian Ctesiphon, etc., the centrality of fire cult of the Zoroastrians helped the emergence of homa in Vajrayana, the Sun-God Mithra was Vairocana the Great Sun (Dai-nichi in Japanese). Lamotte (1954:392) goes to the length of saying that Khotan was, if not the cradle, at any rate the stronghold of the mahayanist movement (this statement begins the introduction to *The Khotanese Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra,* by R.S. Emmerick, London 1970:xiii).

In Shingon or the Japanese tradition of Vajrayana, there are thirty Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who are sacred to thirty days of the month. One deity is sacred to one day of the month. They are known as Sanjūnichi-hi-butsu "Buddhas (*butsu*) sacred (*hi*) to thirty (*sanjū*) days (*nichi*)". They are illustrated in a roll preserved at the Kanchi-in Hall of the Tōji monastery at Kyoto. They are reproduced in the Taishō Zuzō (=TZ) that is the section of illustrations of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (TZ. 104:5.745) under the title of Sanjū-nichi-hi-butsu-zu "illustrations of Buddhas sacred to thirty days". The names of the Thirty Buddhas are given below, along with their symbolic syllables (bīja) and Chinese names. It may be noted that the names begin with the Buddha symbolising the 'Light of Dhyāna', followed by Dīpajyoti Buddha or 'Buddha of the Light of the Lamp'. The sixth Buddha symbolises the 'Light of Two Myriad (=20,000) Lamps'. No sequence can be discerned in the names. The letter A is the symbolic syllable of four Buddhas of the 1, 3, 10, 27 days. Another scroll entitled Mandara-shu (shuji) 'collection of bīja-mandalas' at the Ninnaji monastery, Kyoto gives the thirty bījas of the same Thirty Buddhas of the month (TZ.103.48).

DAY	DEITY	BĪJA
1.	Light of Dhyāna Buddha	A
2.	Dīpa-jyoti Buddha	HŪṀ
3.	Prabhūtaratna Buddha	A
4.	Akṣobhya Buddha	HŬṀ
5.	Maitreya Buddha	YA
6.	Buddha of the Light of Two Myriad Lamps	...
7.	Dīpaṅkara Buddha	AṀ
8.	Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha	BHAI
9.	Daitsu (big communication) Buddha	AḤ
10.	Sūrya-candra-dīpa Buddha	A
11.	Nandi Buddha	HŬṀ
12.	Durjaya Buddha	HU
13.	Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva	TRĀḤ
14.	Samantabhadra Bodhisattva	AṀ
15.	Amitābha	HRĪḤ
16.	Dhāraṇī Bodhisattva	DHA
17.	Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva	NA
18.	Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva	SA
19.	Sūryaprabha Bodhisattva	KA
20.	Candraprabha Bodhisattva	CA
21.	Akṣayamati Bodhisattva	SA
22.	Abhayaṁdada Bodhisattva	RA
23.	Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva	SAṀ
24.	Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva	HA
25.	Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva	MA
26.	Bhaiṣajyottara Bodhisattva	AṀ
27.	Vairocana	A
28.	Mahāvairocana	AḤ
29.	Bhaiṣajyarāja	HŬṀ
30.	Śākyamuni	BHAḤ (for Bhagavān)

Their Chinese/Japanese names are as follows:

二十日祕佛圖

一 定光佛（一日）……
二 燈明佛（二日）……
三 多寶佛（三日）……
四 阿閦佛（四日）……
五 彌勒佛（五日）……
六 二萬燈明佛（六日）……
七 燈燈佛（七日）……
八 藥師佛（八日）……
九 大通佛（九日）……
一〇 日月燈明佛（十日）……
一一 觀喜佛（十一日）……
一二 薩小佛（十二日）……
一三 虛空藏菩薩（十三日）……
一四 普賢菩薩（十四日）……
一五 阿彌陀（十五日）……
一六 陀羅尼菩薩（十六日）……
一七 龍樹菩薩（十七日）……
一八 觀音菩薩（十八日）……
一九 日光菩薩（十九日）……
二〇 月光菩薩（二十日）……
二一 無盡意菩薩（二十一日）……
二二 施無畏（二十二日）……
二三 得大勢至菩薩（二十三日）
二四 地藏菩薩（二十四日）……
二五 文殊菩薩（二十五日）……
二六 藥上菩薩（二十六日）……
二七 毗盧遮那（二十七日）……
二八 大日（二十八日）……
二九 樂王（二十九日）……
三〇 釋迦（三十日）……

The adoration of the Thirty Buddhas is supposed to be a Japanese custom (Hōbōgirin 197). So far no parallel to them could be adduced. They are a part of the traditions of North-West India that had been transmitted via Serindia to China and thence to Korea and Japan. The heritage of Gandhāra still survives in the living memories of East Asian monks. During a visit to Korea in 1981, my companion monk said that their robes of daily wear are of Gandhāra origin. The trousers worn by the monk strongly recalled Kuṣāṇa trousers and the modern *salwar* worn in Afghanistan. Though Vajrayana disappeared entirely from China, it was preserved in its minutest details in Japan. The worship of the Thirty Buddhas of the month must have reached from North-West India to East Asia where it has survived to this day in Japan.

It was natural for the Buddhist monks of North-West India and Eastern Iran to adjust to the prevailing customs to make Buddhism a religion of the people. In this way a number of popular practices were adopted in a changed form into Buddhism by giving them a Buddhist garb beyond recognition.

The custom of invoking each day of the month too derives from the Zoroastrian practices prevalent in the Udīcya region. In the minor texts of Avesta there are "two Sīrōzahs, the greater and the lesser, which in their 30 paragraphs invoke in turn the divinities of each day of the month, and which are recited especially on the thirtieth day after the death of a Zoroastrian" (ERE. 2.269). They are termed sīrōza yašt (*sīh* 'thirty' *rōz* 'day', Avesta *sīh rōčak*). The *yašt* (AV. *yešti* 'worship by praise') praise and glorify the divinities in the sequence in which they are used to name the days of the month" (ERE. 2.268b).

The thirty days are named below in Avesta (after Wolff), and Pahlavi, with their meanings according to MacKenzie.

	AVESTA	PAHLAVI	MEANING
1.	Ahura Mazdāh	Ohrmazd	Jupiter
2.	Vohu Manah	Wahman	Good Mind, Guardian of Cattle
3.	Aša Vahišta	Ardwahišt	Right, Guardian of Fire
4.	Xšaθra Vairya	Šahrewar	Best Rule, Guardian of Metals
5.	Ārmatay	Spand-armed	Holy Thought, Earth Goddess
6.	Haurvatāt	Hordād	Perfection, Guardian of Water
7.	Amərətatāt	Amurdād	Immortality, Guardian of Plants and Food
8.	Ahura Mazdāh	Day pad Ādur	Day = Creator
9.	Ātar	Ādur	'Fire' God
10.	Apām	Ābān	Water
11.	Xvarə	Xwar	Sun
12.	Mōnha	Māh	Moon
13.	Tištrya	Tīr	Mercury
14.	Gauš	Gōš	—
15.	Ahura Mazdāh	Day pad Mihr	Day = Creator
16.	Miθra	Mihr	Mithra
17.	Sraoša	Srōš	God 'Obedience'
18.	Rašnav	Rašn	God of Justice
19.	Fravašay	Frawardīn	—
20.	Vərəθraγna	Wahrām	God of War and Victory, Mars
21.	Rāman	Rām	Peace
22.	Vāta	Wād	Wind, Breath, Spirit
23.	Ahura Mazdāh	Day pad Dēn	Day = Creator
24.	Daēnā	Dēn	Religion (Skt. dhyāna)
25.	Ašay	Ard (Ahrišwang)	A Goddess
26.	Arštāt	Aštād	Goddess 'Rectitude'
27.	Ašno	Asmān	Sky
28.	Zəmo	Zāmyād	Earth
29.	Manθra	Māra-spand	Mantra
30.	Anaγranāṁ Raočaṅhāṁ	Anagrān	Infinite Light

Text in *Avesta: The Sacred Scripture of the Parsees*, ed. by E.M.F. Kanga and N.S. Sontakke, Poona 1962 (Vaidika Saṁśodhana Mandala), part 2, pp. 707 ff. Translation in Fritz Wolff, *Avesta: die Heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1924 (Walter de Gruyter & Co.), pp. 299 ff.

Though no precise equations of the Avestan and Buddhist lists can be worked out,

the general idea of worshipping the divinities of the thirty days of the month is of Iranian origin. The name of the Buddha of the first day 'Light of Dhyāna' recalls Daēnā (Pahlavi *dēn*) <Skt. dhyāna, the 24th day of the Avestan month. The Avestan Anaγranāṁ Raočaṅhāṁ 'Infinite Light' reminds us of Amitābha (15th day), but more of the sixth day with its "Buddha of the Lights of Twenty Thousand Lamps". The Abhayaṁdada of the 22nd day echoes Avestan Rāman 'Peace' (21st day). A detailed comparison of the Japanese and Avestan rituals may elucidate further.

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa, compiled as early as the sixth century AD, describes the garments of Dhanada Kubera as that of a northerner (*udīcya-veṣa*).

"Indeed that Gandhāra provided the prototype for both sculptures becomes evident if we compare them with typical Gandhāran representations of so-called Pañchika... Frequently, in such reliefs, the male is dressed in the Scythian attire, complete with boots or sandals, and holds in his hands both the spear and a bag" (Pal 1977:15).

"Sometime during the Kushana period, there appeared in North-West India the Persian god of wealth and fortune, Pharro. On being adopted into the Indian pantheon, he was perhaps, given the name Vaiśravaṇa, but a number of his foreign traits were retained, especially in the Buddhist pantheon."

"Such synthesis or amalgamation is a characteristic feature of the iconography of the Kushana period, especially in North-West India. Several initially different deities, embodying conceptually related ideas—both foreign and indigenous—became synthesized into many of the major divinities of the Purāṇic pantheon."

"Finally, it is obvious that the compiler of the Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, at least of the third Khaṇḍa, was more than familiar with the image type of Dhanada-Kubera prevalent in North-West India. Both R.C. Hazra and P. Shah have suggested that the text may have been redacted somewhere in that region... if the text was not redacted in the north-west, certainly one of the compilers must have belonged to that region" (Pal 1977: 26).

A Gandhāra fragment of a frieze with five laymen, dating probably to the third quarter of the first century AD is one of the earliest reliefs, particularly reminiscent of Roman reliefs from the early Imperial times. It comes closest in style to the representation of the apotheosis of Augustus in Ravenna. It shows that Gandhāra artists must have been acquainted with the art of Rome (Ackermann 1975:9, 50–51).

Soper in his paper on 'Aspects of light symbolism in Gandhāran sculpture' points out parallels to the "Visit" stelae of Gandhāra and Kucha style caves with the cult monuments of Mithra in the late Roman empire (1949:260). He sees striking similarities in composition and style between Gandhāran art forms spread by Roman legions of Tauroctony by which Mithra was worshipped in his secret sanctuaries. He cites S. Lévi about

the plausibility of Maitreya Ajita having an Iranian origin in Mithra Invictus.

"Specific evidence shows, however, that no matter how widely and from whatever sources sun and fire symbolism was infused into Buddhist iconography, its most consistent and strongest manifestations occurred in the North-West, in the region that was also penetrated by Iranian influence. It is on a coin of Kaniṣka that the standing Buddha was first presented with an aureole of light about his whole body, like the sun-god." (Soper 1950:72).

"The process of suffusing the Buddha idea with light symbolism reaches its climax in the "Sūtra of the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy" which I have ascribed to the Hadda region. There almost every other value, ethical or metaphysical, has been drowned out in a blaze of light; and the Tathāgata is imagined as something like an enormous electrical display, acting only by the emission of rays that cross the universe." (Soper 1950: 73).

"The Mātaṅgī-sūtra, also, is important as a predecessor of Vajrayana magical formulas. This sūtra, translated into Chinese in the third century, was most likely compiled in Samarkand, judging from its astronomical informations." (Nakamura 1980:318). The Mātaṅgī-sūtra was translated by the Parthian An Shih-kao during AD 148–70 (K 759, Nj 643, T 551). It was translated thrice over again in AD 230 by Chu Lü-yen and Chih-ch'ien (K 766, Nj 645, T 1300), in AD 307–13 by Dharmarakṣa (K 765, Nj 646, T 1301), and in AD 317–420 by an unknown translator (K 762, Nj 644, T 552). This sūtra has been translated by Beal, *Buddhist Literature in China,* pp. 166–70.

As late as the eleventh century, Ḥbrom-ston (AD 1005–64), the chief disciple of Atiśa, speaks of a Kuṣāṇa princess in a far-off demon-land (Schwieger 1978:16), as an incarnation of Tārā, in a work on rebirth in Sukhāvatī, the western paradise of Amitābha. Bhallaka was one of the piśāca metals: Bactria was thus a piśāca- or demon-land.

The role of NW regions in the foundation of Mahayana has been discussed at length by Lamotte (1954:389–96). The Mahayana sūtras were hidden here for centuries. They were discovered in Kuṣāṇa times. Sadāprarudita found the Prajñā in Gandhāra in the city of Gandhavatī, written on gold leaves with melted beryl, sealed with seven seals, and locked up in a precious casket. This statement has a parallel in the Iranian tradition that Zoroastrian scriptures were preserved with loving care under the Achaemenians. King Vishtaspa had the original copy of the Avesta written in letters of gold and deposited in the 'Stronghold of Records' at Persepolis (Ṭabarī). The Dīnkarṭ 3.3, 7.7.3 says that a sumptuous copy was conserved in the treasury of Shapīgān at Persepolis. Another copy inscribed on golden tablets was preserved in the treasury of the fire-temple at Samarkand. Both these archetype copies were destroyed in the invasion of Alexander in 330 BC when he put to fire the Palace at Persepolis and when he razed Samarkand to the ground (ERE.

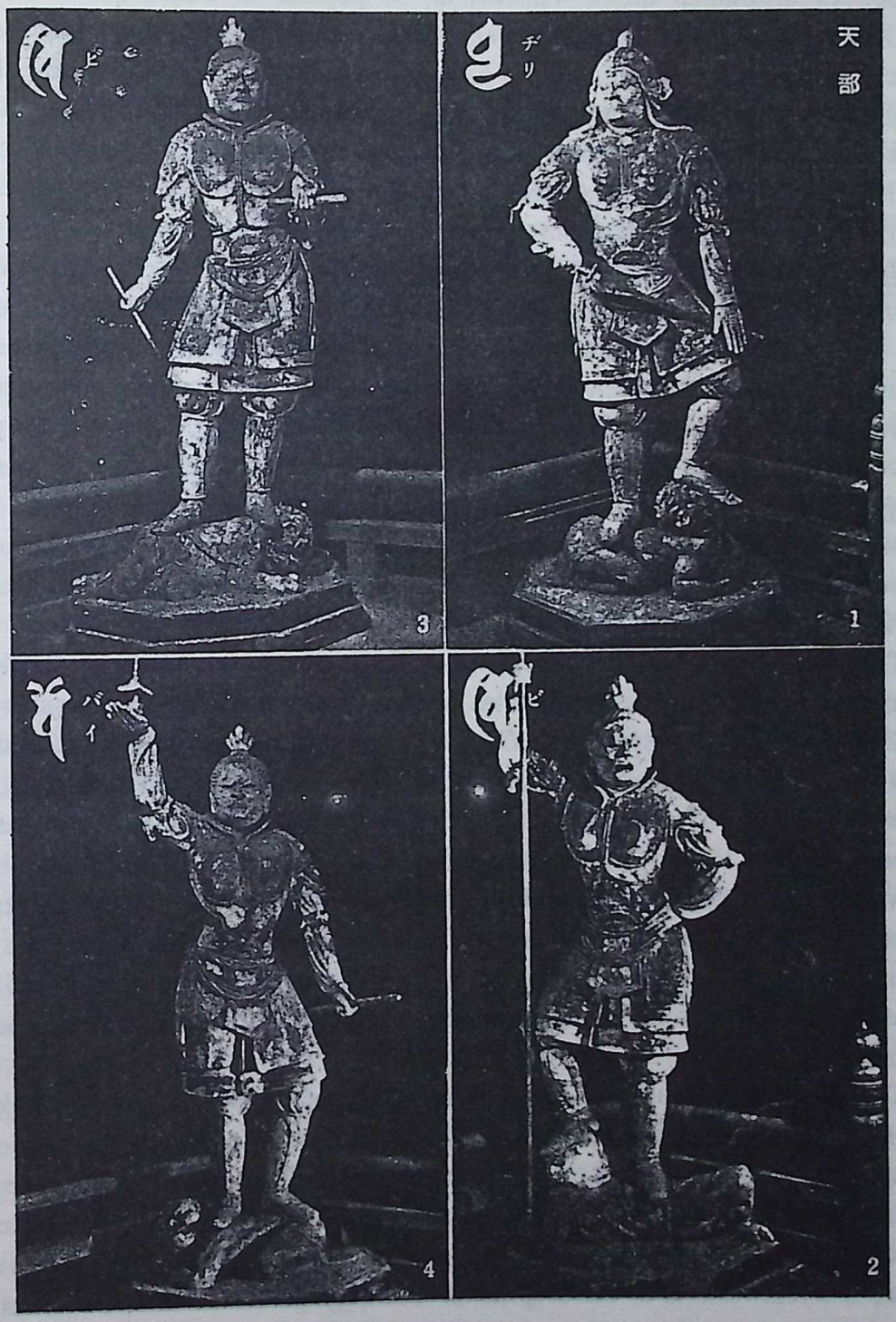
2.267).

The four Lokapalas seem to be a development of the Parthian and Kushan concepts of the state. The Parthian, and later Sasanian state was divided into four parts. The Kushan emperors bore four titles: the Indian *mahārāja*, the Iranian *rājātirāja*, the Chinese *devaputra* and the Yueh-chih *ṣāhi* (Monneret de Villard 1948, quoted in Verardi 1983: 234). The power assumed by the Kushan emperor led to his deification and his cult after death. The Catur-mahārājika or the four divine kings evolve in the seventh chapter of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa. They promise to protect kings, together with their families and their countries, who attentively listen to this sūtra and respectfully make offerings, read and preserve this holy text. During the battles, following the death of Emperor Yōmei, Shōtoku vowed, if successful, to build a temple to the Heavenly Kings of the Four Quarters, the Shitennoji temple at Osaka (Paine/Soper 1955:10). In 741 Emperor Shōmu established provincial state monasteries, and called them *Konkōmyō Shitennō gokokuji* or monasteries for the protection of the country by the Four Heavenly Kings by means of the Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra (Visser 1935:2.434). The four kings are attired in armour of the North-West. The dominions of king Susambhava in the 14th chapter also extend over four countries (dvīpa). Four countries, four kings, and four Buddhas seem to be a Kushan element in the evolution of Buddhism. The Suvarṇaprabhāsa was translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa as early as AD 414–23. The four Buddhas of the four quarters are:

	Dharmarakṣa's translation	Itsing's translation
East	Akṣobhya	Acala (Jap. Fudō)
South	Ratnaketu	Ratnaketu (Jap. Hōsō)
West	Amitāyus	Amitāyus (Jap. Muryōju)
North	Varasvara (Mimyōsho 'Delicate and Wonderful Voice')	Dundubhisvara (Jap. Tenku-on) (Visser 1935:2.433, 1.268)

The beginning of the four Buddhas in the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa is natural, as it is a Vaipulya-sūtra. The title of the sūtra 'Gold-Light' (Suvarṇa-prabhāsa) reminds of the light cults. The Navbahar was clothed with silk by Iranians on their pilgrimages. Yāqūt says that Navbahar was adorned with brocades and silk, and jewels were hung on it. Hsüan-tsang records that the bigger image at Bamiyan was glittering with gold and precious ornaments. Ibn-an-Nadīm informs us that the idols at Bamiyan wore gold brocades. Balkh is qualified in early Persian literature as Balkh-e-bāmī 'Balkh the Resplendent'. Bamiyan appears to be an adjective meaning "Resplendent". Mus (1928: 153 f.) speaks of the cult of bejewelling and crowning of statues and presentation of gold-threaded draperies.

The four Lokapālas, the four Buddhas, and golden resplendence pertain to Bud-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dhist practices in Iranian areas. Vaiśravaṇa, so popular in Balkh and Khotan, was modelled after Kushan imperial portrayals (Scott 1990:50). The Zoroastrian overtones can be seen in a Karatepe painting, with a Bactrian inscription *buddha-mazda*. The 'aesthetics of light', to use the term of Bussagli, was a dominant force in an Iranian milieu. The concept of *upāya* 'skilful means' was a strategy to present Buddhism in accord with the pre-disposition of the hearer concerned. It was an open frontier, a recasting and re-mythologising of powerful prevalent symbols as Buddhist experience.

Bhaiṣajyaguru: Besides the light cults, the mythical medicine or *manthrōbaēšaza* (Skt. *mantra-bhaiṣajya)* was an important part of the proliferation of NW ideas and perceptions in the mainland of India. Indian tradition speaks of the *bhojaka* who were both healers and saviours. Stietencron (1966:280) says: "The other group of sun-priests with foreign religious traditions arrived much later in India than the Maga did. They called themselves Bhojaka which does not mean "the one who feeds the deity", as later Indian etymologies would have it, but is to be deduced from a Middle-Iranian form **bōžak,* healer, saviour (compare arm. *bužakan*, healing, rescuing; *bužak*, cure, liberation; mp. *božišn,* idem.)... But the Bhojaka claimed their descent from Zarathustra and remained faithful to the Avestan holy scriptures."

The hygiene and medical skill of people from the North-West was well known since early antiquity. The Tibetan histories of Āyurveda say: Jīvaka was born as the son of king Bimbisāra and a trader's wife. Grown up, he saw a group of *white-clad* men and he asked his father: 'Who are they?' He said: 'They are called doctors and they protect people from diseases.' Jīvaka was filled with the wish to become a doctor. He asked his father for permission to study under Ātreya, the famous doctor of Taxila. King Bimbisāra sent him to Taxila with a letter to its king (Rechung 1973:12). The white clothes are an indication that the doctors wore the dress of Zoroastrian priests. They observed scrupulous cleanliness according to prescriptions of the Vidēvdād. It is noteworthy that Zoroastrian doctors travelled as far as Bihar in Eastern India and as early as the period of Bimbisāra.

The Buddhist cult of Bhaiṣajyaguru is a point of contact with the *bōžak, and it is of an early date. Bhaiṣajyaguru is the Buddha of Healing. He cures physical illness and dispels spiritual darkness. His sūtra was translated into Chinese five times. The earliest translation by Śrīmitra dates to AD 317–22. In his paradise dwell innumerable bodhisattvas, chief among whom are Sūrya-Vairocana and Candra-Vairocana. They are also known as Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha. Bhaiṣajyaguru has Twelve Great Yakṣa Generals *(dvādaśa mahāyakṣa-senāpatayaḥ,* Dutt 1939:1.29). Bhaiṣajyaguru developed in an age when an Iranian term like *bešāz* (Mackenzie 1971:18) 'healing' was correctly understood as *bhaiṣajya* 'medicine, healing'. The two bodhisattvas Sūryaprabha and

Candraprabha are the counterparts of the Iranian Rašnu (Skt. Rājña) and Sraoša (Skt. Srauṣa), companions of Mithra. The Twelve Generals are the Twelve Ādityas as solar aspects.

Soper (1959:171) speaks of the multiplication of the statues of Bhaiṣajyaguru. The seven Buddhas of Medicine are a parallel to the seven Tathāgatas mentioned earlier. I-tsing explains in his translation of the sūtra done in AD 707 that Bhaiṣajyaguru is the leader of the group of seven Buddhas. In the Tibetan tradition their names are: Bhaiṣajya-guru Vaiḍūrya-prabha-rāja, Dharmakīrti-sāgara, Abhijñārāja, Aśokottama, Ratnacandra, Suvarṇa-bhadra-vimala, Sunāman. They are flanked by Candra-Vairocana and Surya-Vairocana (Lokesh Chandra 1986:550–58, 1552–58, 2339–45). The Iranian gods, sun and moon, played a supportive role. They appear as a pair on a dedicatory casket offered by the Kushan emperor Kaniṣka to the stūpa at the Shahji-ki Dheri monastery built by him. "On one side of the receptacle was shown the Buddha flanked in a subordinative way by the Indian gods Brahmā and Indra; while on the other side was shown a Kushan ruler, probably Kanishka, flanked in a similar way by the solar Mithra and the lunar Mao" (Scott 1990:59). The pair Mao–Miiro 'Moon–Sun' appear on some coins of Huviṣka. At the Fondukistan monastery, there is a painting of lunar Mao with a solar Mithra (ibid.). The introduction of Iranian motifs into Buddhism seems to have increased during Kushan rule. The style of armour worn by the twelve yakṣa generals attending on Bhaiṣajyaguru is north-western. Bhaiṣajyaguru is met with as a standing bodhisattva figure in a Lung-men niche of AD 525 (Soper 173). The earliest surviving Buddhist image of Japan on the altar of the kondo of the Horyuji monastery is that of Yakushi/Bhaiṣajyaguru, which was completed in AD 607 to cure the illness of Emperor Yomei.

Theogony was a fundamental process in the upāya-kauśalya strategy of Buddhism to link the outside with the inside. The alterities were no longer opposing metasystems, but they had been identified with the system itself. The outside was subjectified and interiorised. It became the inside of the inside. This can be seen in Emperor Aśoka's project to construct 84,000 stūpas. He made 84,000 caskets decorated with gold, silver and beryl and enclosed a relic in each of them. He gave a casket to each Yakṣa throughout Jambudvīpa and ordered them to construct stūpas. In one day, in a moment, 84,000 dharmarājika stūpas were erected (Mukhopadhyaya 1963:53–55). It means that by an imperial command all the places of Yakṣa worship were converted to Buddhist sancta. The folk deities or Yakṣas had overnight become Buddhist deities. This process can be seen in the assimilation of Lokeśvaras. A dominant popular deity, Lokeśvararāja became Amitābha. In the Vajradhātu mandala, Amitāyus is the other name of Lokeśvararāja (Tajima 1959:167). The Saddharmapuṇḍarīka terms Avalokiteśvara *Amitābha-nāyakaḥ* (ch. 24, st.30), and earlier in st. 28 as *Lokeśvararāja-nāyakaḥ*. Both the compounds mean

Avalokiteśvara, one whose lord is Amitābha. Lokeśvararāja is a synonym of Amitābha. Kern (1909:417) translated *Lokeśvara rāja-nāyaka* as "universal Lord, chief of kings," and *Amitābha-nāyaka* as "the chief Amitābha". In both passages the translation has to be corrected. Nīlakaṇṭha has been Buddhised as Thousand-armed Lokeśvara where his two original hands are folded in añjali in supplication. Works dedicated to him have Nīlakaṇṭha in the title itself (Lokesh Chandra 1988). The absorbing of local gods and rites into Buddhism began early in India, perhaps with the Mahāsāṅghikas. This gave rise to the theory of assimilation in Japan, the honji-suijaku, by which native Japanese gods were interiorised as manifestations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Alicia Matsunaga has traced the historical development of this theory, in the *Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation* (Tokyo, Sophia University, 1969). In the dynamics of assimilation, the Iranian light cults were supplemented by the Greco-Roman stream. The Milindapañha preserves vivid memories of the Greek king Menander, who probably reigned in the first century BC at Sagala (modern Sialkot). The Shadow Cave near Nagarahāra was also an expression of classical sensitivities. The emphatic naturalness of the cave in the Indra-śaila-guhā in the Gandhāra stelae and at Kucha has striking similarities to the Tauroctony of Mithra, who was worshipped in secret sanctuaries in natural or simulated caverns, veiled in mysterious darkness. Porphyry, the third century Alexandrian philosopher, discusses the cave symbolism of the Mithraic chapel. After Zoroaster, it was a general practice to perform holy rites in caves and grottoes. The Eurasian world of the early centuries of the Christian era was in frequent commercial and cultural intercommunication. The Romans had inherited the mystery cult of the Tauroctony of Mithra from the Iranians, and the Kushan world received these ideas, to be modified and to lose their identity in Buddhism.

The Shadow Cave near Nagarahāra was a unique pilgrimage site, where the Buddha is said to have left his shadow. Fa-hsien says: "at a distance of ten paces or so one sees it like a veritable Buddha form, golden in colour, with all the distinguishing marks shining clear. When one approaches closer, or moves away, it becomes less and less realistic". Fifty years later (around 450) Tao-yo visited this cave which he calls Gopāla and he says that one must look for a long time at the rock wall before the figure appears. Two centuries later, Hsüan-tsang visited the cave and saw the shadow form out of the dark, after long prayer: the golden radiance of a Buddha.

Soper (1949:328) says that "the choice of the site was perhaps determined by a fortunate accident, the discovery of a luminous patch in the gloom of a cavern".

Aphorisms from Delphi have been discovered at Nagarahāra. Delphi was the main sanctuary of Apollo. Apollo seems to be reflected in the fountain of the naga Apalāla, to the north-east of the Mungali town in Udyāna (Beal 1884:1.121f.), who afflicted the

country with rain and wind. Śākyamuni took Vajrapāṇi as his companion to convert the terrible nāga king Apalāla (Soper 1949:241). A byname of Apollo is Aegletes 'lightning' (Room 1983:323).

Apalāla is translated into Tibetan as *Śog-ma-med*, where *sog-ma* means 'blade, stalk, straw', *med* 'not. Palālānupalālau are Palāla and Anupalāla, names of two demons inimical to children in the Atharvaveda. The word *palāla* means 'a stalk, straw' in Manu, Mahābhārata and *palālī* is a 'stalk, straw' in the Atharvaveda.

The concept of prajñā and upāya can be seen in Greek mythology. Coomaraswamy 1989:184 writes: "The work of art is, then, a product at once of wisdom and method, or reason and art (*sophia* or *logos*, and *techne*)... The purpose of the present article is to call the attention to the expression of this mythologically in terms of the relation of Athena to Hephaistos, the former being the Goddess of Wisdom who sprang from the head of her father Zeus, and the latter the Titan smith whose wonderful works are produced with the help of Athena as co-worker (*syntechnos*). Athena and Hephaistos share a common nature, being born of the same father and live together in a common shrine (*hireon*) or as it were in one and the same house: she is 'the mind of God' (*he theou noesis*, or *nous*), and called also Theonoe, and he 'the noble scion of light'."

The Mahāvairocana-sūtra begins with a dialogue between the Buddha and Vajradhara. Vajradhara is also called Vajrapāṇi (Yamamoto 1990:3): "well, well o Vajradhara, well o Vajrapāṇi, you ask me such meaning..." Thus the main interlocutor of the Vaipulya-sūtra is Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi, who is parallel to the Panhellenic god Zeus.

Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra flank Śākyamuni in the Lotus Sūtra (Kurata/Tamura 1987: pl. 34). Mañjuśrī may possibly be a Tokharian word corresponding to the Sanskrit *Kumāra* (Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* 3.221). Mañjuśrī is termed *kumārabhūta* in invocations. In Samantabhadra, bhadra can be an allusion to Bactria.

In NW India cultural elements from various lands fused into Buddhism. These syncretised trends travelled to Central Asia. A double-headed Buddha was found from the Temple of the Helmeted, Kizil. It has been dated to the 7th century AD (Bhattacharya 1977:50 pl. 12). It bears five lines in Tocharian on the reverse. Tocharian is akin to Latin, Greek, Germanic: for example the word for new is *nu* or *okso* means an ox (Waley 1952:19 n.1). The European context of Tocharian indicates that double-faced image of the Buddha may be associated with Janus. Madame Dr. Magdalina Stancheva, has excavated a double-headed protrait-statue from a Roman villa in Sofia which she dates to about the 3rd/4th century AD.

I-tsing (Lahiri 1986:47) says that Hui-lun visited the Tukhara monastery, belonging to Uttarāpatha or NW India. This monastery "had originally been built long before,

by the people of that country for the accommodation of the Buddhist monks from Tukhara. The Saṅghārāma was very rich and had an abundant supply of all necessaries and also comfort of life. No other monasteries (sic) could surpass it in this respect." It seems that the Tocharians had a European outlook and industriousness, in keeping with their linguistic affinity to European language groups. The double-faced Buddha which recalls the two-faced Janus has a Tocharian inscription. It cannot be ruled out that the Tocharians became instruments of the interiorisation of Roman cults in Buddhism. This impact is clear in early Chinese Buddhism. Buchtal (17–20) derives much of Gandhāra sculpture from Roman sources. "The Roman influence so dominant in Gandhāran relief seems to have contributed to the Buddha icon only a somewhat greater classicism in facial type and drapery folds" (Soper 1949:253).

The great images of the Six Dynasties were sensitive to the condition of the body politic. As palladia, they could foretell crises. Their forerunners were images of state cults of Greece and Rome. "The Greco-Roman images responded to human crises in virtually all the ways described by Tao-hsuan, and in others as well. They were particularly given to sweating. Thus in connection with the critical stage of the Second Punic War, Livy records (among many other portents) two manifestations of sympathetic sweating while Hannibal was in Italy."

"The most famous weeping image, cited by historians as far apart as Livy and St. Augustine, was the Apollo of Cumae, which is said to have lamented publicly when the Greeks were worsted by the Romans in three successive wars of the second century BC" (Soper 1959:245). The Chinese annals mention several weeping and sweating statues over a number of centuries. In 465–71 an Aśokan image suddenly shed tears and the sovereign died (ibid. 24). The gilded image of Dīpaṅkara at the Ping-teng-ssu wept on several occasions to foreshadow the good or evil fortune of the Wei realm in the 520s (ibid. 104). The Aśokan image poured out sweat for five days, without stopping, when Governor of Ching-chou sought to reduce the number of monks and nuns. When the Governor learnt of the sweating, he summoned the Dharma Master. He was moved by the reply of the Dharma Master and cancelled the order (ibid. 24).

Soper (1959:243) lists the various miracles performed by the Buddhist images. They have close Greek and Roman parallels, which indicate the extensive impact of Buddhism on the speakers of various European languages and their rich contribution to the evolution of Buddhism as a personal and political phenomenon. With the fusion of various streams, the Vaitulya texts opened up floodgates of new ideas of transcendence and sudden enlightenment, of new deities from all cultural groups, and a new Buddhism came into existence, which was neither Hinayana, nor Mahayana, but Vajrayana.

MAITREYA

Accretion was a constant process in ever-developing Vajrayana. The Vaipulya texts, with their emphasis on light, became Mantrayana with the addition of dhāraṇīs and mantras. They gained a philosophic base by correlation to the four siddhāntas: Vaibhāṣika: kriyā tantra, Sautrāntika: caryā tantra, Yogācāra: yoga tantra, Mādhyamika: anuttarayoga tantra (Lessing/Wayman 1978: introd.2). This integration and enrichment was so overwhelming in its verbiage so as to overshadow the original basic features.

The Governor of Aśoka in Surāṣṭra was an Iranian: Tuṣāspa (Sircar 1973:50). "The prestige of the Udīcya-Brāhmaṇas, i.e. the Brāhmaṇas of Uttarāpatha, is generally recognised in the early works of Pali literature and that there is reference to the great social prestige of the Udīcya-Brāhmaṇas settled in Kāśī and Magadha" (Sircar 1973:56). Sircar goes to the extreme length of saying that the era of 58 BC commemorates the founding of an independent Parthian kingdom in East Iran by Vonones after the decline of the Imperial Parthian hold on the outlying eastern provinces. The era travelled from Panjab to the Mālavas in Rajasthan and was later termed the Vikrama Saṁvat (Sircar 1973:58).

The Iranian-speaking peoples covered a much wider area than present day Iran, and besides language they shared values. Their macro-level of light cults inspired re-mythologisation from internal Buddhist premises. Buddhism underwent a qualitative change under these influences. The several cultural strands dominating the area were integrated and a new form of Buddhism emerged. This can be seen in the written traditions of the Mahayana-sūtras themselves.

The Mahayanists professed that their scriptures, parallel to the Theravāda Tripiṭaka, were recorded in the course of a council immediately after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha. According to this legend, as five hundred arhats assembled at Rājagṛha under the presidency of Mahākāśyapa, to hear the recitation of the Dharmavinaya from Ānanda and Upāli, a multitude of bodhisattvas went to the mythic mount Vimalasvabhāva, to the south of Rājagṛha, to compile the Mahayana sutras. Samantabhadra presided over this council, while Mañjuśrī recited the Abhidharma, Maitreya the Vinaya and Vajrapāṇi the Sutras. Some think that Ānanda, doubling himself, also participated and supplicated Vajrapāṇi to recite the Mahayana sutras. This legend is mentioned by Nāgārjuna in the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-śāstra (T 1509), Tarkajvālā, Haribhadra and the Tibetan historians Bu-ston and Tāranātha (Lamotte 1954:383).

All the four bodhisattvas associated with the Vimalasvabhāva Council seem to belong to the cultural matrix of the NW, especially Bactria, later known as Tukhāra:

Samantabhadra: Does Bhadra refer to Bactria?

Mañjuśrī: a Tokharian word corresponding to Sanskrit Kumāra 'prince' (Getty

1927:110).

Maitreya: from Mitra=Iranian Mithra. The paradise of Maitreya is Tuṣ-ita, a variant of Tuṣ-āra. Bāhlaka was in Tokharistan (Dobbins 1971:8, Bailey, JRAS. 1942:19).

Vajrapāṇi: a transformation of Zeus, the bearer of the thunderbolt.

Does Samantabhadra represent the integration of the cultural plurality of the Bactrian region with the Tokharian Mañjuśrī, the East Iranian Maitreya (Mithra), and the Hellenistic Vajrapāṇi (Zeus)?

The cult of the saviour Maitreya has unmistakable parallels in Iranian beliefs. The very idea of a divine saviour in a future is alien to the early teachings of Buddhism, and is from the Iranian pantheon. The Sanskrit name Maitreya is derived from Mithra. Lévi (1932:357f) argues that the name Maitreya Ajita has the same meaning as *Mithra Invictus*. In his Chinese translation of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, Kumārajīva translates Ajita as Maitreya, besides transcribing it (Ejima 1985:12)

The Vāyupurāṇa and Liṅgapurāṇa, state that Lakulin or Nakulin was the earliest teacher of Śaivism. He had four pupils named Kauśika (or Kuśika), Gargya (or Garga), Maitreya (or Mitra or Mitraka), and Kauruṣa (or Kauruṣya or Rusta), who founded the four branches of the Pāśupata school. R.G. Bhandarkar places the rise of the Pāśupata school in about the 2nd century BC but according to the Mathura Inscription of Candragupta II, the date of Lakulin should be ascribed to the first quarter of the 2nd century AD (Goswami 1985:45). The second teacher Maitreya has alternate names Mitra or Mitraka.

Mithra played a considerable role in Indian thought. A caste of the brāhmaṇas is Mishra, which is a dialectical variant of Mithra: Pashto mēršr=sun (Morgenstierne 1.401).

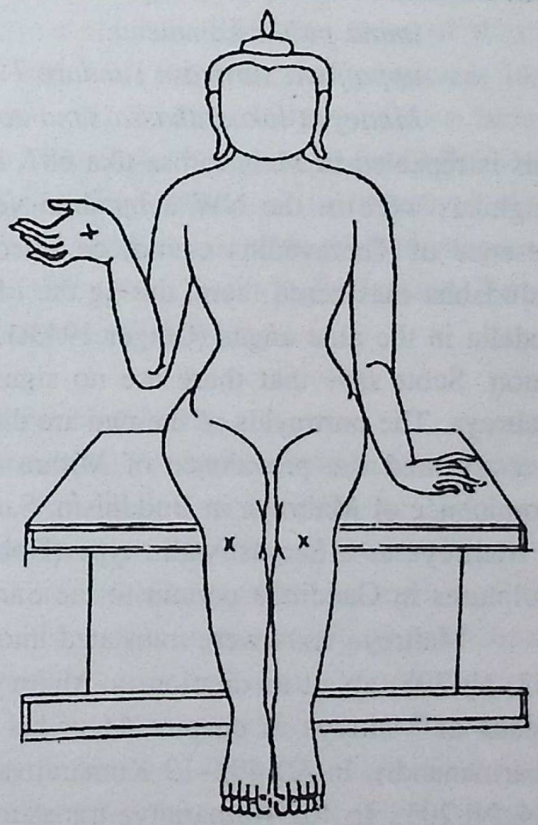
The paradise of Maitreya *Tuṣ*ita can be an intentional camouflage of *Tuṣ*āra. "The city of Balkh in Tukhāra was built by an ancient king of Persia called Gushtasp" (Tuan Ch'êng-shih, c. AD 800–63, translated by Waley 1952:171). Tuṣita-kāyiko devaputro in Mahāvastu 3.345.16, and in Lalitavistara 124.12, 183.17, 363.21 associate Tuṣita with kings (devaputra). When the Zoroastrian heritage was destroyed by Alexander in 330 BC, the cultural gap in Iran found its replenishment in the light of Śākyamuni's dharma. The time-honoured traditions and thoughts of Iran shimmered at different levels of existence and consciousness in the new incarnation of Buddhism.

Maitreya is the Buddha of the Future who will come down to the earth from his Tuṣita heaven to establish the dharma. The sitting posture of Maitreya was interpreted to the author in 1967 by the late Bandido Hambo Lama of Buryatia Venerable Jambaldorje as follows: Maitreya has put down his legs and is about to descend to the earth to bring the golden age. Maitreya sits on a throne supported by lions, with legs pendent in European fashion. True to NW origins, his sitting posture is derived from royalty, and is

known as bhadrāsana. Bhadrāsana can refer to the mode of sitting prevalent in Bhadra or Bactria. Bhadra is a Sanskritisation of Bhallaka< Bāhlīka. Bhallaka, literally from the Bhalla people, is a kind of copper, enumerated under the eight *piśāca-lohāni* or metals from the Piśāca country, in the Vibhaṅga Commentary 63: Puṣkalāvatī and adjacent regions were known for the quality of their steel. Modern Hindi *bhālā* 'lance, spear' is derived from *bhallaka*.

Ronge/Dagyab (AII.222) illustrate the bhadrāsana, whose alternate name is Maitreya-paryaṅk-āsana. The Tibetan has an additional name for this posture *Hor-ḥdug*, which means a 'posture (*ḥdug*) of Hor' or Central Asian people. This Tibetan name shows that Bzaṅ-po/Bhadra in the present context means Bactria.

Weiner 1976:353 points out the possibility of the introduction of the pralambapāda Buddha around the fifth century at Ajanta from the NW. The pralambapāda āsana came into use for cult images in Gandhāra from the 3rd to 4th centuries. The colossal image in cave XVI at Ajanta sits on a lion throne, unlike the shrine images in caves I and II seated on a throne adorned with cakra and deer. He is the Sākyasiṁha: "Buddhist scriptures describe the king or emperor as a lion; at his accession, he roars like a lion; he sits on a lion throne, and dies on a lion couch. The Buddha inherits all royal attitudes, and is hailed as the Śākyan lion (Mahāvaṁsa VI)."



bzaṅ-poḥi ḥdug-staṅs/bzaṅ-poḥi gdan/byams-bzhugs/[hor-ḥdug] bhadrāsana/maitreyaparyaṅkāsana

"The lion throne has historically and traditionally throughout the Near East been associated with royalty and divine power. Its antecedents in India go back to the portrait of Vima Kadphises. There is little doubt that in time the attributes of the king were transferred to the Buddha and that the symbols of royalty associated with divine and cosmological authority were adapted to the representation of the Buddha image."

"Undoubtedly, the utilization of the lion throne without the deer and cakra, coinciding as it does with the royal posture of the Buddha, as opposed to that of the ascetic, represents a new or at least different conception of the Buddha from that represented in

the shrines of caves I, II and others." (Weiner 1976:354).

From Śākyamuni he has become Śākyasiṁha.

Scott 1990:67 questions the relation of Maitreya to Mithra. The Roman title of Mithra Invictus and his character of saviour does not really apply to the Iranian Mithra. Maitreya has a syncretic character in which several elements have fused. The Roman impact on developments of North-Western Buddhism are clear in early Chinese Buddhism, as pointed out above. Scott says that he appeared very early in a non-Iranian setting as in the Pali Dīghanikāya 3.76, which is the cakkavatti-sīhanāda-sutta. To this we may add Jātaka 6.594 which states the wish of Buddhists that they meet Metteyya Buddha, listen to his preaching and attain to Nibbāna under him:

iminā puñña-kammena...
uppajjitvā surāvāse sundare Tusita-pure/
Metteyya-lokanāthassa suṇanto dhamma-desanam

This is repeated in Mahāvaṁsa-ṭīka 687, Dhammasaṅgani commentary 430. The Mahāsāṅghikas were in the NW a hundred years after the nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni, and the presence of Theravādins cannot be ruled out. The Śākyas migrated to Udyāna after Viḍūḍabha massacred them, during the lifetime of Śākyamuni himself. The category of Vedalla in the nine aṅgas (Geiger 1943:13) is a pointer to vaitulya elements in the Pali canon. Scott says that there are no signs of iconographic borrowing from Mithra by Maitreya. The portrayals of the two are different on Kushan coins. They have a common ancestry, and the prevalence of Mithra in the Parthian and Roman circles aided the prominence of Maitreya in Buddhism. Sangharakṣa, a reputed teacher of Kaniṣka, treats of Maitreya as a Sarvāstivādin type (Dobbins 1971:38). The large number of Maitreya sculptures in Gandhāra pertain to the Sarvāstivādin cult (ibid. 36)

Maitreya texts were translated into Chinese in AD 303 by Dharmarakṣa (K197, T 453, Nj 208) about meditation on Maitreya's descent. In AD 397 Gautama Saṅghadeva speaks of Maitreya in chapter 44 of his Ekottarāgama (K 649, T 125, Nj 543/not by Dharmanandī). In AD 402–12 Kumārajīva translated the Maitreya-vyākaraṇa (K 198, T 454, Nj 205). In 402 Kumārajīva translated "The Sūtra on Maitreya Becoming Buddha" (K 195, T 456, Nj 209).

The first gigantic image pertains to Maitreya at T'o-li (Darel). It is described by Fa-hsien (AD 400): "In this country there was formerly a Lo-han who, using his divine power, carried a clever artisan up to the Tushita heavens to observe the height, complexion, and features of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, so that when he came down he might carve an image of him in wood. Altogether he made three journeys for observation and afterwards executed an image eighty feet in height, the folded legs of which measured eight feet across. On fast-days it always shines with a brilliant light. The kings of near coun-

tries vie with one another in their offerings to it. From of old until now, it has been on view in this place" (Giles 1886:9).

In Tibet and Mongolia the tradition is that images of Maitreya are always gigantic. So also in the newly discovered caves of Binglingsi in the Gansu province of China. It is the same province in which the world-renowned Tun-huang Caves are situated. The Binglingsi is a complex of 196 caves. Binglingsi has pralambapāda images, called "chaired Buddhas" in Chinese, that is, Buddhist statues sitting on chairs. The gigantic statue of Maitreya in Cave 171 is sitting pralambapāda. The name Binglingsi is interpreted as "Maitreya Caves with myriad icons".

The caves in Western India have a large number of pralambapāda images, especially in the former Sātavahana dominions. Many of these Buddhist caves of Western India lie on trade-routes frequented by merchants from the NW parts of ancient India. The worship of Maitreya was common in these regions. The traders must have brought along devotion to Maitreya and this can explain the images of pralambapāda Buddha in the caves of Western India. The pralambapāda Buddha is Maitreya, and Maitreya alone, in Tibet and Mongolia. Can these images be those of Maitreya? Can the Sātavāhanas be Sārthavāhanas 'caravan merchants'? Volkmar Wentzel, "India's Sculptured Temple Caves", identifies a pralambapāda image at Ellora as Maitreya.

FROM LIGHT CULTS TO AMITĀBHA

In Sanskrit we do not have the Buddhist canon. The tantras have not been classed as a separate section in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. The Tibetan canon, both the Kanjur and Tanjur, has arranged all the tantras and classified them into four divisions. There are extensive studies in Tibetan which elaborate the classification of the tantras. These specialised texts by proficient Tibetan masters survey the whole field both in bibliography and in basic ideas. Without them all our efforts would be misleading and in vain, as heretofore. The fundamentals of the tantras by Mkhas-grub-rje (AD 1385–1438), the chief disciple of Tsoṅkhapa, has been translated into English (Lessing/Wayman 1968) which provides new and authentic materials to comprehend the long development of the tantras in an authoritative way without resorting to speculation. Every one of the four divisions of the tantras is characterised by its central Tathāgata. Thus the core characteristic of Buddhist tantras can best be understood by the iconographic representation of the central Tathāgata. The central Tathāgatas are:

Amitābha	Kriyā tantras
Vairocana in the mudrā of Amitābha	Caryā tantras
Vairocana in the bodhyagrī mudrā	Yoga tantras

The central Tathāgatas of the four divisions of tantras are epiphanies of light:

Amitābha is 'Infinite Light', and Vairocana is 'Effulgence' (√*ruc* 'to shine').

Photism has been elaborated by Tucci 1935:3/1 in creative terms. The tantras were dominated by the concept of light. Tucci says that five luminous elements, the *pañcaraśmi* of the Guhyasamāja, are at the basis of cosmic evolution (p. 145). He says that "supreme reality is essential light/ḥod-gsal". The luminous epiphany is the centre of the mystic process as described in the Samājottara chapter of the Guhyasamāja (p. 148). Photism is at the ground of religious and mystic experiences of Vajrayana (p. 150).

In the course of the third turning of the Wheel of the Law, Sākyamuni gathered a chosen assembly of śrāvakas and bodhisattvas. Buddha entered into samādhi and issued a ray of light from between his eyebrows. The śrāvakas got no wind of this teaching. This illumined the bodhisattvas and they were filled with compassion to benefit all beings with this Enlightenment (Beatrice Suzuki 1943:283–84). This shows that rays of enlightenment pertained to the tantras, the third turning of the dharmacakra, and it is photism that contradistinguished the tantric system from Śrāvakayāna or Theravāda. The role of photism in the evolution of Mantrayana or Vajrayana deserves a comprehensive study.

i. The indigenous tradition is clear that the three divisions represent the symbolism of light.

ii. This is the Light of Bodhi, Bodhi becomes Abhi-sambodhi, just as dharma sublimates into abhi-dharma.

iii. The origin of the tantras lie in a region where the religion of light was predominant.

iv. The cult of the Sun contributed to this transformation.

v. The earliest designation of these sūtras was vaitulya (Pali vetulla), whose meaning was not clear at first sight and hence in due course the word changed to vaipulya.

vi. A multitude of bodhisattvas assembled on the mythic mount Vimalāśva-bhava to the south of Rājagṛha to compile the Mahayana-sūtras. The Council was presided over by Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī repeated the Abhidharma, Maitreya the Vinaya and Vajrapāṇi the sūtras. Here the apostles of the Buddha have been replaced by divine bodhisattvas.

vii. The difference from the ancient sūtras was that the Vaipulya generally ended by parīndanā in which the Buddha dedicated to one of the listeners the sūtra so that it may not disappear (*yathedaṁ nāntardhīyeta*, Lamotte 1954:383 n. 26).

The Vaipulya texts can be distinguished from the Theravāda tradition on many counts, including the doctrine about the nature of enlightenment. While the Sarvāstivādins of the Theravāda school hold that enlightenment is gradual and requires 34 moments of thought, in contrast Vaipulya texts like the Mahāvastu-avadāna of the

Mahāsāṅghika school maintain the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment. This is stated in four places in the Mahāvastu (ed. Senart 1.229, 2.133, 285, 416), where both Śākyamuni and Dīpaṅkara are mentioned together in the context of enlightenment (Galloway 1981:205). Dīpaṅkara means the disseminator of the light of the lamp. It refers to the fact that bodhi is a flash of light, an illumination. The co-occurence of Śākyamuni and Dīpaṅkara is a precursor of the replacement of Śākyamuni by Amitābha in the kriyā-tantras. The doctine of Sudden Enlightenment closely parallels the conceptualisation of enlightenment as a flash of illumination, whose apotheoses are Infinite Light (Amit-ābha) of the kriyā-tantras, and the Solar Light (Vairocana) of the caryā and yoga-tantras,

In the opening nidāna-parivarta of the Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, when the Buddha Śākyamuni expounded this sūtra, he entered into a meditation called Siṁhavikrīḍita and emitted light throughout the cosmos. When the light emitted by Śākyamuni reached the ten directions, the Buddhas of the ten directions dispatched bodhisattvas to the Sahā-lokadhātu. As soon as they arrived at Vulture Peak, they saluted Śākyamuni and presented him a thousand-petalled golden lotus flower (Tanaka 1986:31).

The Chinese title of the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā is "Pr. sūtra (with the first chapter on) emitting light". Its translation was completed on 23 July AD 291 by Mokṣala (Nj 2, K 2). Likewise the Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā is entitled 'Sūtra of unlimited great-bright-crossing (or mahā-prajñā-pāramitā)' wherein bright=prajñā. It was translated by Chih Ch'ien between the years AD 223–53 (Nj 8, K 9).

The vow of the bodhisattva in the Akṣayamati-sūtra (as quoted by Śāntideva in his Śikṣāsamuccaya, ed. Bendall 278) is *eka-kṣaṣa-samāyuktayā prajñayā anuttarā bodhir abhisamboddhavyā*. The last word presages the technical term abhisambodhi of the caryā-tantras, whose fundamental tantra is Mahavairocan-ābhisambodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra (T 848). The constant evolution of Buddhism was reflected in its terminology: bodhi~sambodhi~abhisambodhi.

In the Lalita-vistara, which is a Vaipulya sūtra, as the Buddha goes into samādhi in the mid-hours of the night, rays emanate from his head which illumine all the heavenly worlds and inspire the denizens of these worlds (p. 3). When the night is done, the gods approach the Buddha to proclaim the Lalita-vistara which had formerly been revealed by Tathāgatas of past ages: तेन खलु पुनः समयेन भगवान् रात्र्यां मध्यमे यामे बुद्धालंकारव्यूहं नाम समाधिं समापन्नोऽभूत्। समनन्तरसमापन्नस्य च भगवत इमं बुद्धालंकारव्यूहं नाम समाधिमथ तत्क्षणमेव भगवत उपरिष्टान्मूर्ध्नः संधावुष्णीषविवरान्तरात् पूर्वबुद्धानुस्मृत्यसङ्गाज्ञानालोकालंकारं नाम रश्मिश्चचार। सा सर्वा शुद्धावासान् देवभवनान्यवभास्य महेश्वरदेवपुत्रप्रमुखानप्रमेयान् देवपुत्रान् संचोदयामास॥ ततश्च तथागतरश्मिजालान् निश्चार्येमा (संचोदना)गाथा निश्चरन्ति स्म।

ज्ञानप्रभं हन्ततमसं प्रभाकरं शुभ्रप्रभं शुभविमलाग्रतेजसम्।
प्रशान्तकायं शुभशान्तमानसं मुनिं समाश्लिष्यत शाक्यसिंहम्॥

Kang Seng Hui (AD 247) replied: "The remains of the Tathāgata have made light of a thousand years."...Then as the fifth watch began, a tinkling sound was suddenly heard inside the phial; and when Hui went to see, he actually found a relic there. On the morrow it was offered to the king, with the whole court assembled to witness. A five-colored flame shone dazzlingly above the phial (Soper 1959:6).

One of the first missionaries to import a great quantity of Buddhist writings to China was a Yueh-chih by race, from the vicinity of Tun-huang, who took as a monk the Sanskrit name Dharmarakṣa. His biography in the Kao Seng Chuan says that during the reign of the first Chin Emperor, Wu (r. 265–90) he went with his teacher to the West, traversed many realms, and learned thirty-six languages in the course of collecting a rich scriptural library. The reason for his journey is stated: "Although temples and shrines with their pictures and images were venerated in the capital and other cities, the vaipulya sutras and those of profound meaning were still being hoarded away beyond the Pamirs."

Scott (1985:99f.) gives Manichaean views of Buddhism. Mani (216–77) travelled by sea to the Indus Valley and spent two years (240–42). Mani accepts the Buddha as a previous "Messenger of Light" (p. 101). The most salient feature of Manichaeism was its use of light symbolism, and the Chinese called it the "Religion of Light." The Sukhāvatī realm of Amitābha and the Manichaean realm of light show similarities. An inscription in a Manichaean temple that survived from the Yüan period on the Fukien coast (medieval Zaiton) calls 'Mani, the Buddha of Light' (p. 114). The cults of light were in the atmosphere.

In 266 the scholar-courtier Hsün Hsü "made twelve gilded images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas at Lo-yang. These emitted a great radiance, and the townsfolk in great crowds vied with each other to pay homage (Soper 1959:7).

His Imperial Majesty Chien Wen [r.371–72] had a three-storeyed pagoda built at Ch'ang-kan-ssu, which after its completion poured forth light every night (Soper 1959:8).

In 352 Tao-an commenced the T'an-chi-ssu monastery. All joined their offerings to assist in completing the Buddha image, and so the sixteen feet of radiant body-signs and the divine lesser marks were clearly manifested. Every night the statue would emit a light that completely illuminated the buildings (Soper 1959:15).

In 595 the Governor of Ch'ien-chou, T'ien Tsung-hsien, visited and adored it, upon which the image emitted light.

In 618 that night a light broke out that lit up the whole hall, and that only gradually lost its brilliance on the twenty-fifth day. That was the day when the troops of the Prince of Chao-chuh entered the city: an event that was comparable to the blessings of an imperial visit, and so was marked as auspicious by streaming light (Soper 1959:27).

In the Chinese Dīrghāgama, translated by Buddhayaśas in 412–13 (Nj 545, T 1)

when the gods arrived at Mount Vediyaka it was ablaze with the light of Buddha's "flaming ecstasy" (Soper 1949:255). In the Pali Dīgha-nikāya the descending gods have brought this illumination with them.

In the very first chapter of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Rāvaṇa is suddenly enlightened (Galloway 1981). This sūtra formed the basic scripture of the Ch'an/Zen denomination in East Asia and thus it provides a nexus between the Indian origins of the doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment and its fruition in China and Japan.

In the Ratnakūṭa-sūtra Raśmi-samantamukha-nirdeśa, the Chinese title literally signifies "(the sūtra spoken at) an assembly on making the light manifest" (Nj 23/11, K 22/11). It was translated by Bodhiruci between the years AD 706–13 (K 22/1).

The Anakṣara-karaṇḍaka-vairocana-garbha-sūtra (K 213, Nj 221) was translated by Bodhiruci during AD 508–35, by Divākara in AD 683 (K 214, Nj 222) and again in AD 676–88. It is interesting to note that Vairocana is translated in two different ways by Divākara: *p'u-kuang-ming* 'samanta-rocana' (Nj 222) and *pien-chao-kuang-ming* (Nj 223). Nj 221 does not translate the word Vairocana in the title.

Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa is a Mahayana Vaipulya-sūtra of the Bodhisattva-piṭaka: *bodhisattva-piṭak-āvataṁsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-Mañjuśriya mūla-kalpāc caturtho nimitta-jñāna-mahotpāda-paṭalaparivartaḥ* (end of paṭala 20, 1.217). The colophons of all the chapters in correlation to their contexts, are worth a detailed study. Śākyamuni invites Mañjuśrī to proclaim the mantra course of the Bodhisattva-piṭaka (*mantra-caryārtha-viniścaya-samādhi-paṭala-visaraṁ bodhisattva-piṭakam*, 1.21). Mañjuśrī occupies the centre of the mandala as a child (*bāla-dāraka-rūpī*, 1.73) with rays emanating from him (*samanta-prabhā arciṣo nirgacchamānaḥ*, 1.73). The radiance, illumination and luminosity of the rays emanating from samādhi recur constantly in the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa: *sita-raśmi-avabhāsa* (1.2), *raśmidhātu* (1.7), *bahubhir Buddhair bhagavadbhis tam śuddhāvāsa-bhavanam avabhāsya* (1.8). The Vaipulya-sūtras were revelations of light, and as such light was bound to play an extensive role in the MMK.

The Kāraṇḍavyūha speaks of the rays of illumination; for instance, in 261.22 *kuta ime raśmayaḥ samāgacchanti sma*?, 265.17 *vividha-raśmi-niḥsaraṇaṁ pañcamam prakaraṇam*, et passim. It is essential to study at length the role of light in the Vaipulya-sūtras.

The Life of Padmasambhava (Padma bkaḥi-thaṅ 1.7) has an eloquent passage in the Revelation of the Western Paradise bearing on Amitābha:

He is enveloped in rays that come from all the heavens, and is encircled by the iridescent arch.
To the ten points of space he diffuses a reddish mercy radiance.
Perfect Buddha, he possesses nobility; male, he possesses vigor.

His Accomplishment through body, speech, and mind, one can never contemplate sufficiently.
Ocean of Victory, his retinue piles itself aloft like clouds.
Eye unvarying, he is total serenity in the heavens.
To the ten points of space he diffuses rays of compassion and love, and at the extremity of each ray he causes a Buddha to appear.
He diffuses ineffable rays without number, inconceivable by thought.

The word vidyā as the highest form of esoteric learning was equivalent to tantra, for example in vidyārājñī or vidyārāja. The word vidyārāja is translated into Sino-Japanese by myō-ō which means 'light-king' (*myō* 'light, vidyā' + *ō* 'king'). Thus tantra= vidyā= light. This affirms the prominence of light in the emergence of tantras.

AMITĀBHA

The nomenclature and legends of Amitābha are of seminal relevance for understanding the origin and development of a powerful tradition which was to be christened later on as the tantras. This evolution is enshrined in the fourfold division of the tantras into kriyā, caryā, yoga and anuttara-yoga tantras. Each division has its central Tathāgata. Amitābha is the central Tathāgata of the first division of kriyā-tantras. It means that he represents the first step in the emergence of the tantras. He is the earliest crystallisation of the Vaipulya denomination.

The cult of Amitābha represents transcendental tendencies in Buddhism. Śākyamuni the Man was replaced by Amitābha. His historic Enlightenment was transcended into Supreme Enlightenment whose illumination became the new dynamised centre reflected in the new Tathāgata Amitābha. The distant corridors of etymology provide treasured links that are missing in explicit statements. "There's many a story in the miniature of a single word!" (Bachelard 1969:179). Śākyamuni was flanked by Brahmā and Śakra. But when Śākyamuni became Amitābha, the attendant acolytes changed names: Brahmā became Avalokiteśvara and Śakra became Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Brahmā is the *mantra-draṣṭā* 'Seer of Mantras' who in the new terminology was *Avalokita* 'seer of' +*svara* 'word, logos'. The form Avalokitasvara is actually found in Central Asian manuscripts. The Sino-Japanese *Kwannon* is *kwan* 'see' +*on* 'sound', a translation of Avalokita-svara. Śakra means 'The Powerful One' (√*śak* 'to be powerful'), and so also *mahā* 'great' + *sthāma* 'power, stamina' +*prāpta* 'attained'. The metamorphoses of Brahmā and Śakra have been elaborated in the author's *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara*. The conceptualisation of enlightenment as a flash of illumination led to the apotheosis of infinite light as Amitābha. Thus we see a deliberate effort to change the external morphology of an emerging form of Buddhism, and to emphasize its unceasing

development within a specific circle of time and space, in a Weltanschauung where Euridika or Light as well as Mithra or Sun were centuries-old symbols. Thus the new Buddha was the Buddha of Infinite Light.

The Vaipulya-sūtras laid emphasis on the light of Bodhi/Enlightenment. It was the transcendent element which in its apotheosis substituted the personality of the historic Buddha. This changed accent is reflected in the new terminology of the earliest Vaipulya text Sukhāvatī-vyūha where the Buddha becomes Amitābha:

Pali	Brahmā	Buddha	Indra
Vaipulya	Avalokita-svara	Amitābha	Mahāsthāmaprāpta

Amitābha is the light that outshines other Buddhas. Many of his epithets concern light. Wu-liang-shou-ching=Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha translated by Saṅghavarman into Chinese in the middle of the third century AD gives his twelve attributes:

1. The Buddha of Infinite Light (Ch. Wu-liang-kuang fu)
2. The Buddha of Boundless Light (Ch. Wu-pien-kuang fu)
3. The Buddha of All-pervasive Light (Ch. Wu-ai-kuang fu)
4. The Buddha of Incomparable Light (Ch. Wu-tui-kuang fu)
5. The Buddha of the Light of the Flame's King (Ch. Yen-wang-kuang fu)
6. The Buddha of Pure Light (Ch. Ch'ing-ching-kuang fu)
7. The Buddha of Joyful Light (Ch. Huan-hsi-kuang fu)
8. The Buddha of Wisdom's Light (Ch. Chih-hui-kuang fu)
9. The Buddha of Unceasing Light (Ch. Pu-Tuan-kuang fu)
10. The Buddha of Unthinkable Light (Ch. Nan-ssŭ-kuang fu)
11. The Buddha of Inexpressible Light (Ch. Wu-ch'eng-kuang fu)
12. The Buddha of the Light that outshines the Sun and Moon (Ch. Ch'ao-jih-yüeh-kuang fu).

Because the Buddha in thus associated with light in twelve ways he is called 'The Buddha of the Twelve Lights'. Compare the Twelve Jyotir-liṅgas of Śaivism. The twelve lights represent the twelve months. The T'ang translation by Bodhiruci in AD 713 (Wu-liang-shou-ju-lai-hui) has the twelve epithets, sometimes in different Chinese renderings (EBu. 1.441, 450).

Vasubandhu, in his Amitāyus-sūtra-upadeśa, calls Amitābha 'Tathāgata of the Light unhindered in the Ten Directions'. T'an-luan (AD 476–542) calls him 'Inconceivable Light' (EBu. 1.442) in his 'Hymn of Praise'.

Kōbō Daishi (AD 774–835) says in his work Hizōki: Amṛta-Tejorāja Tathāgata is the Buddha of Infinite Life in the western quarter (EBu. 1.442). The first element amṛta is from the Shih kan-lu chou 'Ten amṛta dhāraṇī' of Amitābha which was translated into

Chinese for the first time by Guṇabhadra in AD 468. It has ten epithets for Amitābha beginning with amṛta or immortality. It was to give the new deity Amitābha the reality of a-mṛta or eternity. Besides, the word *amṛta* refers to the Sun. In two Nepalese mudrā manuscripts (1.10, 251, 4.207) the mudrā of Amṛtaprabha precedes that of Candraprabha in all the three occurrences. Here Amṛtaprabha stands for Sūryaprabha. The word *amṛta* connotes 'a ray of light' in Raghuvaṁśa 10.59 (MW). Thus Amṛta means the Sun. The influence of the worship of the Sun or Mithra can thus be discerned in the evolution of Amitābha. Tejorāja is the central deity of the Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-Tejorājasya... kalpaḥ (Toh. 483, 485), one of the most important of the yoga-tantras. It shows the continuity of the development from Amitābha to Tejorāja to Vairocana.

The Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha is set forth by Śākyamuni to a question by Ānanda. The Buddha relates that there was a line of 81 Tathāgatas beginning with Dīpaṅkara and ending with Lokeśvararāja. In the period of Lokeśvararāja, Dharmākara a king turned monk resolves to become a Buddha. Dharmākara meditates and reappears before Lokeśvararāja. He describes at length the land of bliss or Sukhāvatī in his 48 vows. All the details are related by Śākyamuni to Ānanda who thereupon asks the present whereabouts of Dharmākara. Śākyamuni replies that he is reigning in Sukhāvatī as Buddha Amitābha. "The Śākyamuni then proceeds to describe Sukhāvatī, as a place of unparalleled magnificence and splendour, in every way what Dharmākara had resolved it should be. Ānanda expresses a desire to see Amitābha, whereupon that Buddha sends a ray of light from the palm of his hand, so that not only Ānanda but every living being could see Amitābha and his retinue of bodhisattvas in Sukhāvatī." (EBu. 1.434–35)

The following conclusions emanate from the above:

1. There was a long tradition wherein light rather than Enlightenment was important. The first of the 81 Tathāgatas is Dīpaṅkara (*dīpa* 'lamp' + *kara* 'maker'). A ray of *light* from the palm of the Buddha reveals the resplendence of Sukhāvatī.

2. The Japanese Prof. Akashi seeks the origin of Amitābha directly in the Enlightenment of Śākyamuni... "After the Buddha's passing away, his enlightenment, consummated through wisdom and mercy, was expressed by and embodied in Amita" (EBu. 1.446). It is a perspicacious observation.

3. Dharmākara may be an actual monk of this tradition who systematised and wrote down the cult and doctrine of Amitābha.

4. Sukhāvatī is in the West. Its magnificence recalls the North-Western kingdoms of Bactria and neighbouring regions where the cults of Mithra, Euridika, Zoroastrianism mingled with Śaiva and Buddhist traditions.

The Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha is addressed by Śākyamuni to Śāriputra at Jetavana in Śrāvastī. It is a description of Sukhāvatī, the Buddha-kṣetra of Amitābha. G.P. Mal-

alasekera (EBu. 1.435) says that the description of Sukhāvatī is reminiscent of the Mahāsudassana-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya. This sutta describes the metropolis of a universal monarch as surrounded by seven enclosures made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, ruby, coral and one of all jewels. It recalls Ecbatana with its seven ramparts of diverse colours: gold, silver, orange, blue, purple, black and white (Herodotus 1.98, Przyluski 1935:25f.). The universal monarch was like the sovereign of the gods. The celestial city of Amitābha was patterned after the ideal metropolis known to the East Iranian monks of Uttarāpatha.

Dīpaṅkara, the first in the line of Amitābha, symbolised lamp-light as well as belonged to North-Western India. Nagarahāra (old capital of the Jalalabad district) is called the city of Dīpaṅkara by Hui-li (Beal 1884:1.91 n. 36). A stūpa was built by king Aśoka at the spot in Nagarahāra where Śākya had met Dīpaṅkara (Beal 1884:1.92, 93). This is proved by the popularity of Dīpaṅkara at Shotorak and his transmission to China from NW India.

Amitābha's Pure Land is designated as Hsü-mo-t'i, Hsü-ho-mo-t'i in Chinese transcriptions corresponding to Sanskrit Sukhāvatī/Sukhāmatī or Suhāmatī/Sudhāmatī. It is translated into Chinese as An-lo and Chi-lo. It is interesting to note that the character An 安 in An-lo安樂 is also used to designate Parthia. It was the Parthian prince An Shih-kao who translated the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha during AD 148–70 from Sanskrit into Chinese, and introduced the Amitābha cult into China. This translation is lost (Nj 23/5 n. 1/II). The Amitābha cult must have been dominant in NW India and Eastern Iran (Parthia) at that time. Sukhāvatī is described as a vast land, the soil being composed of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls and agate. There are audience halls, residential palaces, mansions and towers also decorated with seven kinds of gems (EBu. 1.451). These seven gems remind of the seven colours of the metropolis in Iranian history.

The Udīcya or north-western regions of India, the Uttarāpatha of the texts, had been saturated with Greek ideas and monks of East Iranian extraction whose Weltanschauung was formed by the glories of Ecbatana with its ramparts of seven colours, by reminiscences of the fabulous palaces of the Achaemenians, and by Mithra the Sun—all these were reflected in Amitābha. At the same time it was a rejection of the ascetic simplicity of Śākyamuni's monks by Dharmākara who had given up his kingdom to bring into existence Amitābha in his paradise of Sukhāvatī, resplendent with all its ponds, trees, palaces, music, sensual and sensitive pleasures. We can discern these historic elements in the legendary exuberance of the major Amitābha texts of the Larger and Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūha and the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra.

Vasubandhu wrote his Sukhāvatī-vyūhopadeśa (T 1524) on the Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha. Vasubandhu hailed from Puruṣapura (Peshawar) and it was but natural for him

to comment on the most prevalent text in his home region.

Amitābha is flanked by Avalokita-svara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. It seems that the development of triads (Japanese *sanzon*) was influenced by the tradition's of Mithra who was flanked by his companions Rašnu (the God of Justice) and Sraoša (the God of Obedience).

Amitābha strongly reminds us of the prominence of light in Iranian cosmology. "It was Ahura Mazda who in the beginning filled the blessed realms (*xvāθra*) with light (Yasna 31.7), and in the realms of light (*raocēbīš*) beatitude will be beheld by him whose thought is right (Yasna 30.1), while the light of the sun is one of the things that glorify Ahura Mazda (Yasna 1.11). Apart from the passage already noted, darkness (*temah*) is mentioned only once in the Gāthās, in Yasna 31.20, where it refers to the blackness of hell.

"In the Younger Avesta the dualism between light and darkness appears in full vigour, so that Spiegel (2.20ff.) is amply justified in dividing his discussion of the Iranian theology and demonology into 'the light side' and 'the dark side' respectively. A phrase which constantly recurs in beginning the laudation of all good deities is 'for his magnificence and his glory' ...Light was created by Ahura Mazda (Yasna 5.1, 37.1), and is one of his prerogatives (Yasna 12.1); hence prayer is made to behold 'the creative light of the creative Creator' (Yasna 58.6), and the light of the sun praises him (Yasna 64.6). Together with Asha, Ahura Mazda created 'the shining light and sunny abodes' (Yt. 3.1 f.), so that the abodes of Asha are light (Yasna 16.7). ...Indeed, 'light' (*raocāo*) is a synonym for 'heaven' (Yasna 19.6), another synonym being 'the shining house of praise' (*raoxšna garōnmāna*, Yt. 10.124, 19.44) to which worship is paid (*Sīh rōcak* 2.30).

"Turning to the Pahlavi texts, we are told that 'the region of light is the place of Aūharmazda, which they call "endless light" ' (Bundahisn 1.2), and that the place of the Amesha Spentas is 'in that best existence of light' (Dātistān-ī-Dīnīk 74.2)." (Louis H. Gray, ERE. 8.61).

Prof. Tucci (p. 82f.) distinguishes Amitābha and Amitāyus:
Amitābha, dhyāna-mudra, alms-bowl
Amitāyus, dhyāna-mudra, amṛta-kalaśa/vase filled with ambrosia and topped by leaves of the aśoka tree, symbolising a long life of health, without (*a*) miseries (*śoka*) of disease.

On the right wall of the Padmasambhava temple at Nako are Amitāyus, Śākyamuni and Amitābha. They point to the crystallisation of the separate identity of Amitāyus and Amitābha.

An important function of the Iranian deities was healing: Avesta *baēśazya* = Sanskrit *bhaiṣajya*. The goddess, Drvāspā is healing (baēśazya) like Arādvī, Aśi, Ahura Mazda. Tiśtrya, the Fravaśis, Vanant, Haoma and Haptō-iringa (Gray 1925:73). The

drink haoma possesses healing remedies (Ys.10.7.9, Vsp. 9.1–2) which are associated with the bliss of Vohu Manah (Ys. 10.12, Gray 83). The God of the Moon, Māh has the Avestan epithet baēśaza/healing. Tiśtrya, who grants happy homes, who overcomes constellations that bring drought, shares the epithet bāeśazya/healing with many other divinities (Gray 116). Vərəθraγna, one of the most important of the entire Iranian pantheon, brings glory, *healing* and strength (Gray 117). Airyaman descended to earth to heal the diseases at Ahura Mazda's bidding (Gray 131). The divine being Cisti ('Religious Wisdom') is named in company with other abstract deities. Like Aśi and Ahura Mazda she possesses healing remedies (Vsp.9.1) and like several other divinities she has Axśti and Hamvaintī as her two companions (Yt. 11.16). The divinity of the constellation Ursa Major is Haptō-iringa ('Possessing Seven Marks'). The only Avestan epithet of the god is *baēśazya*/healing, which he shares with other deities (Gray 149). The god Thrita is described as the first physician and as a healer of diseases (Vd.20.2), his Fravaśi is involved against maladies (Yt. 23.131), and he is full of healing (DD. 37.35, Gray 161). In the Turfan Manichaean fragment he appears, together with Mihr and all the angels, as protecting the religion, while Pahlavi and Pazand charms conjure him against disease.

As Amitābha evolved in an area where Iranian photism played a major role, it cannot be ruled out that his healing aspect was apotheosised as Amitāyus. Amitāyus was invoked to cure a person in ill-health, but on death he went to the world of Amitābha. In a statue of Amitābha at the National Museum, New Delhi have been found the bones of a deceased person, pieces of his robes, jewelry, and so on. To this day in Thailand, the ashes of the dead are deposited in large-sized statues of Śākyamuni which can be purchased in the market. Amitāyus is the counterpart of Hindu mahāmṛtyuñjaya.

European scholars assert that Amitābha originated in an Iranian area, or under the influence of the solar myth of the Persians (L.A. Waddell), or Mithra (S. Beal), and its possible reference to the Avesta is upheld by P. Pelliot and Sylvain Lévi (EBu. 1.443). Bunzaburō Matsumoto connects Amitābha with king Mahāsudarśana or the Sun. Unrai Ogiwara considers Viṣṇu, another name for the Sun, as the origin of Amitābha.

As early as 1877 T.W. Rhys Davids had called attention to "the name 'Immeasurable Light' given to Amitābha—from whom Gautama is said to have emanated: it points distinctly to contact with the old Persian light worship...We have thus Iranian influence distinctly before us, which accords with the local surroundings of the Gandhāra school." (Grünwedel 1901:195, 1900:114).

Waddell 1894:127 reiterated the Iranian characteristics: "One of the earliest of these celestial Buddhas was given the title of 'The Infinite Light' (Amitābha), and his personality soon crystallized into a concrete theistic Buddha of that name, residing in a glorious paradise (Sukhāvatī) in the West, where the daily suns hasten and disappear in

all their glory, and hence supposed by some to include a sun myth or to be related to sun-worship, probably due to Persian influence; for the chief patrons of the early Mahayana, about the time of the invention of this myth, were Indo-Scyths, a race of sun-worshippers."

The Iranian elements have been highlighted by Eliot (1921:3.220): "The essential features of Amidist doctrine are that there is a paradise of light belonging to a benevolent deity and that the good who invoke his name will be led thither. Both features are found in Zoroastrian writings. The highest heaven (following after the paradises of good thoughts, good words and good deeds) is called Boundless Light or Endless Light. Both this region and its master, Ahura Mazda, are habitually spoken of in terms implying radiance and glory. Also it is a land of song, just as Amitābha's paradise re-echoes with music and pleasant sounds....

"Thus all the chief features of Amitābha's paradise are Persian: only his method of instituting it by making a vow is Buddhist. It is true that Indian imagination had conceived numerous paradises, and that the early Buddhist legend tells of the Tushita heaven. But Sukhāvatī is not like these abodes of bliss. It appears suddenly in the history of Buddhism as something exotic, grafted adroitly on the parent trunk but sometimes overgrowing it." [note: "Is it possible that there is any connection between Sukhāvatī and the land of Saukavastan, governed by an immortal ruler and located by the Bundehishn, between Turkistan and Chinistan? I imagine there is no etymological relationship, but if Saukavastan was well known as a land of the blessed it may have influenced the choice of a significant Sanskrit word with a similar sound."]

"Paul Pelliot admits that early Buddhism in India was subjected to Iranian influences. Sir Charles Eliot calls our attention to the fact that in the Avesta, where four paradises are described, the highest is called the 'Land of Endless Light', and that all the chief features of the Western Paradise of Amitābha of Infinite Light are to be found in Zoroastrian writings." (Getty 1928:38).

Alexander C. Soper (1949, 1950) discusses eight "Aspects of light symbolism in Gandhāran sculptures": visit stele, Buddha and Mithra, The Cave of the Shadow, hero and serpent god (nāga), the hero asleep in a cave, the light shining in the darkness, the Dīpaṅkara Buddha motif, and the midnight departure. Mt. Vediyaka aflame with light, flaming ecstasy, flames at shoulders, luminous patch in a cavern, Mithraic sanctuaries in caverns, Maitreya, Apalāla, and related questions are discussed in the light of early Chinese texts, Gandhāra sculptures, Central Asian representations, as well as Iranian, Mithraic and similar parallels.

The light cults led to divine radiance expressed in the emission of light (*raśmi*) on sudden enlightenment (*eka-kṣaṇa-sambodhi*). Phototropic tendencies led to the rapid

evolution of photism in doctrine, faith, cult, and iconography. The Mahāsaṅghikas started the doctrine of ekakṣaṇa-citta-samprayukta-prajñā, according to Mahāvastu, Akṣaya-mati-sūtra, Vasumitra, Kuei-ki, Vinītadeva, Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, and Kathāvatthu. The Sarvāstivādins, on the other hand, held the position of gradual enlightenment (Galloway 1981, 1985).

ROCANA OF THE AVATAṀSAKA

The Sukhāvatīvyūha of Amitābha or Amitāyus is a part of the Ratnakūṭa class of sūtras in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Four Chinese translations are included under this class: (i) by Bodhiruci (Nj 23/5), (ii) by Lokakṣema (Nj 25), (iii) by Chi-ch'ien (Nj 26), and (iv) by Saṅghavarman (Nj 27). It seems to represent the jewelled cosmos (ratnakūṭa). The Ratnakūṭa is a precursor of the jewelled cosmos of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa: "with a touch of his toe to the ground the Buddha transforms the cosmos into a matrix of jewels" (Hamlin 1988:97). In course of time it became the Avataṁsaka, lit. ornament, flower ornament. The Dharmadhātu is also dealt with in a Ratnakūṭa-sūtra entitled Dharma-dhātu-prakṛty-asambheda-nirdeśa (Nj 23/8).

The main deity of the Avataṁsaka is Rocana, as is well known from the Japanese Roshana. This word has been mistranslated as Vairocana by Suzuki, and European scholars have followed him.

The Gaṇḍavyūha (Suzuki and Idzumi 1949:441–43) has a long list of future Tathāgatas, beginning with Maitreya and Siṁha as the first two and ending with Abhyuc-cadeva or Rocama (sic). Rocama is an erroneous form which was not recognized as such by the editors Suzuki and Idzumi. The reading in Gaṇḍavyūha 443.16 is 'Rocama Tathāgata' where *m* is an error for *n*. The two may be easily confused in the Nagari script. Edgerton 1953:457 has already pointed out that "we should expect in place of the impossible Rocama the last name of the list, which is Abhyucca-deva in the text, intend-ing Atyucca-deva". It escaped Edgerton that the name might be 'Rocana', designating the trans-historical, symbolical Supreme Being: 'The Buddha shifts from an individual to a cosmic principle'. Thus he is the highest (*abhyucca*) divine being (*deva*). There is no semantic difference between *abhyucca* and *atyucca*. *Abhi* is the intensifying prefix as found in *abhi-dharma, abhi-sambodhi*, and is parallel to 'meta' in 'meta-physical'. It denotes evolving transcendence. So it is desirable to retain *abhyucca* of the manuscripts in preference to the emended (and unattested) *atyucca*. The fact that Rocana and Abhyuc-cadeva are used synonymously points to an early stage when Rocana was evolving as the highest Tathāgata.

The English translation of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra by Thomas Cleary 1984:254 has the term 'Vairocana'. The *Japanese–English Buddhist Dictionary* 1965:242 makes it

clear that Rocana (Rushana) and Vairocana are different: "Rushana-butsu also Roshana-butsu, Birushana-butsu. In the Tendai Sect Rushana-butsu is differentiated from Virocana (Birushana-butsu): the former is regarded as the sambhoga-kāya on the lotus-petal, whereas the latter is regarded as the dharma-kāya in the cosmic world. However, Rushana originally was merely an abridgement of Birushana". The last sentence needs correction. The name of the consort Rocanā (Locanā) comes from Rocana. Rocana is not an abbreviation of Vairocana, but an independent word reflecting the first stage in the evolution of the deity in the Avataṁsaka.

There are two translations of the complete Avataṁsaka-sūtras. The earliest was completed by Buddhabhadra in AD 422 and the second by Śikṣānanda in AD 699 (K 80). Buddhabhadra's translation has the word Rocana throughout. It is transcribed as Lo-she-na 盧舍那 into Chinese (pronounced Roshana in Japanese). Howard 1986:157 has translated its second chapter where she mistranslates the Chinese Rocana as Vairocana in English. I have checked them in the Taisho Tripiṭaka no. 278 (9.412a21, c10, 413a10, 414a23, 15, etc.) and all are Rocana. Rocana is from the root *ruc* 'to shine, be bright or radiant or resplendent', or in the causative 'to enlighten, illuminate, make bright'. It is the same root as Latin *lux, luceo*. Rocana is 'bright, shining, radiant, luminous'. Rocana is "esp. the bright sky, firmament, luminous sphere (of which there are three)" MW. Rocanā (fem.) is the bright sky or luminous sphere (=rocana m.) in the Atharvaveda and Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa. It reminds of Soper 1949:265: "The Buddha, taking on cosmic dimensions as Pantokrator, has drawn to himself the attributes of the sun god, as visible and outward signs of the ineffable light by which his being penetrates everywhere."

The Kegon tradition in Japan has preserved the form Roshana (Jap.)=Rocana up to the present. For instance, Rei Yoshimura's study of jen-chung images of Dharmadhātu Rocana is entitled *Roshana hōkai ninchūzō no kenkyū,* but Howard 1986:189 translates it as "A study of 'Jen-chung' images of Vairocana Dharmadhātu." Howard consistently translates Roshana as Vairocana, as the Sanskrit term was not known so far to occur in the Gaṇḍavyūha. The nomenclature has to be corrected for precision.

Three centuries later, by the time Śikṣānanda translated the Avataṁsaka, the word Rocana did not remain popular. He (T 279, 10.39a16) uses the term Virocana (Jap. Birushana 毘盧遮那) instead of Rocana. The 34th teacher of Sudhana in the Gaṇḍavyūha is the Night Goddess, Pramudita-nayana-jagad-virocanā. The name ends with the word *virocanā*. While Virocana is known as the name of a former Buddha (LV. 171.10 vs.) and a yakṣa in the Mahāmāyūrī 52, it is a gem in the Gaṇḍavyūha 519:24: *virocana-maṇiratn-āvabhāsān*. It occurs in compounds in the Gaṇḍavyūha and twice as a Jina in the verse portion 240.21 as emanating the vast (*vipula*) Realm of Reality (*Dharmadhātu*):

eṣa bodhi-druma-buddha-āsane samprabuddha sugato virocano/
dharmadhātu vipulaṁ spharitvā cakra vartayi jage yathāśayam//3

In the following 10th stanza he is the effulgence of all realms:

te vipaśyisu virocanaṁ jinaṁ sarva-kṣetra-pratibhāsa-lakṣaṇam//10

The technical terms *vipula* and *dharmadhātu* deserve attention. The use of Virocana in the Gaṇḍavyūha may have inspired Śikṣānanda to use it instead of Rocana, and by his time the Vairocana cult seems to have gained popularity. Mochizuki is not clear in distinguishing Dainichi, Birushana, and Roshana in his *Bukkyō Daijiten* 4.3343f., 5.4367–69.

Soper 1959:195f. says that the Old Avataṁsaka of Buddhabhadra and the Brahmajāla-sūtra of Kumārajīva use the term Lu-she-na to distinguish "The eternal and omnipresent aspect of divinity from the temporal." The Brahmajāla-sūtra adds that all around the Buddha's "dais there are a thousand petals; each petal is a world, so that there are a thousand worlds in all; I transform Myself into a thousand Śākyamunis..." (T.24.997b f.). Soper points out that "all my entries render the Buddha's name in its abbreviated form *Lu-she-na*". Śikṣānanda's translation used *Pi-lu-she-na* 'Virocana'. The two names puzzled the commentators: for example, "the Southern monk Chih-i (538–97) used the two names to present the dogma of Buddhahood with a new orderliness: for him the sequence Śākyamuni, Locana, and Vairocana corresponded to the three body-states in ascending order, the incarnate body Nirmāṇakāya, the reward body Sambhogakāya, and the completely transcendent body Dharmakāya. Chih-i notes that the meaning of 'Vairocana' is 'throughout all places', i.e. omnipresent. In T'ang the preferred interpretation stressed instead the factor of universal radiance, and the best known rendering of the name made it an equivalent for 'Great Sun'.

The thousand Buddhas on the thousand petals of the lotus-seat of Rocana became the Thousand Buddhas in the outer enceinte of the Vajradhātu mandala of Vairocana. Thousand was a symbol of power, and as powerful sancta the Buddhist caves were covered with thousands of depictions, which gave rise to the Turkish *ming-oi* 'caves with myriad forms' and caves with thousands of Buddhas, where the term 'Buddha' is used in the Central Asian denotation of a Buddhist statue or icon, in the Iranian meaning *but*. Rocana and Virocana are the same, but both have to be distinguished from Vairocana, translated as 大日 Ta-jieh, Jap. Dainichi, The Great Sun.

Rocana is the master of the first seven assemblies in the Avataṁsaka. The central personality in these assemblies "unfolds the brightness of his wisdom through the power of the Buddha" (Beatrice 1934:281). "Interpenetration is the doctrine taught in the Kegon (Avataṁsaka). When we look at the world in the spiritual light of Rocana Buddha, we see it full of radiance, indeed a world of pure light" (ibid. 282). "When we do not see

this radiant world of the Buddha's enlightenment in which Pure World everything is interpenetrating, the Buddha feels sorrow for beings and puts forth his activity to help all these beings to attain enlightenment.

"...Now let us consider the Gaṇḍavyūha. Once Buddha dwelt at Śrāvastī in the grove of Jetavana in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍika. In that assembly there were five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī. All the members of the assembly were waiting for the Buddha to preach. Then he entered Samādhi (deep meditation) and as soon as he did so the forests of Jetavana suddenly became so wide that they became filled with an inexpressible number of worlds and many bodhisattvas from the ten quarters came and worshipped the Buddha, composing verses of praise. Buddha issued a ray of light from between his eyebrows and illumined the bodhisattvas and all the ten quarters and thereby the bodhisattvas were filled with compassion to benefit all beings" (ibid. 283–84).

Like the Sukhāvatī paradise of Amitābha, Buddhāvataṁsaka is the heaven of Rocana of the Avataṁsaka-sūtras (see above p. 8).

The three main pictorial representations of the Avataṁsaka school were:

i. Cosmology of the Dharmadhātu or Padma-garbha lokadhātu/Lotus Treasury World.

ii. Rocana the Supreme Being, as a colossus, as part of the deification of kings.

iii. Sudhana's pilgrimage to fifty-four teachers.

The conceptualisation and depiction of Sukhāvatī must have inspired the iconography of Rocana's Lotus Treasury World. In the sixth century, Lin-kan (died 612) devised a visualisation of the Lotus Treasury World (Howard 1986:97). In the seventh century, Chih-yen (602–68) executed a panel of the Lotus Treasury World (ibid.). Śikṣānanda's Avataṁsaka describes this world in great detail (chüan 8, 9, 10, ibid. 166–82).

The Chinese title of the last text in the Avataṁsaka, namely the Gaṇḍavyūha, is "Entering the Dharmadhātu". Dharmadhātu is the culmination of Avataṁsaka. The East Asian Avataṁsaka sects consider the Dharmadhātu and the Lotus Treasury World (Padma-garbha lokadhātu) as synonymous (Fontein 1967:168).

In the reign of king Silakala of Sri Lanka (ruled AD 518–31) heterodox doctrines were introduced. Mahāvaṁsa says that a young merchant brought the Dharmadhātu from Kāśīpura. The thirteenth century Siṁhala work Nikāya-saṅgraha names the merchant as Pūrṇa and states that Dharmadhātu was a Vaitulya work, which the monks of Abhayagiri honoured. Here Dharmadhātu stands for the Avataṁsaka-sūtras, as it does in Chinese and Japanese.

In an inscription dated 559 during the Northern Ch'i dynasty and carved on a

sculpture no longer extant, Tao-ch'u reverently had a life-size stone image made. It was *fa-chieh jen-chung Lo-sha-na*. It has been translated as "a jen-chung image of Vairocana Dharmadhātu" by Howard 1986:103. It has to be correctly translated as a portrait statue (jen-chung) of Dharmadhātu Rocana. Another Dharmadhātu image was donated by Ta Hsiang-chu of Hsi-yen-chou (Howard 1986:42). This sculpture belonged to the Kao-an temple (ibid. 38).

Buddhabhadra's Avataṁsaka (T 9.412c1–) says that in each grain of the dust of the Lotus Treasury World Ocean the Dharmadhātu is present. Later on (T 9.415a5–16) he speaks of the unbreakable Lotus [Treasury World] Ocean of the Dharmadhātu (Howard 90, 162). Śikṣānanda (T 10.53a end) speaks of the Dharmadhātu (ibid. 18.1).

The pictorial rendition of the Avataṁsaka on the wall paintings of the Mo-kau-ku caves at Tun-huang reaches its peak in the flourishing T'ang, both in quality and quantity. "Pictorial transformations of sūtras (*kyōhen*) form the overwhelming majority of wall paintings, with renditions of the Yuimagyo (Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra), the Hokekyō (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, the Lotus Sūtra), the Kegongyō (Avataṁsaka-sūtra), the Hoongyo, and others; and as time passes renditions of the Pure Land sūtras come to comprise the majority." (Mibu/Hirai 1980:981).

The Avataṁsaka-sūtras, with their emphasis on the Dharmadhātu, were of primary importance. In the seventh to the twelfth centuries, many inscriptions at Fang-shan (which has the Rock-cut Sūtras) refer to the Dharma Realm/Dharmadhātu and the beings therein. In Korea too, there is interest in the Dharma Realm, rather than in the Sukhāvatī, Pure Land of Amitābha. A Korean inscription of 673 refers to this same desire of the emperor, high officials, and seven generations of parents for birth in the Dharma Realm (Lancaster 1989:149).

When Rocana was replaced by Vairocana, the hundreds of Transformation Buddhas (e.g. on the mandorla of the Toshodaiji) became the Thousand Buddhas in the Vajradhātu-mandala of Vairocana.

The pilgrimage of young Sudhana, the son of a merchant, in search of knowledge and enlightenment is the subject matter of Gaṇḍavyūha of the Avataṁsaka. His kalyāṇa-mitras are from all walks of life as well as gods and goddesses. Each of them lifts a corner of the veil and helps Sudhana to catch a glimpse of the resplendence of a Buddha-kṣetra. The pilgrimage of Sudhana was the prime expression of the Avataṁsaka school and enjoyed widespread popularity from Indonesia to Khotan in Central Asia, China and Japan. The earliest representations are the Indonesian sculptures of the Borobudur (about AD 800). There are several Chinese and Japanese illustrated scrolls of the way of Sudhana to enlightenment (Lokesh Chandra 1975:7). The murals of Tabo pertain to Sudhana's pilgrimage as detailed in the Gaṇḍavyūha.

At Borobudur, an architectonic Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala, we find about 108 reliefs of the pilgrimage of Sudhana, as preparatory to transcending unto Vairocana. There are also the representations of Lalitavistara on the Borobudur. The life of historic Śākyamuni and the journey of Sudhana in the Avataṁsaka lead to Vairocana's Vajradhātu-mandala. It was but natural that Tabo, as a sanctum dedicated to Vajradhātu Vairocana, should have the frescos of the life of Śākyamuni on the right wall and those of the pilgrimage of Sudhana along the left wall, in the main hall itself along with the plastic images of the Vajradhātu-mandala. Kobo Daishi has pointed out that Avataṁsaka is the stage preceding tantras. In his Ten Stages of spiritual development Avataṁsaka is the ninth and tantras the tenth stage (Lokesh Chandra 1985:9). Thus there is an integral relationship between Rocana of the Avataṁsaka and Vairocana of the STTS.

THE DEIFICATION OF KINGS AS A SUBSTRATUM

Mus (1935:418f.) has discussed the "royal" conception of the Buddha in the context of Vedic ritual, Pali texts, Lalitavistara, etc. In chapter XIII he takes up Śākyamuni and Maitreya in "royal" ritual and the assimilation of the quality of the Buddha to royal dignity (p. 429). The whole concept of flamonium and regnum goes back to the Indo-European period and the functions of divinity and sovereignty are linked (Dumézil 1988:162). The hymns to Mitrāvaruṇa reveal their *mixta persona* as the emanation of spiritual authority and temporal power. So also in their Zoroastrian counterparts in the Yasts (Nariman).

Ardasir, the founder of the Sasanian empire, takes cognizance of the sovereignty and sanctity in his testamentary advice to Sapur in the following couplets of the Sahnameh: "Religion cannot endure without the king, nor can kingship stand without religion. They are guardians of each other, you may say that they have put on the same cloak. Each needs the other, and we see the pair uniting in beneficence" (Nariman). This led to the divinity of royalty and thence to the royalty of icons (Gurukkal 1987:119–26).

The deification of kings was a solemn act of legislation in Greece even before Alexander crossed over into Asia: "The deification of rulers was a peculiar manifestation of this *theopoetic* faculty in this (if in nothing else), that it was not a sculptor's or a painter's fancy but a solemn act of legislation, and that rulers specifically were its objects.

"When a foreign ruler appeared, vested with the authority due theoretically to the man of supereminent ability, a place was ready-made for him, and it was a place in the ranks of the gods. Here, then, in the sphere of politics a special reason existed for the indulgence of what we have called the *theopoetic* faculty of the Greeks, a reason, moreover, that was operative in epochs of political speculation and advanced constitu-

tionalism like those in which deification of rulers was first established in Greece and first transplanted to Rome." (CAH. 7.13–14).

"In the regions of Asia where a theory of the state had been evolved, Alexander, like the Persian kings whom he had succeeded, was not a god but the chosen of the gods. He was for the Persians a being endowed by the supreme Light-God, Ahuramazdā, with his spirit; hence with a peculiar glory (*hvareno*), an indwelling light from which issued a radiance so brilliant as to dazzle ordinary men. But he was not the object of an official cult. In Asia deities either were, or were tending to become, cosmic forces, while their worshippers, unlike the Greeks, remained devoutly religious" (CAH. 7.14–15).

"What lay behind these repeated acts of deification was doubtless the same motive which led the Samians and Alexander to the idea in the first instance—political convenience and political thought. The same political problem presented itself again and again: the need of finding a legal basis in a constitutional state for an extra-constitutional authority. As kings, Antigonus and his rivals had no right to interfere with a free city; as gods, they had the right to make known their wishes and their worshippers the duty to regard them. On purely scientific grounds states experienced no difficulty in the discovery of new gods or in the recognition of old gods under new names; nor was there anyone to dispute the right of the organized community to adopt new gods once it had discovered them" (CAH. 7.16).

"Ptolemy II (285–46 BC) and Arsinoe, his sister-wife and consort, already lifted above ordinary mortals through being the children of the 'Saviour Gods', shared a temple with Alexander as the 'Brother–Sister Gods', in the cult established by Ptolemy I. Thus by his own fiat a living ruler raised himself to a place by the side of the *archegetes* of empire as the divine object of the homage of his subjects, as the extra-constitutional authority whose will was everywhere law—a symbol of the common fealty to one head of diverse elements in the population of the kingdom" (CAH. 7.17).

"Pharaoh was not Law incarnate (*nómos émpsuchos*), like the Hellenistic god-king; he was rather the apotheosis of *Life*—the Osiris of the living" (CAH. 7.19). Compare Amitāyus 'Infinite Life' in Buddhism.

"In 290 BC the Athenians hailed Demetrius as 'a true god, not one of wood or stone'...King-worship altered its forms with alterations in the organization of states, its nature with alterations in the conception of God" (CAH. 7.22).

"Though the status of the provinces varied they were effectively attached to Rome by the veneration which they felt for the person of the emperor, whom they were prepared to treat as a god. It has been shown elsewhere that the practice of offering divine honours to Augustus began in the East soon after Actium and in the course of his reign penetrated to all parts of the Empire" (CAH. 10.209–10).

I would like to refer my readers to L.R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Conn. 1931, Amer. Philol. Association) and to K. Scott, *The significance of statues in precious metals in Emperor-worship* (Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 62/1931. 101f.).

The continued political presence of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Seleucids, Indo-Greeks, and Kuṣāṇas had a far-reaching impact on the cultural hegemony of North-West India. It saw the osmosis of Iranian/Hellenistic ideas into Buddhism. As we have shown above the Greeks followed the Iranians in king-cults or emperor-worship. When they embraced Buddhism, their kings were apotheosised as the Buddha. The distinctive portrait-like personalised features in Gandhāra statues are an evidence that actual personages were immortalised as divine statues. In this connection we may note the observations of Kiyota:

"Alexander's expedition to North-West India (327–25 BC) left a great impact upon the development of Indian Buddhist thought. A Greek colony referred to as Yavana was established in Bactria in the late third century BC. It contributed to the development of Greco-Gandharan art at about the beginning of the Christian century. This art depicted the Buddha anthropomorphically and gave rise to the cult of deification, and subsequently to the concept of the enlightened body as eternal, transcending the historical Buddha. This is not saying that the cult of deification was completely absent in the preceding period...Nevertheless the depiction of the Buddha anthropomorphically represents the concretization of the Buddha as an eternal enlightened body, transcending the historical Śākyamuni." (Kiyota 1978:10–11)

Kaniṣka established the cult of emperor-worship. The statues of Kushan emperors were put up in sanctuaries at Mathura and Surkh-kotal (Narain 1990:165). Dobbins 1971:31 sees the blending of emperor-worship with Buddha-worship in the unity of theme and motif of the artistic expression of the Kaniṣka reliquary.

The Pratimā-nāṭaka mentions a temple destined for the ancestors of Lord Rāma. The deification of kings is documented in South India. In Cambodia many images of Viṣṇu, of Śiva (including the liṅga) and of other Hindu gods were at the "same time images of kings, of princes and of important officials represented with the features and the attributes of the god with whom they were, or would have been, assimilated at the moment of death (see Coedès 1947:44)...The king or functionary could erect to themselves an image bearing their own names, or their relatives could do so (see Coedès 1940:321). It was thought that the names that such statues bear had been very often obtained by combining the human name with the divine. Thus, for instance, Rudravarman became Rudreśvara (Coedès 1952:7), where *īśvara* was held naturally to indicate his assimilation to Śiva. Until about the end of the 10th century the same title, *kamrateṅ añ*

'lord', would have indicated both the king and the god, the latter of which was called later on *kamrateṅ jagat* 'lord of the universe'. With this distinction between human and divine, the promotion of a prince or a dignitary to the station of *kamrateṅ jagat* would have been favoured by erecting to him a personal statue with divine aspect and attributes (see Coedès 1952:50–51). The inscriptions define these statues 'bodies of glory' (*yaśaś-śarīra*), 'statues of apotheosis'...In them resided the abstract principle of kingliness, or *devarāja,* that for each reign was identified with the 'subtle self' (*sūkṣmāntarātman*) of the reigning king." (Verardi 1983:253)

In the syndrome of apotheosis, the descendant kings must have been shocked to see their mighty royal predecessors, founders of kingdoms, as Śākyamuni Buddha robed in the attire of mendicant monks with shaven heads, and bereft of imposing moustaches. It is interesting that moustaches are found in Central Asian statues of the Buddha whence they were transmitted to China. This imperative must have become a royal contribution to monastic Buddhism, wherein Śākyamuni 'the Sage of the Śākyas' emerged as Śākyasiṁha 'the Lion of the Śākyas', from a human monk to a divinised being in all divine (*lokottara*) glory (*farnah*). In fact, in Thailand we find images of the bejewelled and crowned Buddha, as a king in his royal costume, the Buddha paré. "The practice was reinforced by the concept of the Buddha as universal emperor (*cakravartin*), and the Mahayana theory of transcendental Buddha...The Khmer crowned Buddha image made its first appearance at the beginning of the 12th century AD at Phimai, the sanctuary dedicated to tantric Buddhism" (Krairiksh 1979:132). "From the time of this example onward, crowned Buddha-images were created not to represent the Mahayana transcendental Buddha, but Śākyamuni dressed as *rājādhirāja,* King of Kings. According to the legend of Jambupati, a certain king of that name had such high esteem for himself that he would not listen to the teaching of the Master. So the Buddha manifested himself as *rājādhirāja* and summoned Jambupati to visit him. The latter, awestruck by the splendour of the scene before him, was not slow to pay obeisance to the Buddha, especially when he saw a chasm open before him issuing fire. He was converted to Buddhism and became a disciple. The existence of a Lân Nâ-style bronze figurine from the 16th century AD inscribed with the name of King Mahā jambu attests to the popularity of the Jambupati legend during this period (see Griswold 1961:295–96)" (ibid. 154).

The role of kings in the new development in Buddhism can be seen in the origin of Amitābha. In the Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha the Buddha relates that Lokeśvararāja was 81st in a line of Tathāgatas beginning with Dīpaṅkara. Monk Dharmākara resolved in the presence of Lokeśvararāja to become a Buddha. Dharmākara spent five kalpas in meditation. Finally he reigns in Sukhāvatī as Amitābha (EB. 1.434). It seems to idealise a real historic fact of a powerful king (Lokeśvara-rāja), who because of his having followed a

religion of Light (Dīpaṅkara), requested the monk Dharmākara to formulate and systematise a new cult of Infinite Light (Amitābha). It was a sublimation of the cult of royalty as well. The king symbolised the world of light as represented by the Sun, and he resided in a royal citadel with 5–7 ramparts: both elements become the dominant focus in the emergence of Amitābha and later on of Vairocana. These phenomenal developments have been dealt with in subsequent discussions. The emphasis on the religion of Light, so clear in Zoroastrianism and its earthly expression in the *farnah* of the king—brought into being a new tradition in NW Indian Buddhism, which was un-paralleled (*vi-tula*) in the Indian heartland itself. This was propounded in Vaitulya texts, later designated tantras. The word *vi-tula* was uncommon, if not unknown, in Indic Sanskrit. The more prevalent form was *a-tula*. Hence it was soon mistaken for *vipula* 'extensive' and it original significance was forgotten, even in Pali where *vetulla* continued in use. The negative prefix *vi* reflected its popularity in the Iranian languages, where to this day it is a living prefix *bi-dīn* 'one who lacks religion'. Its use was natural to the NW region. Thus arose tantric Buddhism in NW India in a grand effort of legitimation of kingship through Buddhism.

We have historic evidence of the eighth century that Rocana symbolised impirium. In Japan, Emperor Shomu issued a rescript in AD 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (daibutsu) of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Tōdaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an 'apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state' (Kobayashi 1975:22), as 'an especially valuable political and religious symbol' to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a 'Grand National Temple'. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Heian-kyō (modern Kyoto) in AD 794, the Tōji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972:130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kōbō Daishi himself, the great master who introduced Shingon Buddhism with its central deity of Vairocana. The temple was significantly termed Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji 'temple for the protection of the state'; which popularly came to be known as the Tōji (tō=east, ji=temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate.

The Buddhist sūtras were the sanctifying power of the state, revitalising sovereignty, stabilising the state and ensuring the well-being of the ruler. In Japan the ceremony *chingo-kokka* was to protect the country by the power of Buddhism. There were *chingo-kokka-no sambu* or three sūtras for the protection of the state, namely: Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (Jap. Hokekyō, Chin. Fa-hua-ching), Kāruṇika-rāja-sūtra (Jap. Ninnō-gyō, Chin. Jên-wang-ching), Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra (Jap. Konkōmyō-kyō,

Chin. Chin-kuang-ming-ching).

The Kāruṇika-rāja-sūtra was translated as early as AD 402–09 by Kumārajīva (K 19). It is a prajñāpāramitā-sūtra on a benevolent king who protects his country (Nj 17). It was re-translated by Amoghavajra in AD 765 (K 1340, Nj 965), who further wrote a commentary (Nj 1406) as well as its ritual (Nj 1419, 1435). Visser (1935) has detailed the state ceremonies of this sūtra that were performed by Japanese Emperors over the centuries.

Hsüan-tsang said in AD 657 to the Chinese Emperor that all the six hundred scrolls he had translated were "regarded in their land of origin as contributing to 'national defence'." (Waley 1952:121, 124).

In the Garbhadhātu mandala there is a special form of Saṁkusumitarāja used in the January rite for the protection of the Emperor (Esot. 12).

Prājña and Muniśrī translated the *Shou hu kuo chieh chu t'o-lo-ni ching* 守護國界主陀羅尼經 in AD 790 (K 1384, Nj 978, T 997), expressly with the idea of protecting the state. It extolls dhāraṇīs for protecting kings and was esteemed in Japan (Nakamura 1980:326–27 and references therein to the idea of the "Protection of the State"). I have detailed the interdependence of the state and the sūtras in East Asia in the previous volume.

Till modern times, the role of astrology in politics cannot be underestimated. Col. Meadows Taylor has assigned the foremost place to the astrological forecast in the Rising of 1857 to overthrow the British power in India. The interpretive essay of Bardwell L. Smith on "Kingship, the Saṅgha and the process of legitimation in Anuradhapura Ceylon" (in Bechert 1978:100–26) affirms the historical and cosmic dimensions of legitimation in a system of values transcending authority.

In March, 1677 when Maratha King Shivaji was defeated and chased by the Moghuls, he visited the ancient Srisailam temple on the banks of Krishna in the dense Nallamalai forest in Central Andhra Pradesh. He was so dejected that he wanted to offer his head before an image of Goddess Bhramarāmbā, worshipped as a symbol of power. Legend says that the Goddess "re-presented" to him his famous bhavānī sword and blessed him. He never tasted defeat after that. As a tribute to the Goddess, Shivaji renovated the temple and built a beautiful structure in the temple complex. In April, 1986, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh is reported to have performed tantric worship with his wife in Varanasi. The rites, conducted by a tantrik who claimed to possess supernatural powers, lasted for three hours. Various politicians of all hues were visitors to the Goddess Vindhyavāsinī.

Buddha the Cosmocrator, attired in princely jewellery, with a crown on his head, has been studied by Mus (1928) and by Krishan (1971). The colossal images of the

Buddha at Bamiyan were adorned with jewellery and ornamental chains (Beal 1884:114). The transition was from a life-size deity to a transcendent deity, an *adhideva* or *atideva,* from an image to a colossus. The word Adbag ("δδβγ) is *adhideva* or *atideva* and it is the name of Śakra (Röhrborn/Veenker 1983:138). Ādibuddha prefigures in the Kāraṇḍavyūha as *ādideva.* The metrical version of the Kāraṇḍavyūha clearly exposes the doctrine of Ādibuddha (Regamey 1971:429–30). In the portrait images, the breadth of the finger/aṅgula of the hand of the donor provides the proportions. The Śāriputra-śilpaśāstra, verse 21: "The wise man makes an image according to the size of the finger's breadth of the donor" (H. Ruelius, *Śāriputra und Ālekhyalakṣaṇa,* 1974:82–88, quoted in Schroeder 1981:33). "The need of linking images to the actual features of the human body is further revealed by the habit of basing iconometric units of measurement on those of real people. Apparently, as early as the 7th century, the Tibetan King Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po commissioned a famous Newar artist to make eleven images of Avalokiteśvara of the same size as himself. In the 14th century the prince of Gyantse had the silver image of Tārā in Indian style mentioned above made in proportions having as their unit of measure his dead wife's thumb. His grandson, Prince Rab-brtan-kun-bzaṅ-ḥphags-pa (1389–1442) had a gilded copper statue of Vairocana measuring 21 spans (Tib. *phyag-mtho*) made following his bodily measurements. During the same century the Newar King Yakṣamalla commissioned an image of Viṣṇu to be made according to the bodily proportions of his deceased son" (Bue 1990:192). The Greek term *andriantes* could specifically refer to a life-size statue of an emperor. It is one of the three terms used for imperial images. The other two are: *eikones* were common in public places, and *agalmata* were images in a sacred context (Price 1984:177).

In Chinese, the word for images linked to the body proportions of their actual models, namely their donors, is 人中 *jen-chung* (Jap. ninchū). This term has not been understood so far. Soper translates *jen chung fo* loosely as: "Buddha-in-the-flesh," and says that it "remains a puzzle". He concluded "how the distinction between such an image and the usual one was drawn, or for what reason it was considered necessary in the few cases we have seen, are questions that I cannot answer." (1959:202–03).

Yoshimura Rei 1959 noticed the literary occurrences of the compound *jen-chung* in connection with Buddhist images, and he intended to ascertain the identity of the Buddha to whom the term refers. He found the term in the following sources:

i. Monk Ch'uan had a gilded jen-chung image made in the state of Wu during the last quarter of the fourth century. Source: Kao sêng chuan.

ii. Monk Tao-hung had ten jen-chung images made. Source: Lo-yang ch'ieh-lang chi.

iii. Meng Chung-hui had a lacquer jen-chung image made. Source: Lo-yang

ch'ieh-lang chi.

iv. An inscription of the Northern Ch'i dynasty, dated 559, speaks of Tao-ch'u who had a jen-chung image of Dharmadhātu Rocana made in stone. It was life-size.

v. An inscription of the same dynasty, dated 575, a disciple of the Buddha had a jen-chung image of Rocana made in stone.

Yoshimura did not give a specific meaning of the term, but linked jen-chung images to Rocana of the Avataṁsaka. He dated the first Chinese jen-chung image to the start of the fifth century (Howard 1986:103–05).

Howard 1986:105 makes the following statements:

i. "Jen chung was a generic particle used with statuary. Its function was that of a measure in modern Mandarin." (p. 105).

ii. "there is no decisive proof as to the synonymity of the complete appellation and the two-character compound" (ibid.).

Howard is right that jen-chung denotes a measure. With reference to an image it means that its iconometric unit was the size of the finger or overall measurements of the donor. Life-size images were made in China. In 452 the Wei annals note that a stone image was fashioned to the likeness of the Emperor (Soper 1959:96). In the Yung-ning monastery, established in 516 by the Empress Dowager, a hall had ten gilded figures at life-size (ibid. 110). In 560 Emperor Hsiao Ming got fashioned on behalf of the late Emperor twelve life-sized statues of sandalwood (ibid. 116). The Sanskrit word *prati-mā* means a statue or image that corresponds to *(prati)* the measurements (*mā*) of the donor. The measurement of the donor were raised in multiples to arrive at colossal statues. Colossus is a statue of much more than life-size; gigantic person or personified empire etc., especially conceived, like the Colossus of Rhodes, as standing astride over dominions.

In the 7th century BC the Greeks produced the monumental Apollo of Delos, which was four times life-size. Herodotus visited Egypt in the 5th century BC and constantly refers to gigantic statues or *kolossoi*. Around 460 BC Calamis made a statue for Apollonia which was 50 feet high. The statues of Athena Parthenos and Zeus at Olympia sculpted by Phidias were about six and seven times respectively. In about 320 BC Lysippus made a 59 feet high statue of Zeus for Tarentum. His seated Hercules at Tarentum had the thumb as broad as a man. The most famous colossus of all was the bronze statue of Apollo Helios, set at the entrance to the harbour of Rhodes, 105 feet high, made from melted down weapons of a defeated enemy (Carter 1986:120). It was one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

Colossal statues of deities and emperors were erected all over the Roman empire to impress the might of Rome. Zenodorus was summoned by Nero to Rome to make a

statue 106 feet high intended to represent the emperor but dedicated to the Sun. It must have been multiples of the measurements and physiognomy of the emperor to represent the Sun (EBr. 1965:6.95).

When the Greeks, Romans, and others influenced by Hellenic traditions, like the Achaemenians, Parthians, Kushans, Tukharians, owned Buddhism in the North-West, these traditions influenced the establishment of colossi of Buddhist deities, like the giant wooden statue of Maitreya at Darel which was seen by Chinese pilgrims Pao-yün in AD 397, by Fa-hsien in AD 400, and by Fa-sheng around AD 404 (Soper 1959:268). A 100 feet Maitreya was cut into Mount Shih-ch'eng in AD 516. The fashioning of enormous images of the deities suggested supra-terrestrial power and they are found mostly in areas where the influence of Greco-Roman antiquity was evident.

The Japanese tradition of Kegon links gigantic images to Rocana of the Avataṁsaka. The colossal Rocana completed at the Todaiji monastery in 752 was originally 53 feet high. Emperor Shomu saw himself as an earthly counterpart to this Rocana. With this in mind Japanese scholars like Matsumoto, Mizuno and Yoshimura sought a connection between jen-chung images and Dharmadhātu Rocana. Howard (106) tried to disown this as there are no inscribed sculptures to support it. Jen-chung images represented the measurements of the donor or they were raised to multiples thereof.

The translation of Avataṁsaka texts into Chinese commenced as early as the second century AD and continued till the end of the eighth century. Besides, colossi and images of Rocana were a regular feature, as will be clear from the following table:

AD	
147–86	Tou-sha-ching 'epithets of the Buddha', trans. by Lokakṣema (Nj 102, T 280, K 90).
	Equal to text 3 in Buddhabhadra's Old Translation (Nj 87).
	Equal to text 7 in Śikṣānanda's New Translation (Nj 88).
388	Gaṇḍavyūha translated by Sheng-chien (K 102).
422	Avataṁsaka translated by Buddhabhadra (K 79).
460	70 feet colossus excavated by T'an-yao at Yun-kang (Soper 1959:97).
5th cent.	Rock-cut Rocana in Yun-kang Cave 18.
559	Jen-chung image of Dharmadhātu Rocana, made of stone. It was a life-size sculpture (Howard 1986:103)
575	Stone image of Rocana (Howard 103, 104).
8th cent.	Kao-an image, over two metres, called *fa-chieh ta-hsiang* 法界大象 'great Buddha of the Dharmadhātu' (Howard 38f., 104). It was a colossal image of Rocana of the Dharmadhātu i.e. Avataṁsaka.
583	Rocana, six inches high, to embellish the Avataṁsaka chapel of the Chao-

chung-kung temple (Howard 107).

590 Rocana in the Thousands of Buddhas Cliff of K'ou-mou, An-yang (Howard 107).

598 Rocana, 129 inches high, in lacquer (Howard 107).

632 Hsüan-tsang at Bamiyan.

685 Gaṇḍavyūha, translated by Divākara (K 104).

699 Empress Wu sponsored a new translation of the expanded Avataṁsaka, by Śikṣānanda (K 80, Howard 91).

742 Sokkuram constructed in Korea.

752 Rocana at Todaiji.

798 Gaṇḍavyūha, translated by Prājña (K 1262).

8th cent. Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir commissioned a bronze Buddha "reaching up to the skies" for a temple he constructed at Parihāsapura (Stein 1900:194).

Maitreya and Rocana alone were represented as colossi in the Buddhist world. This has a bearing on the identification of the two gigantic Buddhas at Bamiyan. The two are situated in the east and west, which in itself has a meaning. To cite a parallel: the Toji or Eastern Monastery was one of the two that were built on the east and west sides of the southern gate of the new capital of Kyoto, established in 794. The two monasteries invoked the protection of deities and thereby assured the peace and prosperity of the realm (Sawa 1972:130). The two colossi must have been to ensure the peace and prosperity of Bamiyan. The name Bamiyan is from *bami* 'resplendent', and its deeper intention is to reflect Rocana 'The Resplendent One'. Rocana does not have iconographic characteristics that contradistinguish him from Śākyamuni. Hence the Śākya Buddha of Hsüan-tsang can be Rocana.

Hsüan-tsang arrived at Bamiyan in AD 632. His following observations deserve consideration:

i. "The literature, customary rules, and money used in commerce are the same as those of the Tukhara country. Their language is a little different, but in point of personal appearance they closely resemble each other" (Beal 1884:1.50). The Tukharians were close to classical traditions and the rise of colossi among them was but natural.

ii. "They belong to the school of the Lokottaravādins". The Lokottaravādins were Mahāsāṅghikas. In the sixth century, Paramārtha listed the Avataṁsaka as belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika Canon (Klimburg-Salter 1989:62). Thus the Avataṁsaka was, in all likelihood, practised at Bamiyan.

Hsüan-tsang describes the Larger Western Colossus of 175 feet as: "To the north-east of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone

figure of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness." (Beal 1.50–51). Hui-li's Life of the pilgrim has: "there is a standing stone figure about 150 feet high" (Beal 1911:53). Watters (1904:1.118) translates: "on the declivity of a hill to the north-east of the capital was a standing image of Buddha made of stone, 140 or 150 feet high, of a brilliant golden colour and resplendent with ornamentation of precious substances". The 'Life' does not specify that the image was of Buddha. Hsüan-tsang was perhaps not sure of the identity of the image and his 'Travels' use the expression 立佛石像 which can be a general statement: 'a standing Buddhist stone image,' without specifying who he was. Rowland 1947:66 finds it "notable that, in his description of this statue, Hsüan-tsang refers to it merely as *Fo hsiang* (Jap. butsuzo), or "Buddha image". The memories of the brilliant golden colour of the statue and resplendent ornamentation are preserved in its modern name Surkh But "Red Image" (Watters 1904:1.118). The ornamentation refers to Avataṁsaka, which means a 'garland' in the Rāmāyaṇa, and has been translated into Chinese as *hua-yen* 'flower ornament' (Cleary).

It is no wonder that a Bamiyan colossus represents Rocana of the Avataṁsaka which had widespread popularity all over the Buddhist world: in China, Korea, Japan, and Indonesia. Afghanistan has been mentioned as a centre of spiritual activity in the 32nd book of the Avataṁsaka entitled "Dwelling Places of Enlightening Beings": "In Afghanistan there is a dwelling place called Producing Compassion, where enlightening beings have lived since ancient times" (Cleary 1986:2.219).

The Avataṁsaka was closely connected with the areas near Bamiyan. The earliest translation of the Avataṁsaka text Gaṇḍavyūha into Chinese (K 102, T 294, Nj 106) is entitled *Lo-mo-ch'ieh ching* 羅摩伽經 and it was done by Sheng-chien/ Ārya-sthira between AD 385 and 431 (Cleary 1983:205). It is an incomplete translation of text 34 of Buddhabhadra's Avataṁsaka, which is text 39 in Śikṣānanda's translation (Nj 106). Nanjio restores Rāmaka (? the name of a man). Ramma, Rammavatī was the city of birth of Dīpaṅkara Buddha (Malalasekera 1938:2.717). Akanuma also records the form Rammaka= Sanskrit Ramyaka. It was near Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad). Ramyaka is Lamghan which lies along the northern bank of the Kabul river, bounded on the west and east by Alingar and Kunar rivers. Hsüan-tsang notes that during his visit the greater portion studied Mahayana at Lampāka (Beal 1884:1.91). Thus the connection of Avataṁsaka and Bamiyan assumes added probability.

I would agree with Ono Gemmyo's suggestion that the Larger Western Colossus is Maitreya (Rowland 1947:72). Maitreya is the only Buddha among the 54 teachers in the Gaṇḍavyūha, approached by Sudhana. He is intimately linked to the Avataṁsaka, by being crucial in the culminating stages of illumination. The *voyages éclair* of Sudhana

find their spectacular crescendo in Sudhana's visit to the Mahāvyūha kūṭāgāra of Maitreya. "When Maitreya snaps his fingers the doors of the palace open and Sudhana enters a world of unequalled splendour. He admires its magnificent interior and witnesses countless miracles performed by Maitreya in different guises in order to demonstrate the virtuous properties of the Bodhisattva. The impressions of Sudhana become more and more dream-like and the miracles and apparitions more and more stupendous until Maitreya himself finally enters the kūṭāgāra to break the spell by snapping his fingers again" (Fontein 1967:14). The world of Rocana was magnificent in its immensity, but the future over which Maitreya would preside would be even more stupendous. The former Panchen Lama used to say that he was rather tall because his pre-incarnation had set up a gigantic statue of Maitreya at Tashilhumpo. In the age of Maitreya men will be taller than they are now. That is why his image is taller than the other colossus.

The Smaller Eastern Colossus, 127 feet, is described by Hsüan-tsang as follows: "to the east of convent there is a standing figure of Śākya Buddha, made of metallic stone (*teou-shih*), in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands" (Beal 1884: 1.51). Watters (1904:1.118) renders it: "East of this was a standing image of Sakyamuni Buddha above 100 feet high, made of *t'u-shih,* the pieces of which had been cast separately and then welded together into one figure." Hui-li's Life (Beal 1911:53) has "To the east of the figure there is a Saṅghārāma, to the east of which is a standing figure of Śākya, made of calamine stone, in height one hundred feet."

Hsüan-tsang identifies the image as "Śākya Buddha" 釋迦佛 translated as Śākya Buddha by Beal, and as Śākyamuni Buddha by Watters. The 'Life' has Śākya (Beal). Rowland (1947:62) rightly points out that "as the size of the statue alone indicates, this is no longer Śākyamuni, the mortal teacher of the primitive religion, but a vast magnification, almost twenty times the size of a man, a superhuman being, a 'Lokottara' ...The vast size of the images at Bamiyan is to suggest the immeasurable dimensions of the Buddha Lokottara."

Hsüan-tsang says that the image was made of *t'u-shih*, translated as 'metallic stone' by Beal, who points out in footnote 176: This *teou-shih* is described by Medhurst (*sub voc.*) as "a kind of stone resembling metal. The Chinese call it the finest kind of native copper. It is found in the Po-sze country (Persia) and resembles gold". Watters does not translate it but in the discussion he would like to render it as bronze. In the Hui-li's Life, Beal translates it 'calamine stone' (or 'covered with brass plates' in the footnote). Rowland (1947:65): "it has always been difficult to reconcile the translation of *t'u-shih* as 'brass' or 'bronze' with the obvious stone and mud figure that has survived to the present day. The Chinese expression is clear that it is a kind of stone. Medhurst explains

it as a kind of stone resembling metal. Hsüan-tsang uses the qualifying *t'u* to extol the quality of the stone used for the colossus, as being of the finest kind, and to the Chinese resembling gold.

The Chinese compound 分身 fên-shên (Jap. bunshin) as a Buddhist term designates miniature "emanations of the Universal Buddha as seen on the haloes of innumerable Japanese statues of all periods" (Rowland 1947:65). Beal's translation is "different parts". Hui-li's Life does not refer to this at all.

If *bunshin* is translated as smaller emanation images, "it is easy to imagine that smaller images in metal were attached somewhere about the colossus. Since there is no room for them, nor any evidence that such attachments ever existed inside the niche, it might be possible to conjecture that they were fastened around the outside of the cave. Professor Ono Gemmyo in his book on Mahayana art, insists that the *bunshinkebutsu* were "separately cast" and attached to the halo of the image, and proposes a comparison with the Daibutsu of Todaiji (Nara) and the Roshana (Vairocana Buddha) of Toshodaiji" (Rowland 1947:65).

Klimburg-Salter (1989:89) says that "the colossal Buddhas probably had the exposed parts of their bodies covered in metal. The brass face may also have been gilded." In this case, we can translate *fên shên* as detachable parts or limbs of the body. These parts were cast separately and attached to the statue. They support the view of Klimburg-Salter that the faces of both colossi were detachable pieces: "Recent research (Appendix III) confirms that the face must have been made of a wooden mask. It might have been covered with brass or possibly gilded. The mask would have been anchored in the deep trough behind the ledge above the lower lip. There is no other reasonable explanation for this depression (Fig. 21). It is quite possible that metal ornaments, jewels and even a crown were attached to this mask. Metal earrings may have been affixed to the head in the deep grooves under the stucco ears. Such a system would have allowed the changing of the Buddha's raiments on ceremonial occasions, a custom attested to in India."

In the light of the above archaeological observations, the Chinese original of Hsüan-tsang could better be rendered as:

分 (Giles 3506) to separate, to detach
身 (Giles 9813) body
別 (Giles 9155) separately
鑄 (Giles 2613) cast
總 (Giles 12010) brought together
合成 (Giles 3947) and united to
立 (Giles 6954) the standing [statue].

"A few fragments of frescoes lower down on the sides of the niche indicate that

once the entire alcove was decorated with rows of seated Buddhas" (Rowland 1947:63). They were emanations of Rocana, and we can identify the Smaller Eastern Colossus as the image of Rocana.

Vairocana occurs in the Chinese Saṁyuktāgama, which was translated during the three Ch'in dynasties (AD 352–431) by an unknown translator (K 651:3.8), and a second time by Guṇabhadra between AD 435–43 (K 650:40.17). This text corresponds to Pali Verocana-sutta in the Saṁyutta-nikāya (1.225f.) where he is lord of asuras (*Verocana asurinda*). His epithet 'lord of asuras' indicates that he came from the frontier regions. The cult of Vai[Rocana] could have arisen in the north-western regions of India. Gandhāra, gandharvas, and Rocana 'The Resplendent' at Bamiyan, recall Aṅgāraparṇa a king of gandharvas in the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata (Phalgunadi 1990:239). The word *parṇa* refers to Avesta *farnah* 'royal glory'. The name means that he had glowing (*aṅgāra*) splendour (*parṇa*).

The famous colossus of Sri Lanka is the Avukana image, which has features similar to those of the Bamiyan colossi. It is approximately 43 feet in height. Avukana is an echo of the ancient name Avagāna 'Afghan' in Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṁhitā. Colossi seem to have spread from the NW to such remote areas as Sri Lanka. The Mahā-vaṁsa notes that monastic dignitaries came from Gandhāra at the crowning ceremony of the Mahasäya stūpa completed by king Duṭṭhagamanī around 161–37 BC (Perera 1980:179f.). A statue resembling Avukana colossus has been found from Matara in southern Sri Lanka. It is a 5.5 feet tall granite statue, and could be from the 9th century Anuradhapura period. The Avukana colossus can well be Rocana of the Avataṁsaka, which was introduced in Sri Lanka as Dharmadhātu in the reign of Silakala (AD 518–31).

VAIROCANA

Amitābha and Rocana formed two phases in the line of development. In Gaṇḍavyūha 82.5–12, ten Tathāgatas of the ten directions are named, the first of whom is Amitābha and the last is Vairocana. Amitābha gave rise to the Abhisambodhi Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu; the two share common characteristics of (i) the dhyāna mudrā, (ii) two attendant acolytes, Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi flanking Vairocana in place of Avalokita-svara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta on the two sides of Amitābha, and (iii) the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in the train of both. The mandala of this Vairocana was enclosed by Hindu devas in the enceinte of vajras. The basic structure of this mandala is:

Central enclosure	: main deity (Tathāgata) + acolytes
Intermediate enclosure(s)	: Eight Great Bodhisattvas
Outer enclosure	: Hindu deities

The Vajradhātu Vairocana is an entirely new concatenation, where the two aco-

lytes, the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and Hindu deities do not figure. Here (i) the Thousand Buddhas of Rocana's world encircle the mandala as Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa; (ii) the mudrā changes to bodhyagrī; (iii) thirty-three deities are in the entourage, echoing the Trayastriṁśa Paradise, and (iv) the illusion-destroying *vidyā* or feminine symbolism is introduced in the four pāramitās or transcendental perfections surrounding Mahāvairocana.

To the translators of the Mantrayana texts, Vajrabodhi, Śubhākarasiṁha and Amoghavajra the differences between Rocana/Virocana and the two Vairocanas seem to have been clearer. To distinguish the new Vairocana from his precursor Virocana, the Mantrayana patriarchs used an entirely new term Dainichi 大 日 The Great Sun.

i. Vairocana (Mahāvairocana) of the caryā-tantras, with a crown and with both hands in the dhyāna mudrā, and in Tibetan referred to as Abhisambodhi-Vairocana.

ii. Mahāvairocana (Vairocana) with a crown of five Tathāgatas and distinguished by his unique bodhyagrī mudrā.

Vairocana (as distinguished from Rocana and Virocana) as the immeasurable luminosity emanates into Five Tathāgatas, and reminds of the five light elements of the cosmology and soteriology of Manichaeism (Breuil 1989:65, Tucci 1971:2.343). The Indo-Iranian cultural fusion can be seen in an inscription by the side of the head of the Buddha at Kara Tepe, which gives him a syncretic name *Buddha-Mazdā*. The analogies and parallel developments were not accidental in the north-western regions. Vairocana is more eminent than Śākyamuni in the placement on fingers: "Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that from a very early period certain hand gestures had specific meanings and even one posture, the añjali, often seen in later sculpture and tantric ritual manuals, is documented in the Gṛhya and Śrauta-sūtras. From the earliest times to the present day this has been the sign of reverence, homage, salutation and supplication. It is also significant that over every finger one of the greater gods is believed to preside: Agni over the thumb, etc." (Gonda 1980:68 quotes the Vaikhānasa-gṛhya-sūtra 1.2). This very old tradition has been transmitted even in the Shingon and Tendai schools in Japan. There Vairocana presides over the thumb, Akṣobhya over the index finger, Ratnasambhava over the middle finger, Amitābha over the ring finger and Śākyamuni over the little finger, to give one example" (Saunders 1960:32, Todaro 1985:66).

The number five plays an important role as late as the Moghul emperor Akbar whose palace at Fatehpur Sikri was Panch Mahal or a five-storeyed edifice. Chih-i speaks of the trikāya, a system which surfaced in quite unexpected places and ways. The correlation of the trikāya with Vairocana can be seen in his mandalas in the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, as depicted by Śubhākarasiṁha in the Gobu-shingan:

kāya	attributes	seated on	mandala	Gobu
sambhoga	crowned & ornamented	seven lions	mahā-m.	1 Vairocana
"	"	lotus	dhāraṇī-m.	39 consort Vajradhātvīśvarī
dharma	" addorsed by vajras	lotus	sūkṣma-m.	72 Vairocana
nirmāṇa	monastic robes	lotus	pūjā-m.	105 Vairocana

In the emergence of Vairocana, the family descent of the Buddha also seems to have played a significant role. The Buddha was a scion of Ikṣvāku lineage which was the Solar Dynasty *par excellence*. He was the Son of the 'Sun' family. Thus the transition from Śākyamuni to Vairocana was inherent in the lineage of the Enlightened One. Virocana means the 'sun'. The Sino-Japanese translation of Vairocana is Dai-nichi 'Great Sun'. Vairocana is also Cakravartin, the universal monarch. As such he is Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣa-Cakravartin. He has two forms in the Japanese tradition: Shaka-Kinrin (Shaka = Śākyamuni, Kinrin = Cakravartin) and Dainichi-Kinrin (Dainichi = Vairocana, Kinrin = Cakravartin) (Huntington 1975:150).

The sun symbolises light. In the Upaniṣads themselves, light was knowledge: *tamaso mā jyotir gamaya*. The very word *deva*, Latin *divus*, English *divine*, are cognate to the root *div* 'to shine...'. In the Śaiva tradition, the Śiva-liṅgas are Jyotir-liṅgas. The Enlightenment of the Buddha or the Enlightened Buddha had been Dīpaṅkara, he was apotheosised as Amitābha, later on as Rocana of the Avataṁsaka, Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu, culminating in Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. Amitābha, Rocana of the Avataṁsaka, and Vairocana of the Garbhadhātu have the same dhyāna-mudrā of meditation which marks them out as apotheoses of dhyāna or Enlightenment. The sūtras pertaining to Amitābha and the manifestations of Vairocana belong to the same line of development of the Vaipulya tradition.

The Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma represents the most popular Indian text of the genre of sahasra-nāma texts of a thousand epithets of a divinity. The Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa (included in the Vajradhātu mandala) also pertain to this category of literature. Among the thousand names several pertain to illumination, the luminosity of Enlightenment, to Buddha as the Light of the World or *Jagad-virocana* in the words of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha. Instances are: 3 Kāśyapa (from the √*kāś* 'to shine'), 7 Pradyota, 18 Mahāprabha, 19 Arciṣkandha, 20 Vairocana, 22 Candra, 23 Arciṣmant, 24 Suprabha, 27 Pradyota, et passim (Weller 1928).

The Lalitavistara (Lefmann 383.9, 11) refers to Vairocana as the spokesman of the nīlakāyika devaputras. Edgerton 310 b interprets Nīlakāyika as the name of a class of

gods noted only in this passage. Further on he explains the term: "Tibetan renders *sṅon-po* (blue) *ris* (form, figure, also party, like BHS *kāya*). This suggests that Tib. understood 'belonging to the group of Nīla (blue) one's, rather than blue-bodied. In LV they, and their spokesman Vairocana, seem to be superior to the four mahārāja gods". The nīlakāyika devaputras gave four stone vessels (*śailapātra,* LV. 383.9) to the four Mahārājas of the four directions who offered them to Lord Buddha. This context occurs in the Trapuṣa–Bhallika chapter. Trapuṣa–Bhallika belonged to the north-western region of Bhallika/Bāhlīka/Balkh (Lokesh Chandra 1979). So Vairocana, the Nīlakāyika king *(Vairocano nāma Nīlakāyiko devaputraḥ,* LV. 383.11) should belong to this region. Devaputra signifies a king. In fact, Vairocana is the name of a cakravartin, a former incarnation of Maitreya, in the Mahāvastu (1.59.2, 13). Further, vairocana (virocana) is a jewel in the Mahāvastu (2.317.13), Gaṇḍavyūha (101.12, 159.1) (Edgerton 1953:512a). In this sense the word *vairocana* reminds us of the Iranian term for turquoise: *pērōz*. Prof. R.E. Emmerick of the Hamburg University has kindly sent me the following note: *"fīrōz* is an arabicised form of *pērōz*. It is difficult to say exactly when the spelling with *f* is first attested as it is often found as a variant in some MSS when others have *p*. The earliest occurrence of the word is Ammianus Marcellinus 19.2.11 (4th century AD) but it is attested as a personal name already in the Great Inscription of Šabuhr I (third century AD). P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie,* p. 78 derived *pērōz* from 'aw. **paiti.raočah*', which if correct would mean it is related to Sanskrit *virocana,* but already H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien,* Strassburg, 1895, p. 45 pointed out that this etymology is excluded by the Pahlavi spelling. The correct etymology of *pērōz* was first given by W.B. Henning in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 1933.228. According to him it goes back to an Old Iranian form **pari-aujah* and is thus related to Sanskrit *ojas* 'power'. As far as I know this etymology has not been questioned by any serious scholar. Any etymology has to account for both Middle Persian *pyrwz* (pērōz) and Middle Parthian *prywj* (*paryōž*). The arabicised spellings with *f* date of course only from the period after the introduction of the Arabic script." The word turquoise itself is the French feminine of *turquois* 'Turkish' pointing to its import from West Asia. The turquoise is an opaque sky-blue precious stone. Nīlakāya can refer to an area abounding in blue (nīla) stones like turquoise. Kāyeśa is a synonym for Vairocana, whom he replaces in the enumeration of the Five Buddhas in Sādhanamālā (164.9). The expression Nīlakāyika devaputra is paralleled by *tuṣitakāyiko devaputro* (Mahāvastu and Lalita-vistara), *tuṣitabhavanakāyiko devaputro* in Mahāvastu 1.174.1.

-kāya in Nīlakāyika can represent the Iranian *kai* (Avesta *kavi)* which was the title of local kinglets (Olmstead 1943:46). Then it would mean 'the kings (*kāya*) of the region of turquoise (*nīla)*'. "A later dynasty, that of the Kayanians—perhaps a Bactrian dynasty

—derived their name and descent from Kai Kobādh (Av. Kavi Kavāta), followed by Kai Kāūs (Av. Kavi Usa), Siyāvash (Av. Syāvarshan), Kai Khosru (Av. Husrava), Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvat-aspa), and finally, Ghushtāsp (Av. Vishtāspa)" (Casartelli 1914:7.722a). Vishtāspa's first son was born in 550 BC. To glorify the religion, the son was named Darayavohu-manah "The Upholder of a Good Mind" (Dhāraya-vasu-manaḥ in Sanskrit), Darayavaush in Western Persian and Darius to the Greeks.

Iranian royalty was endowed with *khvarenō,* an effulgence or bright glory that attached to kings. "Under the Old Persian form *farnah* the word occurs in several well-known proper names, and even in Media, more than a century before Cyrus. The prophet Zarathustra was also endowed with this quasi-divine splendour" (ibid. 722a). The kings of the Kayanian dynasty (A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 1931) are frequently referred to in the Yasht and Kai Khusro is hailed as a great hero (Yasht 5.49, 9.21, 15.32, 17.41, 19.74). The likely Bactrian origin of the Kayanian dynasty accords with Bactrian (Bhallika) association of the Nīlakāyika devaputra Vairocana. The khvarəno/farnah or the spiritual substance of the kingship of Iran was retained by the most renowned royalty of Iran, the Kavis, during several generations (ERE.1.206a). It was thus deeply rooted in the minds of Bactrian bhikṣus and through them it was reflected as the effulgence (*rocana*) of Vairocana. The consort of Vairocana is in fact *Rocanā* (wrongly Locanā).

"The provenance of serviceable stones (i.e. turquoise) is limited to a few places whose history may be traced back to thousands of years.... It can hardly be doubted that the turquoise was obtained in the Sasanid period and even earlier in the mines around Nīshāpūr... General Sir A. Houtum-Schindler... has given a detailed account of the Persian turquoise mines at Mash-had in Khurasān. (J. Ruska—[M. Plessner]'s article on fīrūzadj in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1965:2.927–28). "Material of excellent colour later was mined in Persia and brought into Europe through Turkey; this probably accounts for the mineral name.... Iran has yielded material of finest quality, principally from the Ali-Mirsai-Kuh mountains near Nīshāpūr, in the province of Khurasan." (EB.1965: 22.629).

Turquoise was in demand all over the ancient world, from the Iranian areas. The king whose dominions were enriched by turquoise mining and export must have outshone his neighbours in opulence. His kingdom would have been a centre of prodigious wealth and international significance, whose prosperity and splendour must have kept pace. These rulers of turquoise, these nīlakāyikas, became embodiments of shine and shimmer, radiance and brilliance, the virtual sons of luminescence (virocana), aptly named Vairocana. Moreover, this was in consonance with the most ancient traditions of Iran about royalty. From the times of Zoroaster, yasht 19 sings the praises of kingly glory, *kavaya hvarenah,* a sort of halo or radiance said to have been possessed by kings and heroes of

Iran in olden times (ERE.2.267).

Firuz, the Sasanian king of Iran from AD 457/459 to 484 was confronted in Bactria by the Hephthalites. He charged his cavalry into a hidden ditch and perished with all his troops about 1 Jan. 484 (EB.1965:9.316). It shows that Firuz, the word for turquoise, was the name of kings as late as the fifth century and that Bactria was within the orbit of Iranian history. No wonder that Vairocana refers *inter alia* to turquoise, and enshrines the epic glories of Iranian kings through Buddhist monks of Iranian origin.

The configuration of Vajradhātu mandala of Vairocana is described by the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (1949:44) as follows: *Vajradhātu-maṇḍale vajra-pañjar-odare dvīpopa-dvīpa-sapta-samudrādi-parikalita-sumer-ūpari kūṭāgāraṁ/ tasya madhye siṁhopari... bhagavān Vairocano...* It means that in the Vajradhātu mandala Lord Vairocana is seated on a lion which is in the middle of a pavilion atop the Sumeru surrounded by the seven seas, continents and sub-continents in vajra-precincts. The architectonic complex of the Vajradhātu mandala has a sanctified area set off by vajras. Amidst the seven seas and continents arises Mount Sumeru over which is the pavilion with the image of Vairocana mounted on a lion.

The full details of the construction of the mandala are provided by Mkhas-grub-rje (AD 1385–1438) in the generation of the residence (**ādhār-otpatti*). It is quoted below *in extenso* from Lessing/Wayman (1968:175): "he must imagine an earth surface (**bhūmitala*) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, *Oṁ cala.*

"Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus *(padma)* and the blue lotus (*utpala*), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula, *Oṁ vimala daha hūṁ.*

"In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, sapphire (*indra-nīla*), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many *yojanas* a lotus trunk which takes its origin from a shaft in the centre of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, anthers of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver.

"Above it, he is to imagine a canopy *(vitāna)* [appearing] in an instant. On top of that [canopy], he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace stūpas of the varieties 'victorious' and 'radiant'." Thereafter the gods are invited to be residents (*ādheya*) and seats are offered to them in the kūṭāgāra. Prof. Wayman (1973:104 pl. 9,

102–09) has illustrated the Sumeru from a Tibetan painted scroll.

The three-storied pavilion which rests on the cloud atop Sumeru is Indra's palace called Sudarśana (Lessing 1942:104). "The tiny structure on the top of the palace roof... may very well be a stylised part of a stūpa. It will be recalled that Mkhas grub rje mentions two kinds of stūpas that can be generated in the palace. Like the standard stūpa, this structure—as the photograph is seen with a microscope—also has on its very top the crescent moon surmounted by the sun, in turn surmounted by a hook-like curve that should represent fire" (Wayman 1973:109). Prof. Wayman's crescent moon is candra, the sun is the bindu and "the hook-like curve that should represent fire" is the nāda. These three are the candra, bindu and nāda of praṇava (i.e. OṀ).

The pavilion of Vairocana on top of Sumeru, which rises within a vajra enclosure, towering over the seven seas, four continents with their sub-continents, can be seen in the Hizoki of Kobo Daishi (AD 774–835). The pavilion is held aloft by a crescent that arises in the meditative process. It is the bodhimaṇḍa for meditation in Mantrayana (TZ 1.12 pl. 1, 2).

Other deities seated on a lotus on a mountain pertain to the Vajraśekhara tradition. In the Asabashō, compiled by Shōchō (AD 1205–81), five forms of Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara are illustrated (TZ.264 fig. 30–34). Among them the two-armed and four-armed Cintāmaṇi sit atop a mountain. In Japanese Shingon/Mantrayana, the yoga-tantras related to the Vajradhātu Vairocana are known as Vajraśekhara-yoga texts. The following titles begin with the expression Vajraśekhara-yoga, unless otherwise indicated:

T	K	Nj	
241	—	1033	Prajñāpāramitā-naya, trans. by Vajrabodhi.
789	1273	1036	Merits of a rosary, trans. by Amoghavajra.
872	—	—	Thirty-seven Deities, trans. by Amoghavajra?
865	1274	1020	Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, trans. by Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
866	429	534	Japa-sūtra of the STTS., trans. by Vajrabodhi.
869	1289	1448	Eighteen Assemblies, by Amoghavajra.
871	—	—	Thirty-seven Deities, by Amoghavajra.
872	—	—	Thirty-seven Deities, by Amoghavajra?
873	1310	1436	Padmakula-hṛdaya-japa-kalpa, by Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
874	—	1355	Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, trans. by Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
876	1268	1427	Vairocana-samādhi-kalpa, by Vajrabodhi.
877	—	—	108 names of Vairocana, by Śubhākarasiṁha and Ichigyō.

			Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
878	1332	—	Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
879	—	1453	Thirty-seven Deities, by Amoghavajra.
880	1370	1052	Meaning of each letter of the alphabet, by Amoghavajra. The Chinese title begins: Yoga-vajraśekhara–.
908	1335	1443	Homa-kalpa, by Amoghavajra.
909	—	1443	Homa-kalpa, by Amoghavajra.
931	1368	1431	Avalokiteśvara-caryā, by Amoghavajra. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra–.
932	—	1430	Avalokiteśvara-caryā, by Vajrabodhi.
957	1358	—	Amoghavajra.
958	—	—	Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
1040	1366	—	Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
1056	1311	1383	Sahasrabhuja-caryā, by Amoghavajra
1102	1328	1414	Tārā-japa, by Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
1120a	1346	1410	Samantabhadra-japa, by Amoghavajra. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhar-ānuttara-yoga–.
1121	—	—	
1122	—	1390	Samantabhadra-japa, by Amoghavajra.
1123	1315	—	Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
1125	1318	1411	Pañcaguhya-japa, by Amoghavajra.
1155	—	—	Amoghavajra.
1171	1280	1447	Mañjuśrī-kalpa, by Amoghavajra.
1172	1350	1446	Mañjuśrī-mantra, by Amoghavajra. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
1173	465	537	Mañjuśrī-hṛdaya-dhāraṇī, by Vajrabodhi. Its Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
1175	1363	1428	Mañjuśrī-kalpa, by Amoghavajra.
1209	1380	1389	Trailokyavijaya-siddhi, by Amoghavajra.
1665	1369	1319	Bodhicittotpāda, by Amoghavajra.
1798	—	—	Amoghavajra. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra-mahāyoga–.

In the works of ancient Japanese masters the position is:

2221 Kobo Daishi. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra–.
2223 Ennin. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra–.
2224 Raison. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra–.

2291 Kakuban. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra–.
2292 Saisen. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
2293 Eisai. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
2451 Goho. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara–.
2518 Kakuban. The Chinese title begins: Vajraśekhara-sūtra–.

The terms Vajraśekhara or Vajraśekhara-yoga occur in the works translated mostly by Amoghavajra, then by Vajrabodhi, and only once by Śubhākarasiṁha. Amoghavajra had come to Sri Lanka to take the tantric texts and here they must have been known as Vajraśekhara-yoga, that is, yoga-tantras as found in the Vajraśekhara denomination. Vajraśekhara is a synonym of Vajraparvata. In Korea, the Diamond Mountain (Sanskrit: Vajraparvata) was the seat of Mantrayana. The Nikāya-saṅgraha, written by Devarakṣita around AD 1400, speaks of the introduction of the Vajraparvata sect in the reign of king Sena I (846–66). The deities sitting on a mountain have the denominational significance of belonging to the traditions of Vajraśekhara.

Vairocana as the Universal Monarch or Ekākṣara Cakravartin. Vairocana represents the state, impirium or universal dominion. In this form he is known as Ekākṣara Cakravartin (Jap. Ichiji Kinrin). Ichiji Kinrin is rendered into Sanskrit also as Ekākṣara Uṣṇīṣacakra. His supreme mantra or ekākṣara is BHRŪṀ. He is the sovereign of sovereigns, the supreme (uṣṇīṣa) cakra (vartin). He has two forms: Śākya Cakravartin (Shaka-kinrin) and Vairocana Cakravartin (Dainichi-kinrin). As Śākya-Cakravartin he holds the cakra/wheel in the bowl-bearing mudrā (Huntington 1975:150). In Tibetan he is Śākyasiṁha, the Sarvavid Vairocana. In ordinary rites, Vairocana Cakravartin is worshipped in the jñāna-muṣṭi. His samaya symbol is the eight-spoked wheel (for details see Mochizuki 1.140–41).

Ekākṣara Cakravartin is illustrated in several Japanese pantheons, with the seven jewels (sapta-ratna) of a universal monarch: wheel (cakra), wish-granting jewel (cintāmaṇi), horse, elephant, queen, general, and minister, for instance, in the Shoson-zuzō by Shinkaku (AD 1117–80, TZ. 88.7), in the Collection of Kakuzen drawn by him between AD 1183–1213 (TZ. 102.62, 64), in the Mandara-shū 'collection of mandalas' compiled by Kōnen and copied in AD 1187 (TZ. 98 figs. 7, 8), in Asabashō compiled by Shōchō (AD 1205–82), and in several other pantheons of Shingon. This confirms the integral association of Vairocana and the State. Vairocana Cakravartin is illustrated below:

The residence of Vairocana as a cakravartin, a universal monarch, is equated with Sudarśana, the palace of Indra. The city of a cakravartin has enclosures of gold, silver and other jewels. In the Dīghanikāya (2.170) the city of Kuśāvatī was surrounded by seven enclosures made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, ruby, coral and one of all jewels. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Kuśāvatī has seven enclosures, but made of four precious stones only: gold, silver, beryl and crystal. Dīpavatī, the capital of the Cakravartin Arciṣmat, has seven vedikājālas of seven colours of gold, silver, mother-of-pearl, beryl, crystal, coral and ruby (Mahāvastu 1.194.3, 19). Likewise the Sumeru of Vairocana has terraces of various jewels, and seven lines enclose the central lotus enceinte of Vairocana in the Garbhadhātu mandala.

The city of a cakravartin recalls the royal city of the Medes Ecbatana (ancient Hagamatana, modern Hamadan) whose seven enclosures were of gold, silver, orange, blue, purple, black and white (Herodotus, 5th century BC, 1.98): "Witness the city of Ecbatana with its seven surrounding walls of different colors, probably meant to corre-

spond to the seven planetary spheres; their diminishing height from the center to the periphery presents an obvious parallel to the great towers of Babylonia and Assyria. Apparently within the innermost circle, which was of gold and corresponded to that of the sun, was the dwelling of the king, who, seated at the center of his cosmos, identified himself in that manner with divinity. The Parthian Darabgerd and the Sassanian fortress of Firuzabad are examples of cities with circular plans that were probably inspired by analogous symbolisms." (R. Gnoli, *EWA*. 3.839).

"The seven walls rising up one within another—recalling the seven tiers of the cosmic temple towers of Babylonia and Assyria—obviously are an image of the seven cosmic spheres, in the middle of which the Sun-King is seated; the golden wall around the royal palace reflects the brilliance of the sun, the silver wall next to it apparently that of the moon. The cosmic significance of this kingly city is clear...

"The residence of the Indian Cakravartin like that of the Babylonian monarch, is made after the model of the terraced towers surmounted by a temple. The universal monarch resides there because being like the sovereign of the gods, he must live like him at the summit of the cosmic mountain. Sumeru and the *Zikkurat,* the imperial city and the celestial temple, might be juxtaposed as equivalent symbols in the political and the religious order." (Przyluski 1935:26). This is reflected in that Vairocana the cakravartin resides on the Sumeru in an eaved palace which is topped by a stūpa.

According to Herodotus (1.96f.) the Medes were united into a strong and independent confederation by Deioces at the beginning of the seventh century BC. Deioces, the village judge, was chosen king by the Medes after they won their independence from Assyria. Deioces built Ecbatana as the capital and ruled for 53 long years (about 727–675 BC, EB.1965:7.181). As the first historic capital of Iran, it became a national symbol as well as the glory of the Iranian people which touched their ethos to its very depths. It resounded into the farthermost eastern confines of the Iranian world, as far as Bactria and adjacent lands of Gandhara. When the people of these areas became ardent Buddhist devotees they expressed their new piety in terms of their deepmost symbols, one of which was the cosmocratic configuration of Ecbatana, which later became the inspiration and design of the mandala.

The mandala is the dwelling of a sugata, a *sugatālaya,* in the work Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi (Tucci 1949:1.249). The "mandalas are square" (ibid. 267). They are encircled by circular meditative barriers which have given rise to the misconception that the word mandala means 'circle, globe which is round, circular, a magic circle' (e.g. in Tajima 1959:33). In fact both the Japanese mandalas of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu are rectangular. The word mandala was usually transliterated into Chinese because of the variety of its meanings. In the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha, Amoghavajra (AD 753)

has translated mandala by *e* 會 which means 'assembly'. It has no reference to the form of the mandala. The mandala represents the scheme of the palace of a Cakravartin.

In a painted mandala, within the four circumscribing circles of fire, vajra, cemeteries and lotus leaves is the *square* mandala. On its four sides "are drawn four doors (*sgo*) in the shape of a T. ...These doors are flanked by five bands, each painted in one of the five colours. On the sides of each of them are two or more pillars (*ka-ba*) supporting the toraṇa (*rta-ḥbabs)* which surmounts the door. The doors are joined by a belt which is itself divided into five parts. ...Above all, the balcony, called *mdaḥ-yab* or padma, because it is decorated with lotus flowers. Over the doors rises the arch, toraṇa, made of eleven fringes (*snam-bu*) or storeys, resting on the small pillars on both sides of the doors: beginning from below, they are called *rin-chen sar-bu/* jewelled band, *rin-po-che/*the gem, *rta-rmig/*the horse's hoof, *gser/*gold, *chu-srin/*makara; *gser/*gold ... On the top of the toraṇa there must be a lotus, on which rests the wheel of the Law with its twelve spokes; on its right and left two gazelles *kṛṣṇasāra,* a symbol of the preaching of Sarnath.

"Above the wheel we see the umbrella (*gdugs*) a badge of royalty; on its sides *ba-dan/*small flags, stuck on staffs resting on vases (*bum-pa, kalaśa*). All round, on the edge of the belt from door to door, paradise trees (*dpag-bsam-śiṅ*) are born out of the bhadrakalaśa *(bum-pa bzaṅ-po*), "vase of the water of longevity" and next the seven gems, emblem of the Cakravartin are placed: eight-spoked wheel, six-toothed white elephant, green horse, girl of sixteen, gem with six rays, a red minister with an inexhaustible treasure, a general of a dark colour, with cuirass, spear and sword" (Tucci 1949: 1.319).

Dichotomy in the configuration of the mandala. In a mandala drawn on a flat surface we can see two configurations, squares and circles. The square parts of the mandala are a two-dimensional diagram of a sanctum dedicated to a central deity and its Olympian assembly. It has four gates in the four cardinal directions. The inner portion of the diagram has square structures which are the walls, pillars and other architectural elements of the sanctum. The round parts are psychic elements. Its inner psychic chore is constituted by the eight-petalled lotus of the heart of the devotee wherein resides the main deity with his prominent acolytes. The other psychic elements are also round, like the outermost circle of fire to burn the sins of the meditator. The vajrāvalī or circle of vajras represents the solidity of the adamantine plane wherein the Vajrayana practitioner has become a vajra-being, a vajra-sattva, one empowered to undertake Vajrayana practices and rituals. The circle of lotuses, padmāvalī, is the purity of heart with which the devotee approaches the sanctum. Thus the psychic components of the circles of fire, vajras and lotuses in the mandala are round, while the solid material components of the

architectonic temple are square. A mandala is thus a square and circle, the squared material space and the circularity of psychospheres.

"...In the Parthian *Darabjird* the wall and fosse form an exact circle with an inner wall marking a concentric circle; the whole area was divided into 8 equal sectors by radial axis streets ending in wall gates, 4 of which were situated at the 4 main points of the compass. *Firuzabad* in the very heart of Persis, originally the fortified residence of the new Sassanian dynasty, before its transference to Ctesiphon, is of the same circular type. In the 12th century Ibn al Balkhi says of it: "The city is like a circle traced with a compass". There was a gate at each of the main points of the compass and, undoubtedly, an axial street-cross connecting them. Istakhri writes of it in the 10th century: "It has four gates: in the east Bab Mihr, in the west Bab Bahram, in the north Bab Hormizd, and in the south Bab Ardeshir". Residential cities such as Darabjird and Firuzabad must have been the prototype of the most famous of all the cosmic "round cities" of the East: Baghdad, "al-Madīna al Mudauwara", "The Round City' of Mansur founded 762, at a moment chosen by Naubakht, the official astrologer of the caliph" (L'Orange 1953:10).

"Vairocana, dwelling in the Akaniṣṭha Heaven, does not proceed elsewhere because he is the Sambhoga-kāya, possessing the five certainties. But with the magical apparition (*nirmita*) of a Vairocana Nirmāṇa-kāya having four heads, he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and took his place in the eaved palace (*kūṭāgāra*) of precious thunderbolts. There he took his place on a lion's throne (*siṁhāsana*) formed of the bodhisattvas in their last life who had been transformed into the appearance of lions" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:215). With Akaniṣṭha compare Kaniṣka (= kaniṣṭha) of the Kushans.

Sumeru the abode of gods was a reflection of the apperception that the palatine of a great king should be an image of the universe. In this connection the remarks of L'Orange are relevant:

"A certain ambiguity in our literary tradition at times placing Khusrau's heavens in the throne room, at another time in a fire temple, must be due to affinities existing between the sanctuary of the god of heaven and that of his representation and reflection on earth. As proved by archaeological evidence, a dominating type of fire temples and throne-rooms was a square domed building; and the dome must have had the same heavenly function in temple and palace." (L'Orange 1953:23).

"This is expressed by the Persian prince Tiridates to Nero when the latter crowns him King of Armenia (in Rome in the year AD 66): the conception of the Oriental king is transferred to the Roman emperor. On doing obeisance to Nero, Tiridates greets him as Mithra, the royal god of the Iranians, declaring: "I shall be whetever you spin for me, for you are both my Moira and my Tyche".

"It is therefore natural that the throne-room of the Great King should be an image of the universe and of the universal dominion of the stars. This is effected by introducing the cosmic movements, whether of the hall or of the throne, into the royal ritual" (L'Orange 1953:23).

"Hellenism had developed the astrology of the East into a scientific, religious–philosophic system which in Roman times had conquered the Classical world. Even the empire was permeated with these Eastern ideas. The royal cosmocrator makes his entry into the Palatine. As a striking expression of this theology the revolving rotunda now invades the imperial palace. Suetonius describes a similar rotunda in the Domus Aurea built by Nero in the last years of his reign (started in the year AD 64) hardly a generation before Suetonius' account." (L'Orange 1953:28).

The king is the Sun-Cosmocrator, spinning the fate of mortals. Vairocana means 'the sun', and he is the Cakravartin = Cosmocrator. The second element *vartin* in Cakravartin reflect the cosmic movement. Let us go back to Iran and Iranian concepts in Rome:

"At the same time at which this cosmic hall was built, Nero, in a number of official images is represented as Apollo-Helios, or he acts *in persona*, in the theatre and circus, as this god. In the astrological conception this Nero-Helios is cosmocrator like the kings of the East. Thus, as we have just seen, the Persian prince Tiridates did obeisance to him as the royal God of Fate (AD 66). In the very guise of Sun-Cosmocrator Nero appears to us in the huge statue in the vestibule of the Golden House. And here the image of Nero is especially expressive: for this Nero-Cosmocrator is in itself the moving principle in the revolving rotunda of the palace. He is, as Cicero says of the Sun, "Leader, prince and controller of the heavenly lights, the soul of the world and its directive force" (*dux et princeps et moderator luminum religuorum, mens mundi et temperatio*). From his more elevated sphere the Emperor God sets the lower spheres in motion, and directs the whole of the sublunary world, thus affecting, according to the astrological doctrine, the life of man and spinning like the Great King of the East at the New Year's festival, the fate of mortals. The emperor is the cosmic God of Fate: Moira, Tyche, as Tiridates names Nero, *fatorum arbiter,* as an emperor is called in an inscription (L'Orange 1953:29–30).

"We witness a solemn act by which the Great King adjusts himself to the movements of the heavens, thus manifesting his own astral power. Just as Sun, Moon and planets in completing their orbits determine the fate of the universe, so the movements of the royal throne reveal the fatal power of the Great King; he is analogous to the heavenly bodies, the Cosmocrator. ...Let us remember once more the functions of the king at the New Year festival (Nauroz = New Day), when he allots state offices just as the Sun God distributes the various spheres of influence for the coming cosmic year. He

is part of the all moving orbit of the stars, "Companion of the Stars, brother of the Sun and Moon", and already from ancient times wears Sun and Moon in his tiara".

"A cosmic throne-movement of this kind belongs in fact to the festival ritual of the Persian Nauroz celebrations. Palace reliefs in Persepolis, for instance in the "Hall of the Hundred Columns" and in the "Central Building", illustrate this ceremony with the bringing of tribute from all parts of the kingdom" (L'Orange 1953:85).

Vairocana in his Sarvavid form and as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin holds a wheel like Mithra who seizes the zodiacal wheel: "Let us look a little more closely at this idea of the emperor as cosmic God of Fate. The God ...the *volvens sidera Mithra* ...seizes the zodiacal wheel and hurls it into revolving motion, thus setting the whole system of the spheres in motion. To the Roman world Mithra in his cave has the same significance: the cave is the world bounded by the firmament of fixed stars. The god fills this world cavity just as the emperor his cosmic hall. Like Mithra also the Roman emperor takes the zodiac in his hand" (L'Orange 1953:33). The wheel had a cosmocratic significance: "The Ancient World conceived the *'aspīs*, the *clipeus*—that is the circular shield with a border around the middle disk—as an image of the revolving All, the cosmos. From Aischylos (Sept. 498) and down to late literature this shield is compared with the rotating wheel, the ever apt symbol of the Universe" (L'Orange 1953:90).

"...the Persian–Arabian tradition has preserved the memory of such revolving motions in the palace of the Great King. Tabari tells of an architect in the Sassanian service who said himself able to build palaces revolving with the Sun. "Had I known for sure that you would give me my full wages and treat me as I deserved", he says to Yazdegerd (reigned 399–420, EB. 1965:17.574), "I would have constructed a building revolving exactly with the Sun" " (L'Orange 1953:21).

The throne of Vairocana is held aloft on four bodhisattvas, transformed into four lions. This has a parallel in the Iranian world: "In the Sassanian legends about the Nauroz feast, reported by Albiruni, the bearing of the enthroned king plays a role strikingly confirming our cosmic interpretation of the Achaemenian throne picture. The king is lifted on the necks of his supporters and becomes a new Sun. The mythic Persian king, Jamshid, we learn, sat on a golden throne and was thus carried away by the men on their necks. When then the rays of the sun fell on him and people saw him, they paid homage to him and were full of joy and made that day a feast day" (the Nauroz). "He rose on that day like the sun, the light beaming forth from him, as though he shone like the sun. Now people were astonished at the rising of two suns". (L'Orange 1953:87).

"A fundamental feature of the Ancient Eastern throne, as repeatedly stressed, is its being carried by *zōa*. Even in the Sumerian kingdom the royal throne stood on a platform supported by animals, and ...the succeeding centuries yield an infinity of ex-

amples of this practice. We only recall Jahve's Cherub- and the Sassanian horse-, griffin-, eagle- and lion-throne. The Achaemenian *gāthu* had four corner supports in the form of hybrid *zōa*. The form crystallizes into a stereotype still existing in the East. As an example may be mentioned the *Takht i marmar* in the throne room in Teheran: the stand is supported by lions and demonic creatures. In the more remote East, too, such throne-stands supported by attendant beings belong to kings and gods." (L'Orange 1953:124).

The Sun and Moon in tantric art, e.g. Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha flanking Bhaiṣajyaguru, besides Amitaprabha (amita = sun) and Candraprabha in the samaya-mandala of Vairocana (Esot. 517, 520) remind us of the Sun and Moon symbolism of the Achaemenian royalty. "The symbolism is the same when... just as Septimius Severus was shown between the planetary deities—the emperors of late antiquity are represented between the Sun and the Moon, as is the case, for instance, on the Roman arch of Constantine. These Sun–Moon symbols, originally distinguishing the Eastern king, make the emperor appear a *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae,* as the Sassanian kings officially called themselves. Already in Achaemenian times the Persian king was represented symbolically related to Sun and Moon. On seals and coins his bust is placed between Sun and Moon or constellations of these heavenly bodies, which also occur in his tiara in the head ornament of the royal horse.

"From the Roman emperor the Sun–Moon symbol was inherited by the medieval rulers of the West. Frederick II has a star and Moon in his seal, Richard Coeur-de-Lion, the Sun and Moon, the coronation mantle is frequently decorated with the Sun, Moon and stars, etc." (L'Orange 1953:36).

"As a hieroglyphical expression of this *Logos cosmocrator,* the authoritatively speaking hand—the hand of the dogma, of the *verbum suum*, of the Logos—is represented between Sun and Moon, the traditional symbols of the world dominion" (L'Orange 1953:197).

Thus we find that the glories of Iranian Geist and Raum find a deep expression in the Vairocana cult: the word Vairocana mirrors *pirūz* 'turquoise' (virocana is a kind of stone), mandala is the cosmic round city, the seven ramparts of Iranian capitals with their colours have parallels in the terraces of the Sumeru ornamented with various jewels, Vairocana as the Ekākṣara Cakravartin has a precedent in the Cosmocrator and his cults in Iran, the wheel in the hand of Sarvavid Vairocana has a parallel in Mithra who hurls the zodiacal wheel into motion, the four lions of the throne of Vairocana repeat the *zōa* of Iranian thrones, while Sun and Moon as symbols of world dominion are common to Vairocana and Achaemenian kings. The bodhi of Gautama the Buddha was transmuted into the abhisambodhi of Vairocana the Tathāgata.

Vajrayana begins with the full-fledged development of Vairocana, whose sūtras

are spoken by Vajradhara or loosely Vajrapāṇi. Moreover, the outer enceinte of his mandala is the vajrāvalī, in which Hindu deities are represented. In the term vajrāvalī, vajra denotes devas or deities from the vajraka tradition of the ancestors: Iranian *buzurg* 'ancestor' is derived from vajraka.

Advayavajra uses better terms pāramitā-naya and mantra-naya for the theories and practices based on the sūtras and the tantras, which are less suitable terms (Snellgrove 1988:1358). Snellgrove divides the tantras centering on Vairocana into two structures: 'three-family' structure and 'five-family' structure. In Japan the five-family structure is known as *gobu* 'pañca-kula'. The three-family are upa-yoga and the five-family are mahā-yoga tantras. Snellgrove (ibid. 1364) makes a distinction between Mantrayana and Vajrayana: "it would therefore seem possible to draw a certain distinction between the use of Mantrayana, which can apply to all tantras, and Vajrayana, which can only logically apply in those tantras where the Vajra family, represented by Vajrapāṇi, comes to the fore". The three families of Buddha, Lotus and Vajra represent the Transcendental Buddhas, bodhisattvas and devas respectively. Vajrapāṇi belongs to the Lotus family as a bodhisattva flanking Vairocana, as differentiated from his corresponding acolyte Mahāsthāmaprāpta flanking Amitābha. Vajra-kula refers to the ancestral Hindu deities in the vajrāvalī as stated earlier.

Vajrapāṇi has two meanings: (i) one of the pair of Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi as two acolytes of Vairocana, on the analogy of Mahāsthāmaprāpta and Avalokita-svara of Amitābha, and (ii) as a synonym of Vajradhara who, in the Nāma-saṅgīti, is the lord of guhyakas (st.1), surrounded by innumerable Vajrapāṇis *(anantair vajrapāṇibhiḥ... sārdham,* st.3, 5). The guhyakas were yakṣas (Shah 1987:206). Vajrapāṇi and Vajradhara are distinctively different in the Garbhadhātu mandala. Vajrapāṇi is one of the two attendant bodhisattvas, the other being Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara. Vajradhara has 108 arms and is one of the trinity of Mahāvairocana, 108-armed Vajradhara and 1000-armed Avalokiteśvara. Vajradhara is ommipotent with his 108 arms, white Vajrapāṇi has only two arms. Vajradhara is far bigger than Vajrapāṇi in the Garbhadhātu mandala of Vairocana. A comparison of the relative sizes of the two itself reveals the greater importance of Vajradhara.

"At Gandhāra, Vajrapāṇi replaces the gentle Ananda in looking after the Buddha. He is no longer merely an assistant (*upasthāyaka*), but a guardian spirit, one of those "divine companions" as they were imagined by ancient mythology. We might be inclined to view this as something borrowed from the Graeco-Roman world were it not that we know he had his worship not only in the North-West, but also in Rājagṛha, at the very heart of India. Buddhaghoṣa identifies him with Śakra and the Sinhalese tradition gives him as the great vanquisher of the Asuras. The adherents of the Mahayana make him a

bodhisattva and attribute the compilation of Mahayana-sūtras to him. The tantras, which identify him with Samantabhadra and Vajrasattva, introduce him into their speculations concerning the Adibuddha" (Lamotte 1988:688).

Foucher (1918:48f.) has used the terms Vajrapāṇi Eros, Vajrapāṇi Herakles, Vajrapāṇi Hermes, Vajrapāṇi Dionysos, Vajrapāṇi Zeus, Vajrapāṇi Pan. Mustamandy (1984:176f.) speaks of a head of Vajrapāṇi after that of Alexander the Great.

Thus Vajrapāṇi is an:

i. Emanation of Indra and as such an acolyte
ii. Epiphany of Greco-Roman deities, and replaces Ānanda in Gandhara
iii. Elocutor of tantras, hence a transcendant (ādi)Buddha.

ANUTTARA-YOGA TANTRAS OR ARCANE TANTRAS

There were two major tendencies in the development of tantras as systems of thought, ritual and art. These two currents were centred around Amitābha→Vairocana and Akṣobhya→Heruka. They can be characterised as:

i. Phototropism: Amitābha→Rocana→Vairocana→Mahāvairocana.
ii. Erototropism: Akṣobhya→naddhayuga deities.

From Amitābha developed Rocana of the Avataṁsaka, thence Vairocana of the caryā-tantras and finally Mahāvairocana of the yoga-tantras. The first current of photism or light-symbolism led to the development of the cult of Amitābha 'Infinite Light'. From Amitābha evolved Rocana 'Light, Shine', and thence Vairocana 'Effulgence, Sun' which developed further into Mahāvairocana 'The Great Sun, the Supreme Light'.

The other current of erototropism was represented by the Akṣobhya tradition, whence evolved Heruka and other deities of anuttara-yoga, who are coupled in embrace: naddha-yuga or yab-yum (yab 'father' + yum 'mother'). While Sukhāvatī, the western paradise of Amitābha was devoid of women, Abhirati the eastern paradise of Akṣobhya had beauties, involving orgiastic traditions. In Akṣobhya's paradise women played a leading role and this fact "distinguishes it sharply from other buddhakṣetra. If we bear in mind that the pessimistic views concerning women, expressed in the majority of mahayanic sūtras, will finally prevail, the specific ideas expressed in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Akṣobhya-vyūha, should receive due consideration." (Dantinne 1987:31). Abhirati, the eastern paradise of Akṣobhya, occurs in the Amitāyus-sūtra, translated into Chinese in 384–417. It is a lokadhātu in the east in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra 184.7. It is mentioned in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā 366.15 and Gaṇḍavyūha 82.9.

Women play a role which is both unexpected and essential in the Akṣobhya-vyūha: here Akṣobhya preaches the law to women, there is talk of jewels of women *(strī-ratna)*, there is frequent allusion of feminine ornaments, and childbirth is described with

a profusion of unusual details. The interest in women may be considered as one of the numerous manifestations of sympathy with regard to lay persons of both sexes, to which free rein is given in certain sūtras of early Mahayana. This specific attitude, perceptible from the first Prajñāpāramitās, has led E. Conze to formulate the opinion that the notion of wisdom (prajñā) is an elaborate product of the feminist ideal from the beginnings of Mahayana (Dantinne 1987:31). The term Prajñā is used for the female consort of a deity in Buddhist tantras. The word *śakti* is never used.

The Akṣobhya tradition evolved into the anuttara-yoga tantras with their emphasis on the yoginī or ḍākinī. Mrs. Miranda Shaw of the Harvard University says that the tantric female adept/companion was characterised by proud self-assurance and physical robustness. Ḍākinī, the feminine form of ḍāka, can be traced to Tamil where it refers to 'strength'. The role of women in the emergence of the anuttara-yoga tantras with their yab-yum images was a development of *strī-ratna* in Akṣobhya's Abhirati paradise. The evolution of Akṣobhya to yab-yum figures was a natural course.

The cults of Amitābha and Akṣobhya were collateral, as their paradises of the West and East were natural pairs. The first extant Chinese translations of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha and Akṣobhya-vyūha were done simultaneously by Lokakṣema in AD 179–180 (Dantinne 1983:2). Bodhiruci translated the Mahāratnakūṭa between the years AD 706–13 during the T'ang dynasty. In this collection too, the two sūtras devoted to Amitābha and Akṣobhya are placed consecutively (K 22/5,6). While the Sukhāvatī-vyūha was translated into Chinese five times, the Akṣobhya-vyūha only twice and that too along with the former. The cult of Amitābha continued to prevail, but that of Akṣobhya was taboo in China with her Confucian world-view. The cults of Akṣobhya evolved into the anuttara-yoga tantras like the Guhyasamāja with their arcane symbolism and practices.

The lord of the family *(kuleśa)* of the deities of the anuttara-yoga tantras is, in several cases, Akṣobhya. In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī the mandalas of Mañjuvajra (no. 1), Vajradhara of the Sampuṭa-tantra (no. 3), Hevajra (no. 5), Heruka (no. 8), Mahāmāya (no. 9), nine-deity Buddhakapāla (no. 10), Śaṁvara (no. 12), twenty-five-deity Buddhakapāla Heruka (no. 13), Yogāmbara (no. 14), and Yamāri (no. 15), have Akṣobhya as the lord of the family. It reinforces the fact that Akṣobhya is an important prototype of anuttara-yoga deities.

Akṣobhya himself occurs in the various classes of tantras:

1. The main text of the kriyā-tantras is the Sukhāvatī-vyūha. It mentions Akṣobhya as the Tathāgata in the eastern direction (p. 97.1), without any description. The Akṣobhya-vyūha, a text of the Mahāratnakūṭa division, is entirely dedicated to him.

2. Caryā-tantras: Akṣobhya is not found in the Garbhadhātu mandala of these tantras. He is replaced by Ratnaketu in the east.

3. Yoga-tantras: Akṣobhya is one of the Pañca-Tathāgata of the Mahābhūta mandala of the Vajradhātu mandala of these tantras. He is in the east. His left hand is closed and holds the *kāṣāya*, while the right hand hangs down in the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. He is surrounded by Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga and Vajrasādhu.

There are three other variations of the Vajradhātu mandala. In these Akṣobhya has different forms:

I.2.2 Dhāraṇī-mandala : Vajravajriṇī or Vajra-vajrī is his consort.
I.3.2 Sūkṣma-mandala : Akṣobhya sits with a viśvavajra in joined hands.
I.4.2 Karma-mandala : Akṣobhya holds viśvavajra aloft in his right hand, while the left sports a lotus.

The illustrations of the above four mandalas can be seen in the author's "A Ninth Century Scroll of the Vajradhātu Mandala".

4. Anuttara-yoga-tantras: In these tantras Akṣobhya has three forms:

i. Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya, described in the Guhyasamāja-tantra.
ii. Mañjuvajra, described in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī, mandala 1. It has to be distinguished from NSP 20 Mañjuvajra Vairocana.
iii. Piṇḍīkrama Akṣobhya, described in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī, mandala 2.

To assign various deities to the Akṣobhya-kula, it is essential to follow the grouping of the anuttara-yoga tantras, which is as under:

1. Neither father nor mother tantras
   Nāma-saṅgīti (Toh. 360)
   Kālacakra (Toh. 361–65).
2. Mother tantras (seven groupings: a–g):
   a. Ston-pa (Śāstā i.e. Śākyamuni):
      Sarva-buddha-samāyoga (Toh. 366)
   b. Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya):
      i. Saṁvara (Toh. 368–415)
      ii. Hevajra (Toh.417–23)
      iii. Buddhakapāla (Toh. 424)
      iv. Mahāmāya (Toh. 425)
      v. Ārali (Toh. 426–27)
   c. Vairocana:
      Catuḥpīṭha (Toh. 428–30)
      Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa... (Toh. 431–34)
   d. Vajraprabha (i.e. Ratnasambhava):
      Vajrāmṛta (Toh. 435)
   e. Padmanarteśvara (i.e. Amitābha):

Lokanātha (Toh. 436)
Tārā-Kurukullā (Toh. 437)

f. Paramāśva (i.e. Amoghasiddhi):
Twenty-one Tārās (Toh.438)
Vajrakīlaya (Toh. 439)
Mahākāla (Toh. 440)

g. Vajradhara:
Yathālabdha-khasama (Toh. 441)

3. Father tantras (six groupings: a–f):

a. Akṣobhya:
Guhyasamāja (Toh. 442–51)
Vajrapāṇi (Toh. 454–64)

b. Vairocana:
Yamāri (Toh. 467–75, 478)

c. Ratna-kula (lacking)

d. Padma-kula:
Bhagavad-ekajaṭa (Toh. 476)

e. Karma-kula (lacking)

f. Vajradhara:
Candra-guhya-tilaka (Toh. 477).

From the above, it is clear that only the following deities belong to the family of Akṣobhya: Heruka, Saṁvara, Hevejra, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāya, Ārali, Guhyasamāja, Vajrapāṇi.

Each of them is surrounded by several deities in his respective mandala.

Vīra: The twenty-four deities in the Śaṁvara-mandala are termed vīras (Nsp text p. 27). Tucci calls them twenty-four vīras in *Indo-Tibetica* III.2.

A number of anuttara-yoga deities are termed vīra. In Vaiṣṇavism, the images are classified into "yoga, bhoga, vīra and ābhichārika varieties in consequence of certain slight differences in their descriptive characteristics. These varieties are intended to be worshipped by devotees with different desires and objects in view: thus, the yogi should worship the yoga form of Vishṇu, the persons who desire enjoyment should worship the bhoga form, those who desire prowess the vīra form, and kings and others who wish to conquer their enemies the ābhichārika form" (Rao 1914:1.79).

When the deity is without his consort he is termed eka-vīra that is, the solitary or lonely hero. In the Sanskrit titles of works in the Tanjur, ekavīra refers to Cakrasaṁvara or Śaṁvara (Cordier 2.40/13.11, 2.46/13.41, 3.102–103/73.13, 14, 15, 3.104/73.19). It is applied to Heruka in Ekavīra-Heruka-sādhana (ibid. 2.43/13.25), Ekavīra-ṣoḍaśabhuja-

śrīHeruka-sādhana (ibid. 2.86/21.59). It should apply to Hevajra in Cordier 2.76/21.8. In Cordier (2.338/69.9) and elsewhere the deity to which ekavīra refers to is not clear.

The alternate title of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantrarāja is Ekalla-vīra-tantra, which means that Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa a form of Acala is referred to as ekalla-vīra (Filliozat 1941: 9 no.18); and Shastri (1917:181–91, nos. 84, 85, 87) has the title Ekallavīra-caṇḍamahā-roṣaṇa-tantra.

Greek *hērōs* originally means 'defender, protector' and it is related to Hērā, the tutelary goddess. Greek Hērā means 'protectress' and she is the sister and wife of Zeus, queen of the gods in Greek mythology. Thus *hērōs* corresponds to *tāyin* 'protector', an epithet of the Buddha. The Greek *hērōs* denotes a famous hero promoted to divine rank. The heroes and hero-gods are a universal phenomenon. There are allusions to heroes in the classical and folk traditions of India, for example, Hanumān of the Rāmāyaṇa is a heroic god. Epic heroes like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa reached the highest rank. The belief in heroes plays a very important part in the development of Greek religion (ERE. 6.652). The promotion of a hero to the status of a god was common in Greece: the god Dionysus is addressed as a hero in the old ritual chant of Elis. The worship of heroes as gods was firmly established in Greece from the seventh century BC (ERE. 6.655).

Heruka. The word Heruka is used in two meanings, specific and generic: (i) Heruka proper and (ii) Heruka as a generic term of the classification of the yoginī-tantras. In the first he is an independent deity in his own right, as in the nine-deity mandala of Heruka in the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (text p. 20) where he has four forms, and four other forms with two, four, six and sixteen arms. The second meaning of Heruka is generic, as he is the head of the Buddha-kula of the anuttara-yoga tantras. In this capacity Heruka is equivalent to a Buddha and he heads the deities Śaṁvara, Hevajra, Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāya, Ārali (Wayman 1973:235). At times Cakrasaṁvara is referred to as Heruka, but that does not mean that Heruka = Cakrasaṁvara or vice versa. It simply implies that Cakrasaṁvara belongs to the larger group of the hypostases of Heruka. Tucci (1935:III/ 2.22) comments that Heruka is called Śaṁvara as the central deity of the mandala. In the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī Heruka proper has two, four, six or sixteen arms (text p. 20–21), while Śaṁvara has twelve arms (text p. 26).

The etymology of Heruka is not clear. Its phonetics reminds of the Greek *hērō-s* 'hero' *hérōs* 'Eros, the god of love', and *herúkō* 'to keep in, hold back, restrain, hinder; to control, curb, keep in check' (Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon,* Oxford, 1916). In pronunciation, *hērōs* comes close to *Erōs* 'the god of love', from *erōs* 'love' related to *erān* 'to love'. Eros brings to mind the yab-yum form of Heruka coupled with his consort (prajñā) Nairātmā. All the gods of the Heruka group are coupled with their goddesses. The word *herúkō* 'to restrain, etc.' recalls *saṁvara* 'vow'. Edgerton

(1953:539) translates *saṁvara* 'restraint, control, obligation, vow'. The Tibetan equivalent *sdom-pa* also covers the same semantic spectrum 'restraint, obligation, vow'. *Prātimokṣa-saṁvara* are 'the moral restraints imposed in the code called Prātimokṣa'.

Ḍāka. The word *ḍāka* is equal to *antaka* in Padma-ḍāka = Padmāntaka. The Tamil word *ṭākku* means '1. strength, robustness. 2. petulancy, pride' (Tamil Lexicon 3.1696). In Tibetan *ḍāka* is translated as *mkhaḥ-ḥgro* 'skygoer' and its feminine form *ḍākinī as mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma* 'the skygoing female'. The importance of ḍāka and ḍākinī can be discerned in Mkhas-grub-rje's observation that the anuttara-yoga tantras are divided into two divisions under different names by the various tantras:

(mahā)yoga-tantra	yoginī-tantra	Sambarodaya etc. (Toh. 373)
upāya-tantra	prajñā-tantra	Kālacakra etc. (Toh. 362)
ḍāka-tantra	ḍākinī-tantra	Vajrahṛday-ālaṅkāra (Toh. 451)
mahāyoga-tantra	anuttara-yoga-tantra	Atīśa

(Wayman 1968:251, 100 for the classification of Atīśa).

These two divisions are further sub-divided into six:

yoga-tantra	*yogīni-tantras*
Akṣobhya	Heruka
Vairocana	Vairocana
Ratna-kula	Vajraprabha = Ratnasambhava
Padma-kula	Padma-narteśvara = Amitābha
Karma-kula	Paramāśva = Amoghasiddhi
Vajradhara	Vajradhara

Erotic elements can already be seen in the yoga-tantras, for example, there are deities like Vajrarāga, whose mantra is *Om ahoḥ sukha* (Eiyō 1985:134). The naya-mandala of the Naya-sūtra in the Vajradhātu-mandala, has *naya* which stands for praṇaya 'affection'. From desire (*yoku*) to love (*ai*) to pride (*man*) to touching (*soku*) are stages in the enfolding of love from an initial desire to final dalliance (*keli-kila* 'the exclamations/*kila* in play/*keli*).

The angry forms of deities remind us of the Greek words for holy and ire. Greek *oima* (for **oisma)* 'impetus', L. *ira* ' anger', E. *ire* and Greek *hierós* 'holy, sacred', orig. 'filled with (divine) force', and properly identical with *hieros* 'strong, lively, active, quick, swift' both derive from the same IE base **eis* 'to set in quick motion, drive on, incite', Skt. *eṣati, iṣṇáti, iṣyati* 'sets in motion', *iṣirah* 'lively, strong' (Klein 1971:346 s.v. hiero, 387 s.v.ire). The consort of Heruka is Krodheśvarī. Orgies were secret ceremonial rites in honour of Dionysus, or Bacchus, characterised by ecstatic singing and dancing, and often by revelry. Greek *orgē* is 'impulse, anger'.

Heruka sits on a solar seat, his name can mean 'Oh (*He*) Light (*ruka*)', as the

highest epiphany in the tantric systems. It can be compared to the word *gartāruk* in the Dawn Hymn of the Ṛgveda (1.124.7). It is one of the four similes that in their gradation illustrate the increasing beauty of Uṣas. Patil (1980:22), following Geldner, derives the word from *garta* + √*ruc*, and the compound means 'that shines or looks splendid on the stage, i.e. a dancing girl'. Compare *ruk-ma* 'that is bright or radiant', and its derivative *rukmiṇī* 'the glowing beauty'.

An image of Heruka has been found in Indonesia from Bahal II, Padang Lawas 'Great Plain' in Central Sumatra (Kempers 1959:77, pl. 228). The Sumatran king Āditya-varman was ordained as a manifestation of Bhairava. His enormous portrait-statue as Bhairava can be seen in the Jakarta Museum (Kempers 1959:87, pl. 259). The portrait-statues of kings identified with their highest deity were common in Indonesia. The statue of Śiva at Lara-Jonggrang is a portrait-statue of its founder king. The Indonesian name Erucakra/Herucakra has not been explained in a satisfactory manner so far (for its different explanations see Santoso 1976:82). The term is attributed to King Jayabhaya of Kĕḍiri (East Java) who ruled around the 11th century. Till recently the leaders of political movements, were called Herucakra. One of the titles of the Sultan of Yogyakarta is Herucakra. Mr. Angkasaputra of Bali, who worked with me on the poem Bhāratayuddha, explained the term Herucakra as 'Divine Light, he who is the Light of the Land, that is: a king who rules all countries'. This explanation was given to Mr. Angkasaputra by his teacher. Herucakra is a syncopation of Heruka Cakrasaṁvara. The tendency of dissyllabism is so strong in Indonesian languages that Saṁs-kṛta became Kṛta (bhāṣā). This proclivity let to the shortening of Heruka to *Heru* and of Cakrasaṁvara to *cakra*. It shows that Heruka was associated with 'Light' in Indonesia, as well as with the charisma of political power.

FROM THE NORTH-WEST TO THE SOUTH

After the devastation of Buddhist monasteries in the NW of India (Uttarāpatha) by the Hūṇas, the centre of Buddhist activities shifted to the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha), particularly to Amaravati and Kanchi. Andhra was always prominent in Buddhism. Andhā are mentioned with the Damiḷa in the Samantapāsādikā (1.255). Andhaka-raṭṭha was on the banks of the Godavari. Andhakā was an important group that seceded from Theravāda. They included the Pubbaseliyas, Aparaseliyas, Rājagirika and Siddhatthika (Malalasekera 1937:1.110). The Andhra commentary Andhakaṭṭhakathā was used by Buddhaghosa (Samantapāsādikā 4.747). It was handed down at Kancipura. Thus Kanchi was an outstanding centre of Buddhism. The tantric Nāgārjuna lived at Śrīparvata (Buston 2.127), and he is known in the Japanese Shingon tradition as the teacher of Nāgabodhi, who in turn taught Vajrabodhi, AD 671–741 (Tajima 1959:24–25). All of

them resided in Kanchi. The Tibetan tradition says that he was born at Kanchi, and as such calls him *Kāñcīnara* (Tucci 1949:1.214).

Indrabhūti or Indrabodhi, the king of Oḍḍiyāna, is an "archetypal tantric king" (Dowman 1985:232). As pointed out elsewhere, Oḍḍiyāna is another name of Kanchi. In fact, Indrabhūti is called the king of Kanchi in the 'Lives of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas' in the life of the Mahāsiddha Sakara/Saroruha (ibid. 342). Dowman distinguishes three kings:

Indrabhūti I, king of Oḍḍiyāna, sometimes called King Dza or the son of King Dza.
Indrabhūti II, of Zahor, also known as King Dza.
Indrabhūti III, of Oḍḍiyāna, the brother of Lakṣmiṅkarā, who lived in the 9th century.

Indrabhūti I is unanimously linked to Guhyasamāja. He received the Guhyasamāja from Vajrapāṇi. Tucci (1949:1.212) takes Uḍḍiyāna to be the Swat valley. The fertile area of Swat was Udyāna 'garden'. Udyāna has been confused with Uḍḍiyāna. The two are very different words. Their synonymity arose out of their mistaken pronunciation. As Tucci identifed Uḍḍiyāna with Swat, he opined that Indrabhūti was a prince of this country, and must have lived at the end of the 7th century. He himself is uncertain, for "according to the *T'ang shu,* in 642 King *Ta mo in t'o ho se* was reigning in Uḍḍiyāna, Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou kiue*, p. 129; this name may contain the name of: Indra". Tucci rightly is not sure of the identification. It is unfortunate that this unfounded identification has been made the basis of the date of Indrabhūti, for example, by Dowman (1985:232): "it is quite possible that he was the Indrabhūti that the scrupulous Chinese recorded in the *T'ang Annals* as King of Oḍḍiyāna in AD 642". Indrabhūti gathered precious gems from the sea to benefit others. He found Padmasambhava on the road, took him with himself, and consecrated him on the throne (Tucci 1949:2.376). The kingdom of Indrabhūti was situated near the sea and maritime commerce brought affluence (gems). In all likelihood this is Kanchi, ruled by Indrabhūti. Waddell (1934:380 n.2) relates the legend of Padmasambhava and says that Indrabhūti ruled over Oḍḍiyāna. His Tibetan name is *Spyan-med-ḥbyor-ldan* or Andha-bhūti, where Andha stands for Andhra. The name means the 'Glory of Andhra'. His only son died. In distress the king and people prayed. The king had a dream of good omen. On the advice of the royal priest, he went to the lotus-lake of Dhanakośa. There he saw a boy, eight years old. He conducted him to the palace with royal honours. The effulgence of the boy, and his being found near the waters, indicates that he was a foundling of promise and of fair complexion, being born of a fair father, near the waters, perhaps a sailor of foreign extraction. Padmasambhava reached Tibet in AD 747. Thus Indrabhūti, better Andhabhūti, must have lived in the second half of the seventh century, and he could well have been a pupil of Nāgabodhi, the chief disciple of the tantric Nāgārjuna in mid-seventh century. From

Nāgabodhi, he could have derived his name Indrabodhi. For this we have the analogy of Nāgārjuna attaching *nāga* of his name to the consecration name of his disciple *Nāga*bodhi, who in turn gave bodhi of his name to Vajra*bodhi* (671–741). Vajrabodhi was in China to introduce Mantrayana and is a historical person. All were persons who really lived.

The new developments in the Mahāsāṅghika as well as other heterodox sects, had responsive beats in the NW. The emerging Udīcya formulations passed on to other parts of India through trade. The merchants, among whom were Yavanas, transmitted the new ideas to the Sātavāhana empire, which comprised Western India and the Andhra region. The very terminology of Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha points to the close nexus between the two remote regions of India. Uttarāpatha was the NW, Dakṣiṇāpatha was Western India and Andhra.

The Sātavāhanas themselves may have been Sārthavāhanas, or caravan merchants. What is the etymology of the name Simuka, the first Sātavāhana king? The close connections of the Sātavāhanas with the North are proved by the Suhṛl-lekha of Nāgārjuna, an epistle addressed to a Sātavāhana king. Nāgārjuna was a native of Ṣaḍarhadvana (mod. Harvan) in Kashmir. The legend goes that a nāga king became friendly to Nāgārjuna, took him to his palace in the bottom of the sea, took out profound and obscure sūtras from seven precious coffers and presented them to him (Paramārtha, AD 557–69). He also offered a marvellous necklace to Nāgārjuna, who presented it to the Andhra king Sātavāhana, the master of the three oceans (Harṣacarita). Sātakarṇi can be sārtha-karṇī 'leader of the caravan'. Pulumāyi and Puloma in the names of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāyi (AD 131–55) and of Śivaśrī Puloma (AD 155–62) may be compared with Turamāya/Tulamāya (=Ptolemy) in the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka.

Lamotte (1954:386f) has discussed at length the two traditions about the origin of Mahayana either in Southern India or in Northern India. He has detailed the evidence from four major sources, namely Tāranātha, Mahākaruṇā-puṇḍarīka, the connections of Nāgārjuna of Kashmir with the Sātavāhana king of the south, and statistics of monasteries in the former Kushan empire. Nāgārjuna lived in the reign of Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka (Rājataraṅgiṇī 1.173) at Ṣaḍarhadvana in Kashmir. During the time of Fa-hsien (5th century) Mahayana flourished in the North-West and Serindia. In the 7th century Hsüan-tsang gives the following statistics of Mahayana and semi-Mahayana monasteries and monks:

Ancient Kushan state	2,028 monasteries	65,380 monks
Eastern India	183 monasteries	27,750 monks
South India	310 monasteries	26,300 monks

The evidence points out that Mahayana flourished more in the NW than in other

parts of India. South India had more Mahayana establishments than Eastern India. Continuous and intimate commercial relations between the NW and South India must have been responsible for the predominance of Mahayana in the South. In the South, the main centre of Mahayana was the region of Andhra, especially Amaravati (Dhānya-kaṭaka, Dharanikot) and the mountain Śrīparvata near it. Does Dharanikot refer to the fact that it was the centre of dhāraṇī? The Sri Lankan Nikāya-saṅgraha speaks of Śrīparvata as Vajraparvata.

CONTINUITY OF VAIT(P)ULYA TEXTS/TANTRAS

The earliest Light Cults up to the latest Arcane Cults evolved in the Vaitulya sūtras which were beyond (*vi*) compare (*tulya*), being transcendental (*lokottara*) in nature. These tendencies can be seen in a nascent state in the earliest Mahāsāṅghika sects. Subject to constant denigrations and assaults, the followers of Vaitulya became resourceful (*upāya*), intense, hardy, strong and indomitable: Vedaḷha (=Vidṛḍha). They were intrepid, courageous, brave, unflinching, without fear or *abhaya*. Śubhākarasiṁha, the founder of Vajrayana in China, is commonly referred to as *Shan-wu-wei* in Chinese, pronounced Zemmui in Japanese, which means Abhaya. Valorous and heroic, they were audacious and lion-hearted; they were 'Sons of the Lion of the Śākyas/Śākyasiṁha or the Lion of Jinas/Jinasiṁha':

mayā hi sarvaṁ jetavyam ahaṁ jeyo na kena cit/
mayaiṣa māno voḍhavyo Jina-siṁha-suto *hy aham//* Bodhicaryāvatāra 7.55
All is to be conquered by me,
I am not to be conquered by anyone,
This is the pride which I shall bear
For I am a son of the Conqueror-Lion. (trans. by Matics)

This stanza occurs in the Vīrya-pāramitā or perfection of exertion. Abhaya 'fearlessness' was central to the Vaitulya tradition. The Vaitulya monastery in Sri Lanka was Abhayagiri 'Mount Fearlessness'.

The Chinese translations of the Vaipulya sūtras in the Chinese Tripiṭaka provide historical landmarks, as they are usually dated. The Chinese title bears the indication that it is a Vaipulya sūtra or it is specified in Chi-tsing. The Chinese texts have been arranged chronologically according to the dates of their translations. Other important dates of Tibet and Indonesia have been added to trace the overall development of Vait(p)ulya texts/tantras.

AD 148–70
佛說大乘方等要慧經 Nj 54, T 346, K 50

Sūtra of the Mahayana-vaipulya spoken by Buddha on the important understanding.
Maitreya-paripṛcchā-dharm-āṣṭaka (Toh. 35)
Trans. An Shih-kao (w.148–70), Ch'en 43–44. Later trans. by Bodhiruci (Nj 23/41).

六菩薩名亦當誦持經 Nj 1337, T 491, K 1030
Sūtra on six Bodhisattvas' names also to be recited and kept in mind.
Trans. name lost.
Chi-tsing 5.27b: it is a Vaipulya sūtra.

2nd century: Other Vaitulya sites also exist in Sri Lanka. Avukana is a site of an ancient Buddhist monastery of about the second century AD (Senarat Paranavitana, EWA 3.327 s.v. Ceylon). Perera (1980:179,180) says: "When the Mahāsaya or the great pyramidal stūpa at Anuradhapura in ancient Sri Lanka was completed by the monarch Duṭṭhagāminī (circa 161–37 BC) it was recorded in the ancient chronicle Mahāvaṁsa that among the many distinguished Buddhist monks who arrived at the final crowning ceremony of the stūpa, to grace the occasion were the dignitaries of the monastic establishment of Gandhāra. It was the religio-cultural contacts that prevailed between the two regions, namely Sri Lanka and Gandhāra which may have led to the borrowing of the ideas pertaining to colossal statues of the Buddha".

AD 209–301: The main centre of Vetullavāda in Sri Lanka was Abhayagiri. The history of this monastery is important for chronological landmarks in the development of Vetullavāda. Led by their teacher Dhammaruci, Vajjiputta monks from Pallārāma in India arrived in Sri Lanka during the reign of Vohārika Tissa (AD 209–301). "The adoption by Abhayagiri of Vetulya-vāda under the name of Dhammarucika, and the increase of their influence were the causes of an order for expulsion of sixty monks by King Goṭhābhaya, also known as Meghavaṇṇābhaya (early 4th century). The monks were not only expelled from the Saṅgha, but also banished from the country" (Mahāvaṁsa 36.112, EBu.1.25). The expelled monks enlisted the support of Saṅghamitta who was a master of exorcism. Saṅghamitta came to Sri Lanka and became tutor to the younger prince. When he became king as Mahāsena, Saṅghamitta had royal support withdrawn from Mahāvihāra. The materials of its 364 colleges and temples were removed to enrich Abhayagiri.

AD 269

佛說方等般泥洹經 Nj 116, T 378, K 108
*Vaipulya-parinirvāṇa-sūtra spoken by Buddha
Catur-dāraka-samādhi-sūtra (Toh. 136)
Trans. Dharmarakṣa/Chu Fa-hu of Tun-huang in AD 269.

AD 286
正法華經 Nj 138, T 263, K 117
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Trans. Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu) in AD 286.
Hakeda 1972:206 it is a Vaipulya sūtra.

薩曇芬陀利經 Nj 136, T 265, K 115
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Trans. name lost.
Hakeda 1972:206, it is a Vaipulya sūtra.

AD 308
大方等頂王經 Nj 145, T 477, K 122
*Mahāvaipulya-mūrdharāja-sūtra
Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa
Trans. Dharmarakṣa, AD 308. Later trans. is Nj 144.

AD 265–313
佛說濟諸方等學經 Nj 252, T 274, K 147
*Buddha-bhāṣita-sarva-vaipulya-vidyā-siddha-sūtra
Sarva-vaidalya-saṅgraha (Toh. 227)
Trans. Dharmarakṣa, AD 265–313

AD 317–420 *Eastern Chin Dynasty*
佛說方等泥洹經 Nj 119, T 6, K 654
*Vaipulya-nirvāṇa-sūtra spoken by Buddha.
Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra
Trans. name lost.

AD 350–431 *Three Chin Dynasties*
大方廣如來秘密藏經 Nj 443, T 821, K 413
*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgata-garbha-sūtra
Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra
Trans. name lost.

AD 402–09
十住經 Nj 105, T 286, K 98

Daśabhūmika-sūtra
Trans. Kumārajīva, in AD 402–09.
Later trans. by Buddhabhadra (Nj 87/22, K 79) done in AD 422
by Śikṣānanda (Nj 82/26, K 80) in AD 699.

莊嚴菩提心經 Nj 99, T 307, K 95
*Bodhi-citta-vyūha-sūtra
Trans. Kumārajīva, in AD 402–09. In its earlier trans. Nj 103 it is termed a Mahāvaipulya-sūtra.

AD 402–13
大方等陀羅尼經 Nj 421, T 1339, K 397
*Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukh-āvasthita-samādhi-sūtra
Trans. Fa-chung, during AD 402–13 (K).

AD 405–06
妙法蓮華經 Nj 134, T 262, K 116
Sadharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Trans. Kumārajīva, in AD 406 or 405. Hakeda 1972:206, it is a Vaipulya text.

AD 414–21
大方等大雲經 Nj 244, T 387, K 164
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāmegha-sūtra
Mahāmegha-sūtra
Trans. Dharmakṣema, between AD 414–21 (K).

AD 414–26
大方廣三戒經 Nj 24, T 311, K 23
*Mahāvaipulya-sūtra on the three moral precepts.
Tri-saṁvara-nirdeśa-parivarta
Trans. Dharmakṣema, between AD 414–26. Earlier trans. of Nj 23(1).

大方等大集經 Nj 61, T 397, K 56
Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra
Trans. Dharmakṣema, Chih-yen, Pao-yün and Narendrayaśas, between AD 414–26.

AD 420

大方等如來藏經 Nj 384, T 666, K 360

*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgata-garbha-sūtra

Tathāgata-garbha-sūtra

Trans. Buddhabhadra in AD 420. Later trans. (T 667, K 1359) by Amoghavajra (w. 720–74).

AD 422

大方廣佛華嚴經 Nj 87, T 278, K 79

*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra

Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra (Toh. 278)

Trans. Buddhabhadra and others in AD 422. Later trans. by Śikṣānanda (Nj 88, K 80).

AD 436

勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經 Nj 59, T 353, K 54

*Vaipulya-sūtra on the great good means, being the Śrīmālā-(devī)-siṁhanāda-sūtra.

Trans. Guṇabhadra, in AD 436 (K). Later trans. is Nj 23(48).

AD 435–43

大方廣寶匡經 Nj 169, T 462, K 150

*Mahāvaipulya-ratna-karaṇḍa-sūtra

Ratna-karaṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra

Trans. Guṇabhadra, between AD 435–43.

AD 462

佛說菩薩念佛三昧經 Nj 71, T 414, K 60

Sūtra spoken by Buddha on the samādhi called Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti.

Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti-samādhi-sūtra

Trans. Guṇaśāla, in AD 462 (K).

Nj 72 terms it a Mahāvaipulya sūtra.

AD 472

大方廣菩薩十地經 Nj 103, T 308, K 96

*Mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-daśabhūmi-sūtra

Trans. Kekaya and T'an-yao in AD 472.

AD 508–35

大方等修多羅王經 Nj 285, T 575, K 264

*Mahāvaipulya-sūtrarāja-sūtra

Bhava-saṅkrānti-sūtra

Trans. Bodhiruci, in AD 508–35.

AD 518–31

In the reign of Silākāla (AD 518–31) Abhayagiri accepted a new Vaipulya sūtra Dhammadhātu which had been brought by merchant Pūrṇa from Kāśī.

AD 557–85

大乘大方等日藏經 Nj 62, T x, K 56/14

*Mahāyāna-mahāvaipulya-sūryagarbha-sūtra

Sūryagarbha-sūtra

Trans. Narendrayaśas (w. 557–85, Hōbōgirin).

大方等大集月藏經 Nj 63, T x, K x

*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-candragarbha-sūtra

Candragarbha-vaipulya

Trans. Narendrayaśas (w.557–85, Hōbōgirin).

AD 570

佛說大方等大雲請雨經 Nj 186, T 992, K 167

*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipulya-sūtra on asking rain of the great cloud.

Mahāmegha-sūtra

Trans. Jñānayaśas, in AD 570 (K).

AD 582

大乘方廣總持經 Nj 253, T 275, K 148

*Mahāyāna-vaipulya-dhāraṇī-sūtra

Sarva-vaidalya-saṅgraha-sūtra (K)

Trans. Vinītaruci, in AD 582.

AD 585–601

佛華嚴入如來德智不思議境界經 Nj 91, T 303, K 82

*Buddhāvataṁsaka-tathāgata... avatāra-sūtra

Tathāgata-guṇa-jñāna-acintya-viṣay-āvatāra-nirdeśa

Trans. Jñānagupta, between AD 585–601 (K).
Nj 93 terms it a Mahāvaipulya sūtra.

AD 594–95
大方等大集賢護經 Nj 75, T 416, K 66
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-bhadrapāla-sūtra
Bhadrapāla-sūtra
Trans. Jñānagupta, in AD 594–95 (K).

AD 601–02
添品妙法蓮華經 Nj 139, T 264, K 118
Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra
Trans. Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, in AD 601–02 (K).
Hakeda 1972:206 terms it a Vaipulya sūtra.

AD 607–14
佛說大方等大集菩薩念佛三昧經 Nj 72, T 415, K 65
*Mahāvaipulya-mahāsannipāta-sūtra, spoken by Buddha on the samādhi called Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti.
Bodhisattva-buddhānusmṛti-samādhi (K)
Trans. Dharmagupta, between AD 607–14 (K).

AD 602–68
大方廣佛華嚴經搜玄分齊通智方軌 Nj x, T 1732, K 1506
Ta fang kuang fo hua yen ching sou hsüan fen ch'i t'ung chih fang kei.
Written by Chih-yen, between AD 602–68.

AD 630

The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed the tradition of accepting the entire evolution of Buddhism over the centuries. Hsüan-tsang says that the Abhayagiri-vāsins "studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripiṭakas" (Beal 1884:2.247), which shows their ecumenical approach.

AD 652
佛說大方廣十輪經 Nj 65, T 410, K 58
*Mahāvaipulya-sūtra, spoken by Buddha on Daśacakra.
Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha

Trans. name lost.
Later trans. by Hsüan-tsang in AD 652 (Nj 64, K 57).

大乘大集地藏十輪經 Nj 64, T 411, K 57
*Mahāyāna-mahāsannipāta-daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra
Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra (Toh. 239)
Trans. Hsüan-tsang, in AD 651–52.
Nj 65 terms it a Vaipulya sūtra.

AD 654
顯無邊佛土功德經 Nj 95, T 289, K 101
*Ananta-buddhakṣetra-guṇa-nirdeśa
Tathāgatānāṁ Buddhakṣetra-guṇ-okta-dharma-paryāya (Toh. 104)
Trans. Hsüan-tsang, in AD 654. Similar to Nj 87(26) and 88(31) which are Mahāvaipulya sūtras.

AD 680
佛說大方廣師子吼經 Nj 263, T 836, K 243
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipulya-siṁhanāda-sūtra
Siṁhanādika-sūtra (Toh. 209)
Trans. Divākara, in AD 680.

AD 685
方廣大莊嚴經 Nj 159, T 187, K 111
*Vaipulya-mahāvyūha-sūtra (mahā = vistara, vyūha = lalita)
Lalitavistara (Toh. 95)
Trans. Divākara, in AD 683 or 685 (K).

大方廣佛華嚴經續入法界品 Nj 101, T 295, K 104
A continuation of the chapter on entering the dharmadhātu, in the Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra.
Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra
Trans. Divākara, in AD 685.

大乘廣五蘊論 Nj 1175, T 1613, K 618
*Mahāyāna-vaipulya-pañca-skandha-sūtra
Pañca-skandha-prakaraṇa-vaibhāṣya (Toh. 4066).

Trans. Divākara, in AD 685.

AD 689–91

大方廣佛華嚴經不思議境界分 Nj 96, T 300, K 88

Part on the acintya-viṣaya, in the Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra.

Trans. Devaprajña, in AD 689–91.

大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分 Nj 94, T 306, K 84

Part on the practice of compassion, in the Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra.

Trans. Devaprajña, in AD 689–91.

AD 693

大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經 Nj 427, T 842, K 400

*Mahāvaipulya-pūrṇabuddha-sūtra-prasannārtha-sūtra

Trans. Buddhatrāta, in AD 693.

AD 695–99

大方廣佛華嚴經 Nj 88, T 279, K 80

*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra

Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra (Toh. 44, 104...)

Trans. Śikṣānanda, between AD 695–99.

AD 700

大方廣入如來智德不思議經 Nj 93, T 304, K 86

*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgata-guṇa-jñān-ācintya-(viṣaya)-avatāra-sūtra

Tathāgata-guṇa-jñān-ācintya-viṣay-āvatāra-nirdeśa (Toh. 185)

Trans. Śikṣānanda, in AD 700. Earlier translations are Nj 85, Nj 91 Jñānagupta.

大方廣如來不思議境界經 Nj 97, T 301, K 87

*Mahāvaipulya-tathāgat-ācintya-viṣaya-sūtra

Trans. Śikṣānanda, in AD 700. Earlier translation is Nj 96.

AD 700–04

大方廣普賢所說經 Nj 98, T 298, K 91

Mahāvaipulya-sūtra, spoken by Samantabhadra.

Trans. Śikṣānanda, between AD 700–04.

AD 702

大方廣菩薩藏經中文殊師利根本一字陀羅尼法

Nj 333, T 1181, K 299

Mañjuśrīmūla-ikākṣara-dhāraṇī-dharma, in the Mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra. Trans. Cintāmaṇi, in AD 702.

AD 737–38

大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 Nj 1590, T 1736, KS 2

A commentary on Nj 1589, written by Ch'eng-kuan, in AD 737–38.

AD 741–46

Amoghavajra made "a long journey to India and Ceylon, as the late Master [Vajrabodhi] ordered him to do" (Chou 1945:288). In the winter of AD 741 he left on board a ship of Malay Peninsula (ibid. 290). "When he arrived in Ceylon, the king sent a deputy to welcome him. The guardsmen on foot and on horse were stationed in ranks along the street when he entered the city. The king, having made obeisance at his feet, invited him to stay in the palace to be entertained for seven days. The king himself bathed Amoghavajra daily, using a golden barrel full of fragrant water. The crown prince, the queens, [712b29] and the ministers acted similarly.

"When Amoghavajra first met the ācārya Samantabhadra, he presented gold, jewelry, brocade, and embroideries and requested the Master to expound for him the doctrine of Yoga in the Chin-kang-ting ching of eighteen chapters and the method of erecting an altar in accordance with the Mahākaruṇāgarbhadhātu-mandala in the Vairocanasūtra....

"Amoghavajra, after that, had no regular teacher for his studies. He sought everywhere for the scriptures of the Esoteric Sect and [obtained] more than five hundred sūtras and commentaries". (Chou 1945: 290–91).

In AD 746 he returned to the Chinese capital and presented a letter from King Śīlamegha (reigned AD 727–66) of Sri Lanka to the Emperor. The Emperor granted him permission to translate all the Sanskrit sūtras. Amoghavajra had brought back tantric texts, studied the Tattva-saṅgraha and Vairocana-sūtra the fundamental tantras of the yoga and caryā divisions in Sri Lanka. It shows that Sri Lanka was famous as a seat of tantric Buddhism as far as China.

Eighth century: Padmasambhava is supposed to have made a trip to Sri Lanka to obtain certain teachings and some ritual objects. He is the tantric teacher who went to Tibet at the invitation of king Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan on the advice of the Indian master Śāntarakṣita to subdue demons who opposed the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism. He is venerated as the Second Buddha (Saṅs-rgyas gñis-pa). He is supposed to have been present at the foundation of the Samye monastery in 775(?).

AD 706–13

三律儀會 Nj 23(1), K 22(1)
Tri-saṁvara-nirdeśa (Toh. 45)
Trans. Bodhiruci, between AD 706–13.

AD 746–74

Amoghavajra translated the following Vaipulya sūtras, between 746–71 (Nj), 746–74 (K).

佛說一切如來金剛壽命陀羅尼經 Nj 960, T 1135, K 1292
*Buddha-bhāṣita-sarva-tathāgata-vajrāyur-dhāraṇī-sūtra

佛說大方廣曼殊室利經觀自在多羅菩薩儀軌經 Nj 1050, T 1101, K 1276
Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipulya-mañjuśrī-sūtra-avalokiteśvara-tārā-bodhisattva-kalpa-sūtra

瑜伽翳迦訖沙羅烏瑟尼沙斫訖羅眞言安怛陀那儀則一字頂輪王瑜伽經 Nj 1331, T 955, K 1320
*Yog-aikākṣar-oṣṇīṣa-cakra-mantrānta-dāna-kalp-aikākṣaroṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-yoga-sūtra
Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-yoga-kalpa (K)
Chi-tsing 15.4a: Mahāyana-sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

金剛壽命陀羅尼念誦法 Nj 1391, T 1133, K 1319
*Vajrāyur-dhāraṇī-adhyāya-kalpa

大乘方廣曼殊室利菩薩華嚴本教讚閻曼德迦忿怒王眞言大威德儀軌品 Nj 1423, T 1215, K —
*Mahāyāna-vaipulya-mañjuśrī-bodhisattv-āvataṁsaka-mūlatantra-Yamāntaka-krodha-rāja-mantra-mahābala-guṇa-kalpa-varga

大方廣曼殊室利童眞菩薩華嚴本教讚閻曼德迦忿怒王眞言阿毗遮嚕迦儀軌品 Nj 1424, T 1215, K —
*Mahāvaipulya-mañjuśrī-kumārabhūta-bodhisattv-āvataṁsaka-mūlatantra-Yamāntaka-krodharāja-praśaṁsā-mantra-avikalaka(?)-kalpa-varga

普賢金剛薩埵瑜伽念誦儀 Nj 1442, T 1124, K 1317
*Samantabhadra-vajrasattva-yogādhyāya-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

金剛頂瑜伽護摩儀軌 Nj 1443, T 908, K 1335

*Vajraśekhara-yoga-homa-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

金剛頂超勝三界經說文殊五字眞言勝相 Nj 1446, T 1172, K 1350
An excellent mark of Mañjuśrī's mantra of five letters, spoken (by Buddha) in the Vajraśekhara-Trailokyavijaya-sūtra.
Trailokyavijaya-mahākalparāja (Toh. 482)
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法一品 Nj 1447, T 1171, K 1280
*Vajraśekhara-sūtra-yoga-mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-kalpaikavarga
Trailokyavijaya-mahākalparāja (Toh. 482)
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

金剛頂瑜伽經十八會指歸 Nj 1448, T 869, K 1289
An outline of eighteen assemblies in the Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra.
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

訶利帝母眞言法 Nj 1449, T 1261, K 1306
*Hārīti-mātṛ-mantra-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

大方廣佛華嚴經入法界品四十二字觀 Nj 1450, T 1019, K 1329
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sutre dharmadhātv-avatār-ādhyāya-dvācatvāriṁśad-akṣara-dhyāna
Chi-tsing 34: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1451).

般若波羅蜜多理趣經大安樂不空三昧眞實金剛菩薩等一十七聖大曼荼羅義述 Nj 1451, T 1004, K 1334
Explanation of the 17 deities of the mandala of Bhagavad-Mahāsukhāmoghatattvavajra according to the Prajñāpāramitā-naya-sūtra.
Chi-tsing 34: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

陀羅尼門諸部要目 Nj 1452, T 903, K —
Important names or articles of many classes of the Dhāraṇī-dvāra.
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1454).

金剛頂瑜伽三十七尊 Nj 1453, T 878, K 1332

*Vajraśekhara-yoga-saptatriṁśadārya-pūjā
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1454).

受菩提心戒儀 Nj 1454, T 915, K 1331
*Bodhicitta-śīlādāna(?)-kalpa
Chi-tsing 14, 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

瑜伽集要燄口施食儀 Nj 1467, T 1319, 1320, K —
Jvālāmukhī-pretī-bali-vidhi, from the Yoga-saṅgraha (= Tattva-saṅgraha, the fundamental yoga tantra).
Chi-tsing 15.17a: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.
The translations of Amoghavajra end here.

AD 784
大方廣佛華嚴經疏 Nj 1589, T 1735, KS 1
A commentary on the Buddhāvataṁsaka (Nj 88), compiled by the fourth patriarch of the Avataṁsaka school Ch'eng-kuan, between AD 784–87 (KS 1).

AD 792–93
The Ratu Baka Inscription in Pre-Nagari script, dated Śaka 714= AD 792–93 says in its 12th stanza: Here this Abhayagiri monastery consecrated to Jinasūnu Padmapāṇi, the Compassionate, has been constructed for the sake of Siṁhala monks who have been trained in the Vinaya of the Buddha (*Jinavara*) as enunciated (*ukta*) by the celebrated (*prathita*) Venerable (*pāda*)...(name lost in the lacuna of ten syllables).

AD 798
大方廣佛華嚴經普賢菩薩行願品 Nj 89, T 293, K 1262
*Mahāvaipulya-Buddhāvataṁsaka-sūtra
Gaṇḍavyūha (T, K)
Trans. Prājña, in AD 798.

In the eighth century wonder Borobudur, which is a mandala of Vajradhātu Vairocana, the reliefs of Karmavibhaṅga, Lalitavistara, jātakas and avadānas, the Avataṁsaka text of Gaṇḍavyūha culminate in the yoga tantra (Lokesh Chandra 1980: 31f.).

In his Ten Stages of Spiritual Development Kōbō Daishi (AD 774–835) owns Confucianism, Taoism, Brahmanism, the way of the śrāvakas (Theravāda) and of the pratyekabuddhas, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, Avataṁsaka with their finality in Vajrayana

pratyekabuddhas, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, Avataṁsaka with their finality in Vajrayana (Lokesh Chandra 1980:33).

The Tabo Monastery, attributed to Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, bears the murals of the life of Śākyamuni (Lalitavistara), the journey of Sudhana (Avataṁsaka sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha) and the central hall is dedicated to the mandala of Vajradhātu Vairocana (Lokesh Chandra 1980:32): the various stages in the development of the Vaipulya sūtras are thus harmonised.

Ninth century. A monk of the Vajraparvata sect came from India to reside and preach at Abhayagiri in the 9th century. Granite tablets with dhāraṇīs have been found to the south-east of the north stūpa (ASCAR. 1940–45:41). They are written in Nāgarī of the 9th century. "The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strength. ...They were liberal in their views, and always welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They studied both Theravāda and Mahayana and 'widely diffused the Tripiṭakas'. The Dhammarucikas of Abhayagiri are supposed to have accepted the Vetulya-piṭaka" (EBu.1.27).

"And hence the Vetulyas (Vetullakas) may not have constituted a separate sect or school, especially as they are not named among the eighteen schools; and the designation then merely stands as a kind of nickname for "those of the developed doctrine", or Mahayana in general, in a way similar to the sobriquet "Hīnayāna", the Small Vehicle, derisively given to the Theravāda" (EBu.1.27).

AD 800–50 (Schroeder 1990:158). "The first attempt in portraying the Great Sage Śākyamuni Gautama in stupendous form in Sri Lanka was the statue that is known as the Avukana Buddha. Recent researches by archaeologists and art-historians in Sri Lanka have enabled them to distinguish a close similarity between the very name *Avukana* and the Bamiyan region which was referred to in ancient times variously as Vokkana, Avakana, or Vakana and in early Chinese literature as O-po-ki-ni. It has been surmised that the above toponyms, which were used in early Buddhist Prakrit and Chinese literature with reference to this particular region now known as Afghanistan (wherein Bamiyan is situated), bear a close similarity between the word Avukana, hence could have been responsible in deriving the name used in reference to the particular colossus in Sri Lanka which very much resembles the Bamiyan colossi."

A place named Nalanda "in the Matale District; possesses the only example in Ceylon of a stone-built shrine in the Pallava style of architecture. Sculptured stones are to be seen in the debris formed by the collapse of portions of the shrine, which is of Mahayana type" (EWA. 3.329).

AD 846–66. The Nikāya-saṅgraha (p. 20) records that in the reign of Sena I

(846–66) vājiriya-vāda was introduced to the Vīrāṅkura monastery by a monk of the Vajraparvata-nikāya of India, and the king accepted these doctrines (Mudiyanse 1967:8).

The legend of Barlaam and Joasaphat, which probably goes back to a Pahlavi (in use c. 300 BC – AD 800) version, refers to Sri Lanka and is influenced by Vetulla elements. The hermit Barlaam (Bhagavān) comes all the way from Sarandip, which is now Sri Lanka (Schulz 1981:132). Schulz thinks that "the frequent occurrence, in the Christianized story, of parables, exampla, and dialogues found also in the Lalitavistara, makes it probable that this Sanskrit biography was used" (ibid. 136). The Lalitavistara is a Vaipulya text. The legend of the four caskets (ibid. 139) may be a relic of the Tripiṭaka and dhāraṇī-piṭaka. The Georgian version Balavariani says that the king "caught sight of two men clad in tattered garments made up from rags salvaged from rubbish heaps; and their sallow complexions testified to their poverty and need". This is a clear reference to the rag-robed fraternity of the Pāṁsukūlikas who were constituents of Abhayagiri (EBu. 1.22). Pāṁsukūla are refuse rags from a dust heap used for garments by monks (Edgerton 1953:338 quotes the word *pāṁsukūla* from Vaipulya and allied works: Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, Divyāvadāna, Avadānaśataka).

AD 929–47. The Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan is connected with King Siṇḍok who must have ruled at least from 929 to 947 (Krom 1927:313). This work is an anthology of Mantranaya, Advayasādhana, Nāgabāyu-sūtra (correct to Nāgāhvaya-sūtra=Nāgārjuna-sūtra), Kalpa-Buddha, etc.

AD 950. An Indonesian record of 950 praises a Buddhist priest as Vairocanātmaka (Krom 1927:298).

Tenth century. Statuettes of Vajrasattva and another mandala from Surocolo hamlet, Panjangrejo in Java. The name Surācala (=Sumeru) itself indicates a hillock, either natural or created, for the pavilion (kūṭāgāra) of tantric mandalas. From around the same time is the Ṅañjuk hoard of statuettes of the Vajradhātu mandala. Fontein (1990:231) points out: "The village in which the images were discovered is near Candi Lor, a temple of which only the foundations survive. In the immediate vicinity an inscribed stone was found, recording the founding by King Siṇḍok of a Buddhist sanctuary named Jayamerta in the year Śaka 857 (AD 935). In the inscription the name of the locality is given as Añjuk, apparently an old name for Ṅañjuk."

After AD 960
佛說如意輪蓮華心如來修行觀門儀 Nj 1437, T 1090, K —
*Buddha-bhāṣita-cintācakra (or -maṇi)-puṇḍarīka-hṛdaya-tathāgata-caryā-dhyānadvāra-kalpa
Trans. Ts'eu-hien (Hōbōgirin), Northern Sung Dynasty (AD 960–1127).

Chi-tsing 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1438).

妙吉祥平等瑜伽秘密觀身成佛儀軌 Nj 1438, T 1193, K —
*Mañjuśrī-samantayoga-guhya-dhyānakāy-ābhisambuddha-kalpa
Trans. Ts'eu-hien (Hōbōgirin)
Chi-tsing 15: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

AD 973 or 988
無能勝大明陀羅尼經 Nj 1377, T 1234, K 1136
Aparājitā-mahāvidyā-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Trans. Fa-t'ien, in AD 973 or 988 (K).
Chi-tsing 15.12b: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

無能勝大明心陀羅尼經 Nj 1378, T 1235, K 1130
*Aparājitā-mahāvidyā-dhāraṇī-sūtra
Trans. Fa-t'ien, in AD 973 or 988 (K).
Chi-tsing 15.12b: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class (Nj 1377).

AD 983
大方廣總持寶光明經 Nj 785, T 299, K 1095
Mahāvaipulya-dhāraṇī-ratnolkā-sūtra
Ratnolkā-dhāraṇī (T, K)
Trans. Fa-t'ien, in AD 983 (K).
Earlier trans. is Nj 88(16).

大方廣菩薩藏文殊師利根本儀軌經 Nj 1056, T 1191, K 1138
*Mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-piṭaka-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa-sūtra
Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (Toh. 543)
Trans. T'ien Hsi-tsai, in AD 983 (T, K 1088).

AD 995–97
曼殊室利菩薩吉祥伽陀 Nj 1387, T 1196, K 1225b (Hōbōgirin)
*Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-śrīgāthā
Transliterated by Fa-hsien, between AD 995–97 (K 1225).

AD 1001
佛說帝釋嚴秘密成就儀軌 Nj 1393, T 940, K 1416

*Buddha-bhāṣita-indraśakra-śilā-guhya-siddhi-kalpa
Trans. Dānapala, in AD 1001 (K 1407).

AD 1002
佛說大方廣未曾有經善巧方便品 Nj 992, T 844, K 1421
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāvaipuly-ādbhuta-sūtra-upāya-kauśaly-ādhyāya
Trans. Dānapāla, in AD 1002 (K 1417).

AD 1005
佛說大方廣善巧方便經 Nj 926, T 346, K 1424
*Jñānottara-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā
(Upāya-kauśalya-) Jñānottara-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā (K, Toh. 82, 261)
Trans. Dānapāla, in AD 1005.
Earlier trans. is Nj 23(38), 52.

AD 1009
廣釋菩提心論 Nj 1301, T 1664, K 1449
*Bodhicitta-vaipulya-prakaraṇa-śāstra
Bhavanākrama (K) by Kamalaśīla.
Trans. Dānapāla, in AD 1009.

一切秘密最上名義大教王儀軌 Nj 1385, T 888, K 1452
*Sarva-rahasy-ānuttara-nāmārtha-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa
Sarva-rahasya-tantrarāja (Toh. 481)
Trans. Dānapāla, in AD 1009 (K 1448).

AD 1012–15
金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經 Nj 1355, T 874, K —
*Vajraśekhara-sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha-mahāyāna-pratyutpann-ābhisambuddha-mahātantrarāja-sūtra
Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha (Toh. 479)
Later trans. by Dānapāla (Nj 1017, K 1466), between AD 1012–15.
Chi-tsing 15.1a: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

AD 1018–58
佛說大乘大方廣佛冠經 Nj 968, T 438, K 1479
*Buddha-bhāṣita-mahāyāna-mahāvaipulya-buddha-makuṭa-sūtra

Buddha-makuṭa-sūtra (Toh. 274)
Trans. Dharmarakṣa, between 1018–58 (K 1475).

AD 1113

文殊所說最勝名義經 Nj 1370, T 1188, K —
Mañjuśrī-bhāṣitā nāma-saṅgīti
Trans. Chin-tsun-chi, around AD 1113
Chi-tsing 15.14a: Mahayana sūtra of the Vaipulya class.

AD 1400

The Nikāyasaṅgrahaya or Sāsanāvatāra-caritaya written by Devarakṣita alias Dharmakīrti of Gaḍalādeṇiya around AD 1400, gives the following account of the heterodox sects. It is first given in romanisation by Prof. Heinz Bechert:

Ekal'hi śāsanayen paha karana lada tīrthikayō śāsanapratiṣṭhā no ladin nikmuṇāhu krodhayen dilihī Rajagahā nuvara samīpayehi vū Nālandā. vehi räs va "Janayan śāsana-saṅgraha no karana paridden Śākya bhikṣūngē dharmmavinaya deka biňda vuva mänava, eda vanāhi ovungē samaya bheda no däna no piḷivana. Ebävin kisiyam upāyakin yaḷidu mahaṇa vuva mänavä" yi ovun ovun hā mantraṇaya koṭa peraḷā avut Theriyanikāyavāsīn karā vädda no hī eyin haḷa Mahāsaṅghikādi vū sataḷos nikāyavāsīn karā eḷaňba taman tīrthikabava no haňgavā mahaṇa va tamū da piṭakatraya asā pirivahā vipariyāsa koṭa peraḷāgena, ikbiti Kosaňbä nuvaraṭa gos dharmma-vinaya biňdinākrama bäṇa gena budun pirinivī detis santis avuruddak giya kala saräsak va bedī sateneka vesemin Hemavataya Rājagiriya Siddhārthakaya Pūrvaśailīya Aparaśailīya Vājiriya Vaitulyaya Andhakaya anyamahāsāṅghikaya yi nava nikāyek vūha. eyin Hemavatayō budun vadālatāk men saddharmma-pratirūpa koṭa Varṇapiṭakaya kaḷaha. Rājagirihu Aṅgulimālapiṭakaya kaḷaha. Siddhārtthakayō gūḍhavessantaraya kaḷaha. Pūrvaśailīhu Raṭṭhapālagarjjitaya kaḷaha. Aparaśailīhu Alavakagarjjitaya kaḷaha. Vajraparvvatavāsīhu Gūḍhavinaya kaḷaha. tava da ohu ma Māyājālatantraya Samājatantraya Mahāsamayatattvaya Tattvasaṅgrahaya Bhūtacā-maraya Vajrāmṛtaya Cakrasaṁvaraya Dvādaśa-

Its translation by C.M. Fernando (1908:9–10) follows:

"Then the Tīrthakas, who had been expelled from the religion receiving no help from it, departed, and burning with rage they assembled at Nālandā near Rājagaha. There they took counsel together, saying: "We should make a breach between the doctrine and the discipline of Śākya monks, so as to make it difficult for the people to comprehend the religion. But without knowing the niceties of the religion it is not possible to do so. Therefore by some means we must again become monks." They then returned, and not

being able to secure admission to the Theriya Nikāya, went to the members of the seventeen fraternities, the Mahāsaṅghika, &c., which had been rejected by it, and entering the priesthood without letting it be discovered that they were Tīrthakas, and hearing and reading the three Piṭakas, they reversed and subverted the same. Afterwards they went to the city of Kosaṁbe, and concerted ways and means for keeping doctrine and discipline apart. And after two hundred and thirty-five years from the Nirvāṇa of Buddha they separated into six divisions, and residing in six places formed themselves into the nine fraternities—Hemawata, Rājagiri, Siddhārtha, Pūrwaśaili, Aparaśaili, Wajiri, Vaitulya, Andhaka, and Anya-mahāsaṅghika. Of these fraternities, the Hemawata heretics fabricated the "Warṇa-piṭaka," giving it a semblance of true doctrine and making it appear as if preached by the Buddha. The Rājagiri heretics composed the "Aṅgulimāla Piṭaka"; the Siddhārthaka heretics the "Gūḍha Vessantara"; the Pūrvaśaili heretics the "Raṭṭha-pālagarjita"; the Aparaśaili heretics the "Ālavakagarjita"; and the Wajraparvata heretics the "Gūḍha Vinaya". These last also composed the tantras Māyājālatantra, Samājatantra, Mahāsamayatattva, Tattvasaṅgraha, Bhūtacāmara, Vajrāmṛita, Cakrasaṁvara, Dvādaśa-cakra, Bherukādbuda, Mahāmāyā, Padaniḥkshepa, Catushpishṭa, Parāmarda, Maricudbhava, Sarvabuddha, Sarvaguhya, Samuccaya, &c., and the Kalpa-shastras Māyāmarīci-kalpa, Herambakalpa, Trisamayakalpa, Rājakalpa, Wajragandhāra-kalpa, Mariciguhya-kalpa, Suddhasamuccayakalpa, &c.

"The Vaitulya heretics composed the "Vaitulya Piṭaka"; the Andhaka heretics the "Ratnakūṭa" and other scientific works; the anya-mahāsaṅghika heretics the "Aksharasāri" and other sūtras. The different methods adopted in these several works are too many to permit of recital here. Although many schisms were caused in this manner yet the religion of Buddha existed in purity for two hundred and nineteen years from the third convocation.

"Out of the works thus composed at this time by the Tīrthakas in the guise of monks and made to appear like the true doctrine, the "Warṇapiṭaka" and other imitations of the dharma remained in Jambudvīpa alone; the Vaitulyavāda, the Vājiriyavāda, and the scientific treatises named Ratnakūṭa, &c., reached also the shores of this beauteous island of Lankā."

Earlier the Nikāya-saṅgraha (pp. 9–10, Mudiyanse 1967:17) enumerates the titles of 34 works of different divisions of tantras:

1. Varṇa-piṭaka of the Hemavatas
2. Aṅgulimāla-piṭaka of the Rājagirikas
3. Gūḍha-Vessantara of the Siddhārthakas
4. Rāṣṭrapāla-garjjita of the Pūrvaśailīyas
5. Ālavaka-garjjita of the Aparaśailīyas

Works by Vajraparvatavāsins (6–31)

6. Gūḍha-Vinaya
7. Māyājāla-tantra
8. Samāja-tantra
9. Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra
10. Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra
11. Bhūtaḍāmara-tantra
12. Vajrāmṛta-tantra
13. Cakra-saṁvara-tantra
14. Dvādaśacakra-tantra
15. Herukādbhuta-tantra
16. Mahāmāya-tantra
17. Padanikṣepa-tantra
18. Catuṣpīṭha-tantra
19. Paramādya-tantra
20. Mārīcyudbhava-tantra
21. Sarvabuddha-tantra
22. Sarvaguhya-tantra
23. Samuccaya-tantra
24. Rāja-kalpa
25. Herambha-kalpa
26. Trisamaya-kalpa
27. Rāja-kalpa
28. Vajra-gandhāra-kalpa
29. Mārīcī-guhya-kalpa
30. Śuddha-samuccaya-kalpa
31. Māyā-Mārīcī-kalpa
32. Vaitulya-piṭaka of the Vaitulyavādins
33. Ratnakūṭa-sūtras of the Āndhrakas
34. Akṣarasāriya-sūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikas

The aforesaid texts can be arranged into the following groups according to the Vajrayana system of classification (Wayman 1973:233–39):

Ratnakūṭa genre of texts (Toh. 45–93, Ns. 34)

Sūtras:

Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā (Toh. 62, Ns. 4)

Aṅgulimāliya (Toh. 213, Ns. 2)

Anuttara-yoga-tantras:

Herukābhyudaya (Toh. 374, Ns. 15 Herukādbhuta-tantra. Tantras pertaining to the Heruka group are Toh. 368–427).
Cakrasaṁvara-tantra (Toh. 385, Ns. 13)
Mahāsamaya-tantra-rāja (Toh. 390, Ns. 9 Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra)
Mahāmāya-tantra-rāja (Toh. 425, Ns. 16 omits- rāja)
Catuṣpīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja (Toh. 430, Ns. 18 Catuṣpīṭha-tantra)
Vajrāmṛta-tantra (Toh. 435, Ns. 12)
Guhyasamāja-tantra (Toh. 449, Ns. 8 Samāja-tantra). The Guhyasamāja section extends from Toh. 442 to 453 (both inclusive, Wayman 1973:235).
Māyājāla-mahātantra-rāja (Toh. 466, Ns. 7 Māyājāla-tantra)
Yoga-tantras:
Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh. 479, Ns. 10 adds °tantra)
Paramādya nāma mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh. 487, Ns. 19 Paramarda-tantra)
Caryā-tantra:
Padanikṣepa-tantra (Ns. 17). Padanikṣepa is one of the eight Mahā-vidyārāja in Shingon or Japanese Mantrayana (Taishō Zuzō 164 no.1, 165 no. 1 Hachi-dai-myōō-zuzō 'figures of aṣṭa-mahāvidyārāja', two scrolls kept at the Daigōji monastery).
Kriyā-tantras:
Māyā-Mārīci-jāta-tantrād uddhṛtam kalpa-rāja (Toh. 565, Ns., Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa)
Mārīcy-udbhava-tantra (Ns. 20), Mārīci-kalpa (Ns. 24), Mārīci-guhya-kalpa (Ns. 29) can be compared to Toh. 566.
Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja (Toh. 747, Ns. 11 B.-tantra)
General:
Kriyā-samuccaya (Toh. 3305, Ns. 23 Samuccaya-tantra)
Trisamayarāja-sādhana (Toh. 3144, 3401), Trisamaya-samaya-sādhana (Toh. 3147) can be compared to Trisamaya-kalpa (Ns. 26) and Rāja-kalpa (Ns. 27).
Vajragandhāra-kalpa (Ns. 28) can be compared to Vajragāndhārī-sādhana (Toh. 3260, 3385, 3594, 3595).

The Nikāya-saṅgraha makes it explicit that the Ratnakūṭa and all the four divisions of tantras were prevalent in Sri Lanka among the Abhayagiri-vāsins, who shared this rich pre-tantric and tantric heritage. The mention of Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra (Ns. 10), the basic text (*mūla-tantra*) of the yoga-tantras is of special importance. It leads us to the following conclusions:

i. Vetulla/Vetulya mean that the doctrine was unique, without (*vi*) a comparison (*tulya*).
ii. Vehement opposition of the prevailing sects strengthened the resolve of the Vetulyakas, who became known for being unyielding and firm (*vi* 'specially' *daḷha*

'strong').

iii. The Vetulyakas propounded mahāśūnyatā, even anything given to the saṅgha, to the Buddha was really of no avail.

iv. They had their own canon or piṭaka.

v. Their word did not stem from the Buddha. Their views about the Buddha and saṅgha are controverted by the Kathāvatthu.

vi. The Buddha is transcendental and lives in Tuṣita. The Buddha did not come to this world (Kvu 18.1). He did not preach the dharma (Kvu. 18.2). It is a purely lokottaravādin thesis. From his abode in Tuṣitapura, the Buddha sent his abhinimitta to proclaim the dharma. Ānanda exposed the dharma after receiving it from the intermediary apparition (Bareau 1955:254–56).

vii. They considered the actions of Buddha transcendental and "he only seemed to be enjoying out of conformity to life herebelow" (lokānuvattana)". It was his *līlā* or *lalita* (in Lalitavistara *lalita* has the same meaning).

viii. The Vetulyakas think that sexual relations may be undertaken. The tantric character had become marked already in the Kathāvatthu commentary which is dated by Rahul Sankrityayana (1958:106) to the first century AD.

ix. Uttarāpathaka refers to sects that arose in NW India. They were associated with the Vetulyakas.

x. Vetulyaka and other allied sects were transmitted to Sri Lanka from Andhra. The centre of Vetulyavāda was Dhānyakaṭaka near Śrīparvata in Andhra.

xi. The tantras were composed by the Vajraparvata heretics, that is, the more developed tantras were written down in the South.

xii. The Ratnakūṭa was a composition of the Andhakas. Ratnakūṭa became a part of Mahayana, when it comprehended in its wide sweep all the dissident doctrines and became all-inclusive.

xiii. Texts of Sri Lanka, like the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa chronicles and the Nikāyasaṅgraha with its detailed list of tantras, are valuable sources for the history of tantras in that they provide dates of Vetullavāda, which is an earlier designation of the tantric tradition.

THE 19TH CENTURY MISUNDERSTANDING OF BUDDHIST TANTRAS

Brian Houghton Hodgson, in his epoch-making paper 'Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Buddha Scriptures of Nepal' (1828) laid down the foundations of the study of Buddhist art and tantras. At that stage of knowledge or rather unknowing, how could he recognise that the system of Five Buddhas he was enunciating pertained to the yoga-tantras. Misnomers like Dhyāni-Buddhas and Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas crept in due to mis-

understanding the replies of Pandit Amritananda in Sanskrit. Moreover, the posed questions to Amritananda in a theistic conceptual framework, because of his Christian background of God. It was but natural in the age he lived. These and other acts of omissions and commissions, have compounded misinterpretations, and played havoc in studies on the origin and development of Buddhist tantras and their visualisation in art. Sculptures and paintings of the Five Buddhas over the centuries and in varied climes are significant in supplying chronological milestones for evaluating the evolution of tantras. Besides the yab-yum Heruka, Amitābha and Vairocana are kuleśas of their respective tantras, and share the common characteristics of tantric thought in spite of glaring morphological and other differences.

The beginning of the present study is the fourfold categorisation of the tantras in the Indo-Tibetan tradition, and their iconographic representation from Amitābha downwards. The visual representation of the four divisions of the tantras provide a focal point in highlighting the distinctive features of each division. The specific characteristics of each divisions was known in Nepal, as evidenced by the 12th century manuscript of the Vajrāvalī whose first leaf has the following (Shastri 1917:160 ms. 3855):

Kriyā Trisamaya-rāja Bhūta-ḍāmara-tantra//
Caryyā Vairocan-ābhisambodhi-tantr-ādi//
Yoga Tattva-saṅgrah-ādi-tantra//
Yogottara Samāja-tantr-ādi//
Yoga-niruttara Sambarodaya Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara Ḍākārṇava
Abhidhānottar-ādayaḥ iti yoginī-tantra//

But this classification seems to have been more or less bypassed in India and Nepal since early times. This is evident in the Niṣpannayogāvalī, which is a supplement to the Vajrāvalī, where the mandalas are not arranged according to the four divisions. This lack of classification in Abhayākaragupta's enunciation of the mandalas of Vajrāvalī has been discussed by Tibetan authorities. It is not surprising then that Amritananda, the informant of Hodgson, himself overlooked it and the system of Five Buddhas of the yoga-tantras cited by him was taken by Hodgson in a generalised manner. The confusion it created has persisted to our day, inspite of spectacular advances in the study of the history of tantras. The concept of a single system of Five Buddhas continues to falsify the philosophical contexts and their visual expression. In Hodgson the five seem to have the same status, but it is not so. Among them, Vairocana occupies the centre, while the other four flank him on the right and left, front and behind. Herein Amitābha is subordinate to Vairocana, while in the kriyā-tantras (that is, in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha system) he is in the centre as the kuleśa with Avalokitasvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta to his right and left. The changing status of the same divinity was due to the incorporation of earlier

traditions into the newly developed tantras. Thus from his original core role in the kriyā-tantras, Amitābha became subsidiary in the caryā-tantras (Garbhadhātu mandala) and yoga-tantras (Vajradhātu mandala). The same divinity in various contexts represents the evolving stages of tantras. It is essential that over-generalisations be abandoned so that the origination, characterisation, and evolution of the tantras can be comprehended in right perspectives. Let us first understand the error (from Latin *errare* 'to wander') and then wander away from it.

INACCURACY OF THE TERM [DHYĀNI-]BUDDHAS

Hodgson (1828:28) propounded that "The Dhyāna of creation is called by one generic name Loka-saṁsarjana; and by five repetitions of this, the five Buddhas were created... Each of them receives, together with his existence, the virtues of that Jñāna and Dhyāna, by the exertion of which, by Ādi Buddha, he owed his existence; and by a similar exertion of both, he again produces a Dhyāni-bodhisattva. ...The names and lineage of these Dhyāni-bodhisattvas are as follows:

1. Vairocana	1. Samantabhadra
2. Akṣobhya	2. Vajrapāṇi
3. Ratnasambhava	3. Ratnapāṇi
4. Amitābha	4. Padmapāṇi
5. Amoghasiddha	5. Viśvapāṇi

"The Dhyāni-Buddhas and bodhisattvas are considered to stand in the relation of fathers and sons to each other; and as there are Dhyāni-bodhisattvas, so are there Mānuṣi-bodhisattvas, who again bear to their respective Mānuṣi-Buddhas the connexion of pupil to teacher,..."

Further on p. 42 he said: "In the Guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha it is written, when nothing else was, Sambhu was; that is the self-existent (Svayambhū): and as he was before all, he is also called ĀDI-BUDDHA. He wished from one to became many, which desire is denominated Prajñā. Buddha and Prajñā united became Prajñā Upāya, as Śiva Śakti, or Brahma Māyā. ...In the instant of conceiving this desire, five forms or beings were produced, called the Five Buddhas..., whose names are as follows: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddha. Each of these Buddhas, again produced from himself, by means of Dhyāna, another being called his bodhisattva or son. Vairocana produced Samantabhadra; Akṣobhya, Vajrapāṇi; Ratnasambhava, Ratnapāṇi; Amitābha, Padmapāṇi; and Amoghasiddha, Viśvapāṇi."

The system of Dhyāni-Buddhas and Dhyāni-bodhisattvas, and the collateral Mānuṣi-Buddhas and Mānuṣi-bodhisattvas was neat, clear-cut and logical: logic needed no historic authority. And, no authority was cited for the nomenclature.

The confusion of Hindu and Buddhist ideas brought into being an improper superimposition of theistic constructs like aiśvarika: "The deduction of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, and the five Dhyāni-bodhisattvas, from Ādi-Buddha, according to the Aiśvarika Bauddhas." (p. 54).

The authority of the Kāraṇḍa-vyūha cited by Hodgson 1828:42 spoke of the "five Buddhas" without the epithet dhyāni-. The notes supplied by Amritananda 1826:16 to Hodgson do not speak of dhyāna. Hodgson 1828:27 has interpolated dhyāni out of his preconceived notion that it "is derived from the Sanskrit name for that abstracted musing which has found more or less favour with almost all the Asiatic religionists, but which is peculiarly and pre-eminently characteristic of Buddhism."

"Each of these Buddhas, again produced from himself, by means of Dhyāna, another being called his Bodhisattva, or son. Vairocana produced Samantabhadra" (Hodgson 1828:42). Amritananda: *Vairocano mahābuddhaḥ suviśuddha-dharmadhātutaḥ sasarja sarva-bhadrārthaṁ Samantabhadram ātmajam* "Vairocana the great Buddha emanated from Suviśuddha-dharmadhātu his son (= acolyte) Samantabhadra for the well-being (bhadra) of all." Hodgson's 'by means of dhyāna' is not in Amritananda. His 'bodhisattva' is an insertion which gave rise to the fake term Dhyāni-bodhisattva. Son (*ātmaja*) means an acolyte, a spiritual son, and not a physical son.

Terminological confusion became worse confounded when Amritananda tried to explain Buddhist systems in Hindu terms: "we have nine Purāṇas, called the 'Nine Dharmas'" (Hodgson 1828:49). The Nava Dharma are the nine fundamental texts of the Nepalese Buddhists. They have nothing in common with the Hindu Purāṇas, nor with Buddhist sthala-purāṇas like the Svayambhū-purāṇa.

The citations of Hodgson 1828:93 are not precise. He quotes from the Dharma-saṅgraha:

Pañca-Buddhāmnāya
4 Amitābha, 2 Akṣobhya, 1 Vairocana, 3 Ratnasambhava, 5 Amoghasiddha
Pañca-Prajñāmnāyī
4 Pāṇḍurā, 2 Locanā, 1 Vajradhātvīśvarī, 3 Māmakī, 5 Tārā.

The original Dharma-saṅgraha (Max Müller 1885:1) has:

Pañca Buddhāḥ/ tadyathā// Vairocano 'kṣobhyo Ratnasambhavo 'mitābho 'mogha-siddhiś ceti//
Catasro devyaḥ/ tadyathā// Rocanī Māmakī Pāṇḍurā Tārā ceti //

It will be seen that Hodgson disregarded the original terms Pañca-Buddha, and commented instead "These five are the famous Dhyāni-Buddhas." Max Müller 1885:36 repeated the addition: 'The five (Dhyāni)-Buddhas'. To the four goddesses Hodgson added Vajradhātvīśvarī to rationalise the system of five.

What was the source of the interjection of the word dhyāni? It stems from the collocation and then substitution of jñāna by dhyāna (Hodgson 1828:27):

"The names and graduation of these Jñānas, Dhyānas, and Buddhas are thus:

Jñānas	Buddhas
1. Suviśuddha-dharmadhātu.	1. Vairocana.
2. Ādarśana.	2. Akṣobhya.
3. Prativekṣaṇa.	3. Ratnasambhava.
4. Śānta.	4. Amitābha.
5. Kṛtyānuṣṭhāna.	5. Amoghasiddha."

In Amritananda 1826:15, the five Tathāgatas are emanations of the five Jñānas: for example, Amitābha emanates from samatā-jñāna (not śānta, as in Hodgson), and he is in dhyāna mudrā.

Kern 1898:64, 96 speaks of "the five Dhyāni-Buddhas of the Mahayanists". It was never clarified that the Five Buddhas pertain not to Mahayana but to the yoga-tantras. The term and ideas associated with them continue to persist in Buddhist studies (E.B. Havell 1908:12).

Alice Getty (1928:28) perpetuates the fallacious term Dhyāni-Buddhas, confounds it with Dharma-kāya, and inadvertently correlates it to Yogācāra:

> "According to the Yoga doctrine, the law preached by the Nirmāṇa-kāya (Mānushi-Buddha) is exoteric. When he preaches the *esoteric* doctrine he is inspired by the Dharmakāya—his Dhyāni-Buddha."
>
> "The Tibetan Mahayanists do not associate Vairocana with the founding of the Yoga system, but the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists of the Yogācārya school claim that he transmitted the doctrine directly to the Hindu sage Vajrasattva,..." (p. 31).
>
> "In India the Yogācārya school was grafted on to the Mahayana in the middle of the fourth century by Asaṅga, ..." (p. 31).

Getty has rightly correlated the Five Buddhas to Sino-Japanese Esoteric Buddhism and pointed out that in Japanese Buddhism there is no term like dhyāni-:

> "The group of five Dhyāni-Buddhas was introduced into China by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra in the eighth century." (p. 28 n. 1).
>
> "Towards the end of eigthth century, the Japanese sage Kukai (Kobo Daishi) went to China to study the doctrine of the Yogācārya school with Hui-kuo (Jap. Kei-kwa), and after being initiated into the most secret mysteries of the system, carried it into Japan and founded the Shingon sect." (p. 31).
>
> "In Japan the Dhyāni-Buddhas are also represented in monastic garments. ...In Japanese Buddhism there is no such term as 'dhyāni' Buddha." (p. 29).

The terms 'Yoga Doctrine", "Yoga System' and 'Yogācārya School' mean the yoga-tantras. In Sino-Japanese the word tantra is translated as 教 *chiao* 'teaching' (mahā-tantra-raja is 大教王 in Nj 1020 in the title of Tattva-saṅgraha, translated by

Amoghavajra). Hence the general translation of *chiao* by 'doctrine, system' instead of the appropriate word 'tantra'. The transition from yoga doctrine to Yogācārya (in the sense of Yogācāra) was a corollary of inadvertence. Her assertion "In India the Yogācārya school was grafted on to the Mahayana in the middle of the fourth century by Asaṅga" in the context of Vairocana, implies the identity of yoga doctrine (yoga-tantras) and yogācāra of Asaṅga. From Getty's statements that the Five Buddhas were carried to China by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, and that Kōbō Daishi transmitted the doctrine to Japan, it is clear that she is aware that they pertain to Esoteric Buddhism. She is wrong in saying that the Tibetans do not associate Vairocana with the yoga system. All these errors stem from the ignorance that the yoga-tantras in the entire Buddhist world of Nepal, China, Japan, Tibet, and elsewhere are based on the single tradition of the mūla-tantra Tattva-saṅgraha. Getty's statement that Japanese Buddhism has "no such term as 'dhyāni' Buddha" is significant.

Glasenapp (1940:82) says that the term Dhyānibuddha has not been found in Indian texts so far and is also incorrect. It signifies a "meditating" Buddha and not a Buddha "originating through meditation". Probably the term is an invention of Hodgson's pandit. Though used for a century the term should be replaced by 'Tathāgata'. Glasenapp is right in his assertion. The term arose not with the pandit, but with Hodgson who misunderstood the essential ideas that underlie the yoga-tantra system of the correspondence of the Five Buddhas to different jñāna (Lokesh Chandra 1972: introd. 40).

Edgerton says in his Dictionary (1953:287b, 400b): "I have failed to note any actual occurrence of dhyāni (-buddha, -bodhisattva) in my texts." P. Mus calls them 'transcendent' Buddhas in his seaching study, *Barabudur*, p. 577 ff. (*L'origine des Cinq Jina*: a full discussion here)."

Kirfel (1959:45) uses Dhyāni-Buddhas as a firmly entrenched term.

As late as 1976, Liebert (p.79) has entered the term dhyāni-bodhisattva with Hodgson's explanation without any disapproval. Likewise, his treatment of dhyāni-buddha is misleading. "According to GBM dhyānibuddha is an incorrect name, which is not met with in the original Buddhist literature, the correct term being *tathāgata;* however, the name dhyānibuddha has won a place in scientific literature and is much more commonly used than *tathāgata."* Promoted by Burnouf and used in academic publications for over a century this wrong vogue has to be discarded. The tantras have been studied in depth only in recent decades and their findings have a right to 'win' a place in scientific literature. Liebert even innovates (!) the term dhyāni-buddha-bimba for the image of a Buddha on the head or crown of his corresponding bodhisattva.

The wrong terminology of Dhyāni-Buddha and Dhyāni-Bodhisattva, started by Hodgson in his brilliant misunderstanding of the complex ideas of his Pandit Amri-

tananda was fostered by Burnouf through his foundational magnum opus *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien.* The original sin was committed when the Five Buddhas were taken as a core element of Buddhism in general and weaned away from the yoga-tantras to which they belonged. The basic text (mūla-tantra) of the yoga-tantras is the Tattva-saṅgraha, represented graphically by the Japanese Vajradhātu mandala. This long-continuing over-generalisation muddled the evaluation of the development and chronology of Buddhist tantras. Resultant misconceptions fogged the distinctions of the Five Buddhas in different schools with their own contradistinctive theogonies. Variations in the names, distinguishing features and placement of the Five Tathāgatas in the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra, *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra, two different series in the 9th and 22nd chapters of the Amoghapāśa-sūtra, *Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra, Garbhadhātu mandala of the caryā-tantras and Vajradhātu mandala of the yoga-tantras, have been detailed by the author elsewhere (Lokesh Chandra 1980:26–29). The wrong nomenclature and the mistaken philosophic system around them, has been the bane of Buddhist tantras, delimiting their scope and confusing their evolution. It is time that we abandon the term and the conceptualisation of the Dhyāni-buddhas and -bodhisattvas and take a historically correct view of the four divisions of tantras.

Some other factors that have marred our understanding of the development of Buddhist tantras may also be indicated. There is no clear definition of the tantras.

The tantras were associated with later periods and with the decline of Buddhism: "The decline of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of tantrism and sorcery, which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice." (Kern 1898:133). This was inspite of: "Tāranātha 201 informs us that tantrism existed and was transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti, but that after Dharmakīrti's times the anuttara-yoga became more and more general and influential. Substantially his statement is certainly right" (ibid.).

The separation of Mahayana and Buddhist tantras led to chronological questions: "The chronological questions connected with the rise of Mahayanism, are too vast to admit of an incidental treatment. Here it will suffice to note that the Mahayana sūtra Sukhāvatī-vyūha or Amitāyus-sūtra is stated to have been translated into Chinese for the first time in AD 148–70". (Kern 1898:6).

The denomination of Vaipulya texts has been an enigma: "All Vaipulya texts we know of are qualified as Mahayana sūtras and constitute the new or Mahayanist canon. Since we learn from Chinese authorities that the Lalita-vistara, a decided Mahayana sūtra, properly belongs to the Sarvāstivādins, we must infer that the Mahayanists did not scruple to adopt such works of the Hīnayāna sects as fitted in with their system, though

we cannot help believing that the text must have undergone modifications." (Kern 1898:6).

The gradual but continuous evolution of the tantras has not been comprehended: "To the Mahayanists is ascribed the introduction of Dhāraṇīs into the sacred texts. How to reconcile this with the statement by Hsüan-tsang that the Mahāsāṅghikas possessed a Dhāraṇī-Piṭaka from the very beginning of their sect? Unless we repudiate the truthfulness of the report altogether, we are driven to the conclusion that the Mahayanists did not invent the Dhāraṇīs, but only appropriated them as an integral part of their system. There are, indeed, several indications of a certain connection between the tendencies of the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Mahayanists" (Kern 1898:6). According to Hsüan-tsang "the old canon of the Mahāsāṅghikas was fivefold, divided into Sūtra-, Vinaya-, Abhidharma-, Saṁyukta-, and Dhāraṇī-(or Vidyādhara Piṭaka)" (Kern 1898:4).

Winternitz also does not define the tantras, though he speaks of their four classes (1927:389). According to him there is "no rigid boundary-line between the Mahayana and the Mantrayana–Vajrayana" (1927:389). The earliest tantras are difficult to distinguish from Mahayana sūtras (1927:394). The Suvarṇaprabhāsa bears the stamp of a tantra (1927:339). Winternitz (1927:396) says: "A work which describes itself as a Mahā-Vaipulya-Mahayana-sūtra and as belonging to the Avataṁsaka, is the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa. Nevertheless, as far as its contents are concerned, the work is entirely in the spirit of the Mantrayana."*

THE SIX CHAPELS OF THE PAO-HSIANG PAVILION

1. CHAPEL OF THE SŪTRAS

The first chapel has deities and masters of the sūtras:

Śākyamuni and Eight Bodhisattvas: 1M 1–9
Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa: 1A 5–8, 14–21, 26–29, 1B6–9, 18–21, 27, 33–36, 45
Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession: 1A13, 22–25, 30–34, 37–61
Eight Bodhisattvas: 1A1–4, 9–12
Milarepa, Tsoṅkhapa, Dalai Lama: 1A35, 36, 1B26
Sixteen Arhats: 1B1–5, 14–17, 58–61 (360.272–87)
Disciples of the Buddha: Aśvajit, Gavāmpati, Ānanda, Rāhula, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa 1B10–13, 22–25

In the Garbhadhātu mandala the following disciples are depicted: Jñānakoṣṭhila, Upāli, Kātyāyana, Ānanda, Koṣṭhila, Maudgalyāyana, Subhūti, Kāśyapa, Śāriputra.

Zenno Ishigami, *Disciples of the Buddha* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 1989) names the ten great disciples: Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Upāli, Ānanda, Aniruddha, Rāhula, Kātyāyana, Subhūti and Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra.

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*Revised version of a paper presented to the symposium on 'The Silk Route and the Diamond Path' held on 7,8 November 1982 at the Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery, University of California, Los Angeles, USA.

Buddhas of the Ten Directions: 1B44, 49–50 (360.117–26) (correct names in both pantheons)
Eight Buddhas of Medicine: 1B37–43 (360.133–39)

2. CHAPEL OF THE ANUTTARA-YOGA TANTRAS

The second chapel has images of the anuttara-yoga tantras. The main altar has three deities of the mandalas of the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī. Besides, there are three types of Bhairava (2M2, 7, 8), two types of Mañjuśrī (2M3, 6) and Vajrapāṇi (2M9). Out of the total of 122 deities (2A1–61, B1–61), the following can be assigned to the various mandalas of the Nsp:

Nsp. 1	Guhyasamāja Mañjuvajra (2M4, 2A2)
Nsp. 2	Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya (2M5)
Nsp. 3	Vajrasattva/Vajradhara (2A36 Mahāvajradhara)
Nsp.11	Vajrahūṁkāra (2A34)
Nsp.15	Yamāri/Kṛṣṇāri (2M1). It includes eight Bhairavas 2A5–8, 26–29
2A1–4, 26–29	Retinue of Cāmuṇḍā
2B18–21, 33–36	Retinue of Yamarāja
2B1	Vajravetāla
2B2–5	Forms of Vajrapāṇi
2B10–13	Aṅkuśī...
2B26	Śabarīpāda
2B27–32	Six forms of Bhairava
2B37–40, 49–52	Eight forms of Bhairava
Chinese suffixes	-vajra to names to show that they are Vajrayana deities.

3. CHAPEL OF ANUTTARA-YOGINĪ TANTRAS

The third chapel has the following deities of the anuttara-yoginī tantras:

Nsp. 3	Vajradhara 2A36
Nsp. 5	Hevajra 3M3
Nsp. 9	Mahāmāya 3M7
Nsp. 10.1	Buddhakapāla 3B31
Nsp. 12.1	Saṁvara 3M5
Nsp. 13.1	Buddhakapāla 3M2
Nsp. 14.1	Yogāmbara 3M1
Nsp. 24	Pañca-Ḍāka

Nsp.3 Vajradhara-mandala:

3.1	Vajradhara 2A36
3.12	Rāgavajra 3B1
3.13	Vajrasaumya 3B2
3.15	Vajraḍākinī 3B3
3.16	Śabdavajra 3B5
3.17	Pṛthvīvajra 3B4
3.18	Hāsyā 3B27 (Mālā)

Nsp. 5 Hevajra-mandala:
5.1 Hevajra 3M3
5.2 Gaurī 3B39
5.3 Vetālī 3B61 (Vajraputtali?)
5.5 Ghasmarī 3B15
5.6 Pukkasī 3B16
5.7 Śabarī 3B17
Three forms of Hevajra are shown:
3M3 Śastradhara Hevajra
3M6 Kapāladhara Hevajra
3M8 Cakradhara Rāja

4. CHAPEL OF YOGA-TANTRAS

This chapel has deities of a number of yoga-tantras:
Nsp. 22 Durgati-pariśodhana Mahāvairocana
Nsp. 19 Vajradhātu-Vairocana
Nsp. 21 Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara (i.e. Mañjughoṣa)

Nsp. 22 The central image of this chapel is Sarvavid Vairocana, with four faces and his two hands hold a cakra. He is the central deity of the Durgati-pariśodhana mandala where he is *Śākyasiṁho bhagavān Mahāvairocanaḥ* holding the dharmacakra (Nsp. text p. 66). The statues of the following deities of this mandala are extant:

22.1 Durgatipariśodhana Mahāvairocana 4M5, 4A36 (Śākyasiṁha 4A47)
22.2 Vajroṣṇīṣa 4A46
22.3 Ratnoṣṇīṣa 4A45
22.4 Padmoṣṇīṣa 4A44
22.5 Viśvoṣṇīṣa 4A43
22.6 Tejoṣṇīṣa 4A42
22.7 Dhvajoṣṇīṣa 4A41
22.9 Chatroṣṇīṣa 4A53
22.10 Lāsyā 4B55
22.11 Mālā 4B56
22.12 Gītā 4B57
22.13 Nṛtyā 4B45
22.14 Maitreya 4B46
22.15 Amoghadarśī 4B47
22.16 Apayāñjaha 4B48
22.17 Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati 4B14
22.18 Gandhahastī 4B15
22.19 Śūraṅgama 4B16
22.20 Gaganagañja 4B17
22.21 Jañānaketu 4B58
22.22 Amṛtaprabha 4B59
22.23 Candraprabha 4B60

22.24 Bhadrapāla 4B61
22.25 Jālinīprabha 4B1
22.26 Vajragarbha 4B2
22.27 Akṣayamati 4B3
22.28 Pratibhānakūṭa 4B4
22.29 Samantabhadra 4B5

Nsp. 19 The central Vairocana is shown twice: 4M4 and 4A25. He has four faces and eight hands. This is the main form in the Nsp. Another variation is given in the Nsp. with one face and two hands in bodhyagrī mudrā. This is the statuette 4A34 Hung-kuang Vairocana (Hung-kuang also means Vairocana).

19.1 Vajradhātu Vairocana 4M4, 4A25
19.5 Karmavajrī 4A52
19.6 Akṣobhya 4A40, 4A51, 4B26
19.7 Vajrasattva 4A50
19.8 Vajrarāja 4A49
19.9 Vajrarāga 4A13
19.10 Vajrasādhu 4A12
19.11 Ratnasambhava 4A11, 39
19.12 Vajraratna 4A10
19.13 Vajratejas 4A9
19.14 Vajraketu 4B39
19.15 Vajrahāsa 4B40
19.16 Amitābha 4B41
19.17 Vajradharma 4B42, 4A33
19.18 Vajratīkṣṇa 4B43
19.19 Vajrahetu 4B44
19.20 Vajrabhāṣa 4B49
19.21 Amoghasiddhi 4M3, 4A38, 48, 4B28, 50
19.22 Vajrakarma 4B51
19.23 Vajrarakṣa 4B52
19.24 Vajrayakṣa 4B53
19.25 Vajrasandhi 4B54
19.30–35 are already included in earlier mandala 22 and hence they are not repeated.

5. CHAPEL OF THE CARYĀ-TANTRAS

The main image of this chapel is Abhisambodhi-Vairocana (5M5). His mandala is not included in the Vajrāvalī/Nsp. The following statuettes of the chapel can be assigned to the mandala of Abhisambodhi-Vairocana, known as the Garbhadhātu-mandala in Japanese nomenclature. The sequence is taken from Yukio Hatta, *Gendai mikkyo kosa* 'On the world of the mandala', vol. 5 (Tokyo, 1977):

1. Vairocana 5M5
13. Buddhalocanī 5M9
15. Mahāvira 5A27
21. Trailokyavijaya 5A60
23. Mahāsthāmaprāpta 5A31

24. Bhṛkuṭī 5A32
25. Avalokiteśvara 5A34
26. Tārā 5B10
28. Hayagrīva 5M3
31. Yaśodharā 5B9
42. Pāṇḍarā 5M8
60. Vajragāndhārī 5A44
62. Krodhacandratilaka 5A42
63. GaganāmalaVajradhara 5A41
73. Vajradaṁṣṭra 5A28
92. Kāśyapa 5A49
102. Tejorāśyoṣṇīṣa 5A24
103. Mahoṣṇīṣacakravartī 5A54
106. Śākyamuni 5A57
110. Aparājitā 5B56
120. Sitātapatrā 5A39
122. Vijayoṣṇīṣa 5A37
123. Abhyudgatoṣṇīṣa 5A53
129. Vijaya 5B7
130. Jaya 5B41
132. Aparājita 5B57
135. Vimalaprabha 5B16
136. Ratnakūṭa 5B15
137. Jālinīprabha 5B14
143. Keśinī 5B17
144. Upakeśinī 5B58
145. Citrā 5B59
146. Vasumatī 5B60
147. Ākarṣaṇī 5B61
154. Apāyajaha 5B4
155. Abhayaṁdada 5B3
157. Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhī 5B1
207. Īśāna 5A21
219. Āditya 5A3
220. Vijaya 5B33
227. Brahmā 5A13
241. Sūrya 5B40
244. Vasiṣṭha 5A10
246. Agni 5A50
247. Aṅgiras 5A1
249. Gautama 5A13
257. Rāhu 5A2
290. Nirṛti 5B37
292. Maheśvara 5A17

293. Umā 5B36
296. Kumārī 5B29
297. Cāmuṇḍā 5B32
314. Varuṇa 5B39
317. Abhimukha 5B58
318. Dhūrdhara 5B59
323. Nārāyaṇa 5A16
324. Nārāyaṇī 5B30
325. Sarasvatī 5B19
326. Kumāra 5A14
327. Candra 5B55
349. Indra 5B38

The other major mandala in this chapel is that of Bhūtaḍāmara, Nsp. 23. The following statuettes can be assigned to this mandala. The goddesses 23.16, 29–33 have been identified by the attributes.

23.1 Bhūtaḍāmara 5A5
23.2 Maheśvara 5A17
23.3 Viṣṇu 5A16
23.4 Brahmā 5A15
23.5 Kārttikeya 5A14
23.9 Nandī 5A1
23.14 Ratnaśrī 5B18
23.15 Sarasvatī 5B19
23.16 Surasundarī 5B20
23.18 Śakra 5B38
23.20 Varuṇa 5B39
23.23 Nairṛta 5B37
23.24 Vāta 5B52
23.25 Candra 5B55
23.26 Siṁhadhvajadhāriṇī 5B6
23.27 Vibhūtī 5B7
23.28 Padmāvatī 5B8
23.29 Surāhāriṇī 5B21
23.30 Varahāriṇī 5B22
23.31 Ratneśvarī 5B23
23.32 Bhūṣaṇā 5B24
23.33 Jagatpālinī 5B25

Some of the statuettes may belong to the mandala of Vajra-vidāraṇa.

The following classification can be useful for future identifications:

Tathāgatas and consorts

Vairocana	5M5	5A36	
Akṣobhya		5A61	
Māmakī	5M1	5A45	
Tārā	5M2	5A33	5B10
Pāṇḍarā	5M8	5A48	
Locanā	5M9		

Ṛṣis in 5A: Aṅgiras(9), Vasiṣṭha(10), Garga(11), Mārkaṇḍeya(12), ? (22), Kāśyapa(49), Shan-ch'êng-ning-yang(51), Su-chi-i(52).

Uṣṇīṣa in 5A: Tejorāśy° (24), Vijay°(37), Buddh°(38), Sitātapatr°(39), Oja°(40), Abhyudgat°(53), Mahodgat°(54).

6. CHAPEL OF KRIYĀ-TANTRAS

The central image is of Amitābha (6M5) with his hands in the mudrā of meditation. Amitāyus (6B38) holds the vase of immortality.

The mandala of Mārīcī (Nsp. 17) is represented by the following statuettes:

17.1 Mārīcī 6M1, 6A43
17.2 Arka-masī 6B23
17.3 Indu-masī 6B24
17.4 Antardhāna-masī 6B10
17.10 Mahācīvara-masī 6B11
17.12 Padākrama-masī 6B12

The Pañcarakṣā (Nsp.18) are: Pratisarā (6M9, 6B9), Sahasra-pramardanī (6A57), Mantrānudhāraṇī (6A58), Śitavatī (6A59), and Mahāmāyūrī (6A60).

Two acolytes, eight bodhisattvas, and twelve generals of Bhaiṣajyaguru have statuettes:

Two acolytes

Candra-vairocanna 6A21, Sūrya-vairocana 6A27

Eight Bodhisattvas

Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprapta, Akṣayamati, Hōdange (Ratna°), Bhaiṣajyarāja, Bhaiṣajya-samudgata, Maitreya 6A18.

Twelve Generals

Kumbhira 6A4, Vajra 6A3, Mihira 6A2, Aṇḍīra 6A1, Majira 6B33, Śaṇḍila 6B34, Indra 6B35, Pajira 6B36, Makura 6B18, Sindura 6B19, Catura 6B20, Vikarāla 6B21.

The statuettes represent various forms of Mārīcī, Avalokiteśvara, Hayagrīva, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, Jambhala, Maitreya and so on. The following emanations of Tārā have statuettes:

6M2 Sita Tārā
6M8 Śyāma Tārā
6A56 Sarvārthasādhana Tārā
6B14 Aṣṭabhuja Vajra Tārā
6B15 Caturbhuja Cintāmaṇicakra-Tārā
6B16 Trimukha Ṣaḍbhuja Sita Tārā
6B31 Pravīra (?)-Tārā
6B32 Tzu-chu-lin Tārā
6B37 Sita Tārā
6B48 Cīna-Tārā
6B58 Durgottāriṇī Tārā

2. TRAPUṢA AND BHALLIKA

The meaning, etymology and even reading of Trapuṣa and Bhallika has been vague and enigmatic. Comparative cross-cultural studies lift up the veil of obscurity and shed light on them. It is no wonder, as the North-western people have played an eminent role in the dissemination of Buddhism to China. They have been adventurous merchants of antiquity and powerful cultural catalysts in their mercantile wanderings, alongside the profound accompaniment of their pilgrimages of the spirit.

In the Pali texts, the legend of Tapassu/Tapussa and Bhalluka/Bhalliya is recounted in the Vinaya-piṭaka, Aṅguttara-nikāya and its commentary, Udāna, Jātaka, and Theragāthā commentary.[1] In the Vinaya and other texts it is related that Tapussa, merchant of Ukkala, along with his friend Bhalliya, visited the Buddha in the eighth week after the Enlightenment. They offered him rice-cakes and honey. The Aṅguttara commentary (1.207) adds that the Buddha stroked his head and gave them eight handfuls of his hair. They took the hair with them to their city of Asitañjana, built a cetiya and deposited the hair in it for worship. Rays of blue light radiated from the cetiya on fast-days. Asitañjana was a city in the Kaṁsa district in Uttarāpatha and the capital of King Mahākaṁsa.[2]

The Theragāthā commentary (1.48) is more specific. According to it, Tapassu and Bhalluka were both sons of a caravan merchant of Pokkharāvatī in Ukkalā. The two brothers visited Rājagaha and paid homage to the Buddha. The commentary goes on to narrate their anterior incarnation in the days of Sikhī Buddha when they were brāhmaṇas of Aruṇāvatī. They heard that two caravan merchants, Ujita and Ojita had offered the first meal to Sikhī Buddha. They wished for the same privilege in a future life. In another tradition, Bhallika had given a *fruit* to the Paccekabuddha named Sumana, in one of his past lives (Malalasekera 2.367).

The 24th chapter of the Lalitavistara (381.4f) is named *Trapuṣa–Bhallika-parivarta*. It narrates that Lord Buddha was under the Tarayana tree. In the meantime two brothers Trapuṣa and Bhallika, merchants from the north (*Uttarāpathakau*) passed with a caravan of five hundred cattle. Among them were two pedigree bulls who knew no fear; they needed no goading. Near the Tarayana they came to a sudden stop. The carts started breaking up, the cart wheels sunk into the earth upto their naves and could not be

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[1]Vinaya-piṭaka (ed. Oldenberg) 1.3, Aṅguttara-nikāya (PTS.) 1.26, Udāna commentary (PTS.) 54, Jātaka (ed. Fausboll) 1.80, cited from Malalasekera 1937:1.991.

[2]Jātaka 4.79, Petavatthu Comm. (PTS.) 111.

extricated inspite of the best of efforts. The two bulls were yoked. They hauled the carts till the place where Lord Buddha was. Seeing Him, all were wonder-struck by His divine aura. The two merchants offered honey and cut pieces of sugarcane to Lord Buddha.

The Mahāvastu (3.303.4f) tells this story of Trapuṣa and Bhallika (*Trapuṣo ca Bhalliko ca*) who hailed from a place called Ukkalā in the north (Uttarāpatha). It adds that the merchant caravan could not move because they had been detained by a deity, who was related to Trapuṣa–Bhalliya (303.13, note the orthographic variation). The deity announced from the skies that Lord Buddha has not eaten for 49 days, honour him with eats, and that will bring you infinite luck. Immediately, Trapuṣa–Bhallika offered honey and ghee. Lord Buddha partook of the *madhutarpaṇa* of the two merchants.

This legend is repeated by Hsüan-tsang in his *Records of the Western World* (Beal 1906:1.46–48, Watters 1904:1.111–113): "At a distance of above 50 *li* north-west from the capital was T'i-wei's city and above 40 *li* to the north of that was P'o-li's city. In each of these towns was a tope above thirty feet high. Now the story of these topes was this. As soon as Tathāgata long ago attained Buddhahood he went to the Bodhi Tree and thence to the Deer Park (near Benares). At this time two householders meeting him in his majestic glory gave him of their travelling provisions parched grain and honey.... When they had received the religious teaching they requested something to worship, and Tathāgata gave them his hair and nail(-pairings).... The two men, accepting the Tathāgata's instructions, returned each to his city, and according to the pattern thus taught by the Buddha they proceeded to erect these two topes, the very first in the dispensation of Śākyamuni Buddha." This episode is retold by Hui-li (Beal 2.50) in his *Life of Hsüan-tsang,* without any change of substance.

The proper names Trapuṣa and Bhallika have been spelt in multiple ways: Trapuṣa, var. °sa, in Pali Tapusa and Tapassū. Bhallika, Bhalliya with v.1. °ika in Mahāvastu (303.13, 305.6). In Pali the forms are Bhallika, °iya, °uka. The Pali forms Tapassu and Bhalluka are attempts at Palicisation, as their original signification seems to have been lost at an early period. Tapassu comes close to *tapassī* 'ascetic' and preserves the vowel *u* of Tapussa. Bhallika or its variant °iya is devoid of meaning while Bhalluka signifies 'a bear'. Chinese preserves interesting evidence about their origins. In Chinese Trapuṣa is transcribed as Ti-wei in Hsüan-tsang, which is a transcription employed as early as AD 197 by Chu Ta-li (Mahābala?) in his translation of the life of Buddha Śākyamuni entitled Hsiu-hsing-pên-ch'i-ching (Nj 664). This work was re-translated as T'ai-tzŭ-sui-ying-pên-ch'i-ching (Nj 665) by Chien in about AD 250 where he repeated the transcription of Trapuṣa. In about AD 450 this 'life' was translated in a fuller version by Guṇabhadra, under the title of Yin-kuo-ching (Nj 666). Here the two names were changed to Bhadrasena and Bhadralik, evidently in an effort to give them a meaningful

sound. In the 31st chapter of the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya, the two brothers were called *Kua* 'melon' (trapuṣa) and Upāli (Watters 112 n. 1). Trapuṣa is translated into Chinese as *huang-kua* 'gourd' or 'melon' by I-tsing in AD 710 in his translation of the Saṅgha-bheda-vastu (Nj 1123).

Bhallika has the variant Bhalliya in the Mahāvastu (3.303.13, 305.6). In Pali we find three forms: Bhallika, °iya, °uka. In Chinese it is transcribed as P'o-li in the Hsiu-hsing° (AD 197), T'ai-tzŭ° (AD 250), and in Hsüan-tsang's travels (AD 629). In Yin-kuo-ching (Nj 666, translated about AD 450) it is transliterated as Bhadralik. In the Ssŭ-fên Vinaya this name is simplified to Upāli. Bhallika is translated Ts'un-lo 'a village' in the P'o-sêng-shih (Nj 1123) which is a translation of the Saṅgha-bheda-vastu of the Sarvāstivādavinaya, done by I-tsing in AD 710.

From the various forms and meanings assigned to Trapuṣa and Bhallika it is evident that their precise significance became a matter of conjecture at an early period. This doubt provided the two words with different onomastic roles: as proper names of the two caravan-merchants and in Hsüan-tsang even as the names of cities. Their toponymic connotation springs from the fact that the etymology of Bhallika as "a village" must have been written in miniscule Chinese characters as an annotation which later merged into the text because of the carelessness of the scribe and gave a new interpretation of the compound Trapuṣa–Bhallika. It is not an unusual phenomenon to find marginal annotations in ancient manuscripts affecting the contents and transmission of the text.

To arrive at a precise interpretation of this compound Trapuṣa–Bhallika we have to bear in mind that the two caravan-merchants were from 'a far land' (Watters 1904:112). In the Sanskrit texts they are from the north, Uttarāpathaka. In the Pali tradition they hail from Pokkharāvatī in Ukkalā[3] janapada. The Mahāvastu places Ukkalā in Uttarāpatha. Puṣkalāvatī clearly indicates that Ukkalā janapada was in the north-west of India and its northern situation is emphasised in the Sanskrit texts. The two merchants had constructed a stūpa on Buddha's hair and nail-pairings at Asitañjana which is again a city in the Kaṁsa district in Uttarāpatha. Hsüan-tsang places the two hair-relic stūpas of these caravan-merchants 50 *li* north-west from Balkh. The Chinese pilgrim has correctly marked their geographical location, for it was a living tradition in his time. As already pointed out, I-tsing rightly translates Bhallika as *ts'un-lo* 'a village'. Thus Bhallika is a variant of Bāhlīka and stands for Balkh. In the Vibhaṅga commentary (p. 63) *bhallaka* is a kind of copper, enumerated under the eight *pisāca-lohāni* or metals coming from the Piśāca country. Stede gives the etymology of *bhallaka*: "lit. from the Bhalla

[3]Malalasekera 1937:1.330, identifies Ukkalā with Orissa, which cannot hold in our context. In ancient times the same toponym was applied to a number of places.

people", but he is doubtful if the reading is correct, and "whether we should not read *mallaka.*" Bhallaka is copper (or another metal) from Bāhlīka or Balkh, and the reading is correct. Thus Bhallaka was in use for Balkh. The city of Asitañjana where the two merchants erected the stūpa(s) was in the Kaṁsa province. Kaṁsa is 'bronze', and this metal lent its name to the place of its origin, namely, the province in which Balkh was situated. It once more attests the correctness of the reading *bhallaka,* as a metal from Balkh. The regions to the north-west of India enjoyed international reputation as a great trade emporium for ferrous metals. Puṣkalāvatī was famous for its steel and its Iranian form *pōlāvad* became the Persian term for 'steel' (Herzfeld 1947:181).

Now let us come to Trapuṣa. It is either transcribed or translated in Chinese. If translated, its meaning is melon or gourd. The word *trapuṣa* occurs in the Mahāvyutpatti 5748, under the section on eatables. There it is rendered into Tibetan as *ga-gon* 'melon'. In his *Tibetan–English Dictionary*, Jäschke translates: "*ga-gon*, a melon Cs. (some lexicons have: cucumber, others: barley)." The lexical meanings of cucumber and barley are part of the avidity of lexicographers to annex more and more words in their bulging synonymy from lists which enumerated items belonging to the same genre but which were distinctly different species. It created a confusion in which words whose meanings had been forgotten contributed further to the semantic chaos. Synonymy became the gallery of forgotten metaphors and the catacomb of lost meanings. The meanings of the Tibetan word *ga-gon* from lexicons are an instance of this phenomenon. The sequence of entries in the Mahāvyutpatti is... *apūpa, kulmāṣa*, trapuṣa, *karkaṭikā, ālābu, odana*... where trapuṣa is preceded by *kulmāṣa* 'sour gruel, half-ripe barley' and followed by *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber'. The meanings of the preceding and succeeding words were expropriated to *trapuṣa*, when its distinctive meaning had been lost in life as it no longer denoted a precise fruit in the warmth of a living language. The word *trapuṣa* occurs in the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṁhitā (1.6.87, 89, 1.15.1), where it is correctly translated by Tibetan *ga-gon*, but in another passage in the same saṁhitā (1.15.1), *ga-gon* translates the Sanskrit word *lambā*. The Sanskrit word *lambā* continues to this day in the dialects of Mahendragarh district of the Haryana state and the adjoining areas of Rajasthan in *lānp* which is an elongated subspecies of the water-melon. The word *trapuṣa* has the distinct and specific meaning of 'water-melon', and no diffuse semantic spectrum need be assumed or fabricated for it, once we know Iranian form *tarbūz*, which was a prime fruit of the Balkh region.

The Sanskrit compound Trapuṣa–Bhallika retains the faded memories of the renowned water-melons from Balkh: *trapuṣa* 'water-melon', *Bhallika* 'of Balkh'. That *trapuṣa* should be a fruit, is echoed in a Pali tradition, according to which Bhallika had given a fruit to the Paccekabuddha Sumana in one of his earlier lives. Moreover, the two

great caravan-magnates, multi-millionaires, rolling in affluence (*āḍhyā mahādhanā mahābhogā*... Mv. 3.303.5), might not have gained such legendary glory by offering the commonplace honey and rice-cakes alone. Now, we can say with confidence that they proffered to the Buddha, the exotic water-melon from the far-away land of Balkh, which they had carried along with them all the thousands of miles. Its cloying sweetness was like honey, as the Balkh melons are. It was more satiating than the honorific *madhuparka*, beyond compare, coming from a distant land on the horizons of the known, which set waves of imagination radiating in the instantaneous image of a new word *madhutarpaṇa*, adding oneiric depths to a personal experience. It must have moved the Buddha to tenderness and warmth towards the caravan-merchants, and in his kind affection he accorded them an honoured niche in the history of Buddhism, whose reverberations were to transcend memory and myth. These merchants, whose names are lost in their self-effacing humility, came to be known by the nickname of *Trapuṣa–bhallikau* "the Bhallikas of the trapuṣa", that is, the two residents of Balkh who offered the water-melon, a genetive tatpuruṣa compound in the dual, to designate the two brothers in a general way. In course of time, the meaning of the two component words was forgotten, their generic character indicating both of them in a non-specific way was lost sight of, and the two components were taken as nouns in apposition, as two proper names, as a dvandva compound. They are, thus, the earliest Bactrian elements in the life and legend of the Buddha.

An important fact that emerges from the foregoing discussion is that the region comprising Balkh and Samarkand are constituents of Uttarāpatha in the Pali and Sanskrit texts. As late as the eighth century, the inhabitants of the Samarkand region regarded themselves as belonging to Uttarāpatha as we find in Chao Ch'ien's biography of his guru Amoghavajra. Various other Chinese sources, too, embody in their seemingly diverging statements, the lingering awareness of the fact that the regions extending upto Samarkand, were included in Uttarāpatha, that is, North India since ancient times. The Chinese biographers of Amoghavajra speak of him as coming from North India, resident as he was of the Samarkand region:

1. Tsan-ning says in his *Sung kao-sêng chuan* (completed in AD 988): "He came of a Brahman family of North India and his father died in his childhood".

2. This is amplified by disciple Chao Ch'ien, in his work *hsing-chuang,* which is a biography of his master Amoghavajra: "The Master was originally from a Brahman family of North India of Hsi-liang-fu" (T 50.292b7). Chou (1945: 285 n. 1) feels that "it is strange that Chao Ch'ien should add Hsi-liang-fu in front of North India". This very doubt must have prompted Tsan-ning to omit the enigmatic toponym Hsi-liang-fu. According to Chao Ch'ien the father of Amoghavajra had passed away early, his mother

brought him up and he adopted his mother's surname K'ang, which stands for the Samarkand area.

3. Yüan-chao, who wrote the biography of Vajrabodhi, gives Hsi-yü 'Western Region' as the native place of Amoghavajra. In another context, Yüan-chao contradicts this by saying that Amoghavajra hailed from Ceylon. This error is due to the misinterpretation of a passage in Liang-pên's work which points out that Amoghavajra was ordained (abhiṣeka) in Ceylon.

4. In the Chiu T'ang-shu he is called *hu-sêng* 'a Hu monk'. *Hu* invariably refers to Central Asia in contradistinction to *fan* 'India proper'.

The aforesaid sources are not at variance, though they employ different geographical expressions which point to the Samarkand region in Central Asia (*hu*) as the original place of Amoghavajra. This region (janapada) was a part of Uttarāpatha 'North India' in the Sanskrit–Pali tradition, as we have seen above in the Trapuṣa–bhallika legend. When Amoghavajra must have informed his disciple Chao Ch'ien about his personalia he must have spoken of his native place in the parlance that was natural to him, namely in the Sanskrit manner that he hailed from 'Hsi-liang-fu, Northern India' whose identification has to be sought near Samarkand. Chao Ch'ien had heard first-hand from the master himself and he was the only authentic source. But when this tradition of Samarkand as a constituent of Uttarāpatha was forgotten, later writers found the statement of Chao Ch'ien ambiguous, and they took either one part of the statement or the other. This seeming discrepancy of the Chinese biographies is resolved by the above-cited Pali and Sanskrit versions of the Trapuṣa–bhallika legend.

3. OḌḌIYĀNA: A NEW INTERPRETATION

1. Introductory
2. Forms of the word Oḍḍiyāna
3. South Indian words in dhāraṇīs
4. South India as the cradle of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna
5. Kāñcī as a fountainhead of Buddhism
6. Transmission from South India to the East and North-west
7. Conclusion

Oḍḍiyāna played a pivotal role in the development, redaction and dissemination of the tantras. It was the centre whence the tantras originated. According to Bu-ston it was at Oḍḍiyāna that Vajrapāṇi collected "endless revelations of Vajrayāna", and gave them to Indrabhūti. Guhyasamāja, the culmination of tantric thought, was also revealed to Indrabhūti in Oḍḍiyāna. The Tattva-prabhāsa-karaṇḍa-dīpa (Toh. 2643) and Jñāna-tilaka-yoginī-tantra-rāja (Toh. 422) of the Guhyasamāja tradition point out that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, and it was he who knew and could explain the Guhyasamāja. The Guhyasamāja was commented upon by Candrakīrti, a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna who was born at Kāñcī and whom the texts call *Kancinara* (Tucci 1949: 1.214). The explicit reference to Kāñcī holds the key to the identification of Oḍḍiyāna. It is significant that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, who was the presiding deity of Maṅgakoṣṭha situated in Oḍḍiyāna, or modern Ekāmreśvara at Kāñcī.

It was from Oḍḍiyāna that Padmasambhava went to Tibet and firmly laid the foundations of Vajrayāna in the Land of Snows.

Hence the present multidimensional approach to a fresh consideration of the geographic location of Oḍḍiyāna, the heartland of Vajrayāna.

1.1 The identification of Oḍḍiyāna has been clouded by the fact that it was sought to be equated with the Sanskrit toponyms Udyāna and Udra. The phonology of the term Oḍḍiyāna is so clear that it cannot be mixed up with Udyāna. The identification of Oḍḍiyāna with Udyāna/Ujjānaka in the north-west of India was enunciated in a period of the euphoria of discoveries of Buddhist antiquities from Gandhāra and other north-western regions of India which seemed to be the prime locus of Buddhism. At that time, it was but natural that Udyāna came foremost to the minds of Buddhologists as the place to be equated with Oḍḍiyāna, inspite of the difficulties posed by phonological considerations.

1.2 The Chinese characters for Udyāna in Hsüan-tsang are Wu-chang-na 烏仗那 (Watters 1905:1.225) and represent the mid-Indic form Ujjāna. The character *chang*

cannot be forced to yield *ḍ*. The cerebral *ḍ* is transliterated as 荼 by Hsüan-tsang, who follows a consistent system for the transliteration of Sanskrit.

1.3 When Oḍḍiyāna was identified with Udyāna, South India had not come to occupy a place of relevance in the evolution of Buddhism, and as such it could not strike any investigator that Oḍḍiyāna could have a South Indian derivation. It was beyond speculation that it could be a Tamil word. As it will be clear in sequence, *oḍḍiyāna* in Tamil means 'girdle' like its Sanskrit counterpart *kāñcī*. In fact, Oḍḍiyāna is Kāñcī. Kāñcī was one of the seven great cultural metropolis' of India and the glorious capital of the Pallavas, who played a major role in the diffusion of Vajrayāna to lands beyond the seas. The South Indian places of Śrīparvata, Dhānyakaṭaka, Potalaka and Oḍḍiyāna were some of the foremost creative centres of Mantrayāna, especially, of systems centring around Vairocana, namely the (i) Avataṁsaka sūtras, (ii) caryā tantras, and (iii) yoga tantras—in all the three the Cosmic Buddha was Vairocana with varying iconographic attributes. It is not surprising that the land *par excellence* of Vajrayāna in the Tibetan tradition should be Oḍḍiyāna = Kāñcī.

2. FORMS OF THE WORD OḌḌIYĀNA

2.1 The toponym Oḍḍiyāna occurs in the following eleven forms in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts:

i. *Uḍḍiyāna*-vinirgata-Kurukullā occurs in sādhana 179 of the Sādhana-mālā, where the variant reading is Oḍiyāna. She is equivalent to Hevajra-Kurukullā, Hevajra-tantra-krameṇa Kurukullā (Niṣpannayogāvalī 6, HT 1.11.13, SM 179, 183, 186, 187—cited in Mallmann 1975: 228).

ii. *Uḍḍiyānaka* appears in the Mahāmāyūrī 97 (Lévi 1915: 56, 105f.) as the place of residence of yakṣa Karāla.

iii. The spelling *U-ḍyan* can be seen in two titles of the Tanjur dedicated to Oḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī and both translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava:
Toh. 3344 U-ḍyan-gyi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi-thabs: Uḍḍiyāna-Mārīcī-sādhana. Author: Lhan-cig-skyes-paḥi-rol-pa.
Toh. 3345 U-ḍyan-gyi rim-paḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-krama-mārīcī-sādhana.

iv. *Oḍiyāna* is prefaced to Mārīcī: Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī (SM 138 [1.283–84], 139). In SM 140 Oḍiyāna-pīṭha has the variant reading Oḍḍiyāna-pīṭha in the manuscript of the Cambridge University Library dated NS 285 = AD 1165. Oḍiyāna-Mārīcī is also termed Vajradhātvīśvarī Mārīcī (SM 136, Mallmann 1975: 261). The replacement of Oḍiyāna by Vajradhātu may enshrine the secret of its identification with Kāñcī. It was from Kāñcī that the Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha and its Vajradhātu-maṇḍala was transmitted to

China. Oḍiyāna was the vajrapīṭha. We find Oḍiyāna-vajrapīṭha Vajravārāhī in SM 225 (1.439): *śrī-oḍiyāna-vajrapīṭha-vinirgata ūrdhvapāda-vajravārāhī-sādhanaṁ samāptam,* colophon. Here the Nepalese manuscript of NS 285 = AD 1165 kept at the Cambridge University Library has the reading Oḍyāna.

The form *O-ḍi-yā-na* occurs in the Blue Annals (2.753), as well as in three titles of the Tanjur which were translated by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan:

Toh. 3528, 3529 O-ḍi-yā-naḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs: Oḍḍiyāna-mārīcī-sādhana (ms. Oḍi°).

Toh. 3566 O-ḍi-yā-na-las byuṅ-baḥi rigs-byed-maḥi sgrub-thabs: Oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukulle-sādhana (ms. Oḍi°).

It may be noted that while Ba-ri lotsva (AD 1038–1109?) used the form U-ḍyan, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (AD 1147–1216) employed O-ḍi-yā-na.

v. We find *O-ḍi-yān* in a Tanjur title (Toh. 3370): O-ḍi-yān-nas byuṅ-baḥi rigs-byed-maḥi sgrub-paḥi-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-kurukulle-sādhana, translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava.

vi. *Oḍiyăṅaka* appears in a Mathura inscription dated Saṁ 77 (Lüders, *Liste*, no. 62) commemorating the donation of a pillar to a vihāra of King Huviṣka by the monk Jīvaka Oḍiyăṅaka (Lévi 1915:105, Naudou 1968:36).

vii. *Oḍḍiyāna* is the most common form. It occurs in the colophon of SM 35 (1.80) sarahapāda-kṛtam oḍḍiyāna(v.1. Oḍyana)krameṇa trailokyavaśaṁkara-lokeśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam. The colophon in the next sādhana 36 (1.83) reads: iti sarahapādā-vatārita-oḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-trailokyavaśaṁkara-lokeśvara-sādhanaṁ samāptam (Mallmann 1975:108). In a Nepalese manuscript of the ninth century, Vajrapāṇi of Maṅga-koṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna is mentioned (Foucher 1900: 121, Naudou 1968: 36). Maṅgakoṣṭha is an earlier name of Ekāmreśvara temple near the Kāmākṣī temple at Kāñcī: Tamil *mankay* = *man* 'mango-tree' + *kay* 'fruit', heard and recorded by the Portuguese as *manga*> English *mango*. The ancient name of the site where the present Ekāmreśvara temple stands, must have been intentionally changed to signal its new religious associations. The word Maṅgakoṣṭha may also conceal a double entendre to an emanation of goddess Tārā, for Tamil *maṅkai* means 'a girl between 12 and 13 years', Malayalam *maṅka* 'a young, playful woman'. Tārā was the presiding deity (*pīṭhīśvarī*) of holy Oḍḍiyāna, and today her apotheosis is significantly Kāmākṣī 'one of amorous eyes'. In the Hevajratantra (1.7.12) Oḍḍiyāna is specified as a pīṭha. Here the Tibetan text renders Oḍḍiyāna by U-ḍi which stems from the reading Uḍiyāna.

viii. *O-ḍyan* is the form in the Tanjur title (Toh. 3340): O-ḍyan-gyi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-paḥi-thabs: Oḍiyāṇa-mārīcyai sādhana (so in the xy1.), translated by Don-yod-rdo-rje and Ba-ri lotsava. The toponym *Oḍyāṇam* is found in the *Malayalam Lexicon*

(2.1246).

ix. *Au-ḍyan*-nas byuṅ-baḥi ḥod-zer-can-gyi sgrub-thabs = Oḍḍiyāna-mārīcī-sādhana (Toh. 3231) provides a variation of the previous form.

x. *U-rgyan*, also Oḍiyana, often written in the abbreviated form ཨོ་རྒ Jäschke 606b. George N. Roerich consistently adopts the spelling U-rgyan in his translation of the Blue Annals (index, p.1264). In the Tanjur, the following titles have the spelling U-rgyan:

Toh. 1707 Dpal u-rgyan-gyi sgrol-maḥi mṅon-par-rtogs-paḥi rim-pa: Śrī-Uḍḍiyāna-tārā-'bhisamaya-krama (ms. Uḍiyăna). Trans. Saṅghaśrībhadra, Ḥjam-dpal-sgeg-paḥi-rdo-rje. In the Blue Annals the title is shortened to Jo-mo U-rgyan-ma.

Toh. 1708 U-rgyan-gyi sgrol-maḥi rim-pa: Uḍḍiyāna-tārā-krama. Trans. as above in 1707.

Toh. 1711 U-rgyan-gyi rim-paḥi sgrol-maḥi sgrub-thabs: Uḍḍiyāna-krama-tārā-devī-sādhana. Trans. Parahita, Śes-rab-rgyal-mtshan.

Toh.1744 Dpal u-rgyan-gyi rnal-ḥbyor daṅ rnal-ḥbyor-maḥi raṅ-byuṅ-gi loṅs-spyod dur-khrod-kyi rtog-pa: Uḍḍiyāna-śrī-yoga-yoginī-svabhūta-sambhoga-śmaśāna-kalpa. Author: Virūpa, trans. Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.

xi. The abbreviated form of the name ཨོ་རྒ in Tibetan is an indication that once the most common spelling was *O-rgyan*. The iconographic xylograph Rin-Ihan, the so-called Five Hundred Gods of Narthang, illustrates the O-rgyan sgrol-ma gnas-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug-ma = Pīṭhīśvarī Oḍḍiyāna Tārā on folio 45b. In the Padma-thaṅ-yig O-rgyan is used (Jäschke p. 607a). Oḍḍiyāna was the pīṭha of Tārā. This is reflected in the popular belief that the Kāmākṣī temple was originally dedicated to the Buddhist goddess Tārā, later converted into that of a Hindu goddess at the time of Śaṅkarācārya's establishment of Kāmakoṭī pīṭha in the ninth century AD (Ramachandran 1954:10, Champaklakshmi 1978:116). It is significant that from among the four pīṭhas of Oḍḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmarūpa and Śrīhaṭṭa mentioned in sādhana 234 of the Sādhanamālā (2.455), there was Kāmākhyā in Kāmarūpa and Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī (Oḍḍiyāna), both of them goddesses. In the Hindu tantric tradition too the four are Śākta pīṭhas devoted to the cult of the goddess Śakti.

2.2 Thus we have the following variants from Indian and Tibetan sources:

a. Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍiyānaka, Uḍyan, Uḍi
b. U-rgyan
c. Oḍiyāna, Oḍiyān, Oḍiyănaka, Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyan, Auḍyan
d. O-rgyan

The variations are in the initial vowel *u* ~ *o*, single or double *ḍḍ*, *(ḍ)ḍiy* or *ḍy* (with the elision of *i*), dropping of the final *a* in Uḍyan/Oḍyan/Auḍyan, addition of the pleonastic *ka* in Uḍḍiyānaka and Oḍiyănaka.

2.3 The Tibetan terms U-rgyan and O-rgyan represent a transliteration of the initial syllable *u* ~ *o* of Uḍḍiyāna or Oḍḍiyāna and *rgyan* means 'an ornament'. The word U-rgyan ~ O-rgyan signifies 'the ornament termed U[ḍḍiyāna] or O[ḍḍiyāna]'. Thus in the Tibetan term U-(O-) rgyan, *u*-(*o*-) is the phonetic and *rgyan* is the semanteme.

2.4 In fact in Tamil and other South Indian languages *oḍḍiyāṇam* means a "gold or silver girdle or belt, an ornament worn by women round the waist" (*Tamil Lexicon*, Madras 1936:1.585b). The Lexicon also gives the meaning "girdle worn by yogis while in a sitting posture, so as to bind the waist and the doubled up legs together", and translates it in Tamil as yogappaṭṭai. The Lexicon gives variant forms in Telugu *oḍḍāṇamu*, Kannada *oḍḍyāṇa*, Tulu *oḍyāṇa*.

2.5 Burrow and Emeneau (1961:71 no. 810) give the following morphological variations of the lexeme in different South Indian languages: "810 Ta. *Oṭṭiyāṇam* gold or silver girdle or belt worn by women. Ma. *uṭaññāṇ* gold chain round the loins. Ka. *oḍyāṇa, oḍḍyāṇa, oḍḍaṇa, oḍḍavāṇa, oḍḍivāṇa, oḍvāṇa* belt of gold or silver chiefly worn by women. Tu. *oḍyaṇe, oḍyāṇa* belt or girdle made of gold and generally worn by a devil-dancer. Te. *oḍḍāṇamu* belt of gold or silver worn by women."

2.6 All the morphological variations noted above from Indian and Tibetan sources, can be traced back to South Indian languages, thus proving that Oḍḍiyāna is the Tamil equivalent of Kāñcī, both meaning 'a girdle'. V.A. Devasenapathi (1975: 3) says: "The meaning of the word Kāñcī in Sanskrit is *Oḍḍiyāṇam* (a belt worn as an ornament around the waist by women). This ornament is worn only around the navel. Kāñci is so-called because it is the navel position for the earth. Kāñcīmāhātmya (31.70) and Kāmākṣī-vilāsa speak of Kāñcī as the navel of the world: (i) *ādhibhautikam aṁhoghnaṁ nābhisthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param* (Kāmākṣī-vilāsam 11.6), (ii) *jagad-kāma-kalākāraṁ nābhisthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param* (ibid. 13.73). Śivajñāna Munivar in his Kāñcīpurāṇa refers to Kāñcī as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her garment and who shines as the Supreme ākāśa.

3. SOUTH INDIAN WORDS IN DHĀRAṆĪS

3.1 The presence of Draviḍa expressions in the dhāraṇīs is explicitly pointed out by several Buddhist texts (Bernhard 1967: 148–68), some of which were translated into Chinese as early as AD 265–316 (T 310), AD 383 (T 1547), and AD 398–99 (T 212). In the three Chinese translations of the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā (T 1547, tr. AD 383; T 1546, tr. AD 437–39; T 1545, tr. Hsüan-tsang AD 656–59) it is stated that Lord Buddha preached the Noble Truths (*ārya-satyāni*) to the lokapāla Virūpākṣa in the language of the South Indian borderlands, as he did not understand Sanskrit. The northern Liang version (T 1546) employs the words: in the Draviḍa language. In the Vinaya of the Mūla-

sarvāstivādins, the Buddha preaches in the 'language of the borderlands' (Tib. *mthaḥ-ḥkhob-paḥi tshig*). In the Udānavarga it is the Damiḍa language (ibid. 154). In the Mahāmāyūrī Vidyārājñī (ed. S. Oldenburg, p. 250f.) it is stated: *sidhyantu drāmiḍā mantrapadāḥ svāhā* (ibid. p. 162). Let us quote as an illustration, a Chinese passage from the Tathāgat-ācintya-guhya-nirdeśa which was translated by Bodhiruci during the years AD 265–316:

伊	泥	彌	泥	多	閉	多	多	閉	維	盧
.i	niei	mjię:	niei	tâ	piei	tâ	tâ	piei	ịwi	luo
i	ne	mi	ne	da	pphe	da	da	pphe	ve	ru

ine = Tamil *innā* 'misery, distress', *dapphe* = Tamil *tappu* 'escape, flight', *vēṛu* 'other, different, opposite'. Bernhard's in-depth study of a single South Indian expression *īne mīne dapphe daḍapphe* employed by Lord Buddha to explain the Truths to Virūpākṣa, clearly manifests the urgent need of a comprehensive study of the language of dhāraṇīs, their South Indian vocabulary, the patterns of assonance developed in them to explain the jingling concatenation of words, the role of South India in the development of tantras, and other related problems. The dhāraṇīs cannot be brushed aside as meaningless, for they conceal in their intentional camouflage frozen levels of cultural modulations in various geographic locales going back deep into two millenia or more. Such a study will reveal the beginnings of hidden archetypes which later on developed into the complex philosophical systems of the tantras, and the diverse streams that converged unto them.

3.2 Virūpākṣa is the lokapāla who guards the west and understands the Dramiḍa language. Thus the west here refers to the Dramiḍa land, and not the 'west of India' (Joshi 1967: 329). This fact is very important for the interpretation of a crucial passage in the Blue Annals (2.753), which has often been misinterpreted. In this context 'the west' with reference to Oḍiyan is a clear proof that it was located in the Tamil area: "After that from the west Śrī Kambala and others discovered the yoginī-tantras in the country of O-ḍi-yan. They also spread towards Madhyadeśa". The directions mentioned in Buddhist texts pose a complex problem which has to be sorted out. It is significant that the Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, which was discovered from the Manalikkara maṭha near Padmanabhapuram in South India, "refers to Vidiśā (modern Bhelsa, M.P.) as being situated 'between west and north' (*paścimottarayor madhyaṁ*). Rahula Samkrtyayana (*Purātattva-nibandhāvalī* p. 108) rightly suggested that the author wrote this from a place in south, probably from Dhānyakaṭaka" (Joshi 1967:325). The great Tibetan historian, Buston speaks of the "southern country of Saurāṣṭra" (Obermiller 1932:2.161). The starting point of geographic reference has to be sought for. Tucci (1949:2.736) says: "But from this passage no definite conclusion can be drawn. Uḍḍiyāna being in the legend of Padmasambhava a great kingdom, it is imagined to extend to the extreme ends of India. In

chapter XI, that same text [=Padma-thang-yig] locates Za hor to the south-east of Bodhgaya while Kāmarūpa (Assam) is placed to the north-east, in this case Za hor would roughly correspond to Orissa. But this division of India *has no great geographical value:* India is for this text a maṇḍala whose centre is Bodhgaya; it is a kind of miraculous lotus, four leaves corresponding to the four cardinal points (Uḍḍiyāna=West, Bengal=East, Kashmir=North, Baiddha=Vaideha=South) and four other leaves to the intermediate points."

3.3 The presence of South Indian words in dhāraṇīs, which were precursors of Mantrayāna, is borne out by the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra which speaks of Drāmiḍa-mantra-pada (39:1, 3) and by the Sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī: *iyaṁ Drāviḍa-mantra-padā sarvajñatā-kāra-dhāraṇī* (16.1), and *Draviḍa-mantra-padāḥ* (19.8, Mantri 1977:88–89).

In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, chap. 21 (ed. Kern/Nanjio, 1912:401) rākṣasīs expound the dhāraṇī *iti me*[5]*/ nime*[5]*/* ..... The first expression is conjoined as *itime* by Watanabe (1975: 158, 284) and also by Mantri (1977: 88) who says: "In the text the words 'iti' and 'me' are separated, but taking into consideration the whole structure of the Dhāraṇī-mantras, I would like to suggest that two words should be connected and read as 'itime'. It may then mean— 'O Itimā'. This can be conjectured from the Dhāraṇī that follows— 'Nime, nime, nime, nime, nime', which means 'O Nimā' ".

3.4 The above dhāraṇī can be explained in the general background of the world-view of the siddhas. In song number 10 of the Caryāgītikoṣa "Kānhu says: 'Oh Ḍombī, you live outside the city; but how is it that you have now dared to touch the son of a brahmana? But, Oh Ḍombī, I will live with you because I am only a naked yogin, who uses the skull (for drinking) and is hated by all. The lotus is one but it has 64 petals and the Ḍombī is now *dancing* on it. She is now eating the lotus stalk in the lake. I shall now get hold of her and reach the other shore' " (Sastri 1977:687).

3.5 Furthermore, the interpretation of the dhāraṇī cited above is possible as a Tamil expression. In Tamil *i* is a demonstrative base expressing the nearer or proximate person or thing; prefaced to nouns, expressing nearness (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:30 no. 351a). It is *i* before a consonant and *ivv* before a vowel. The second word *timi-timi* is explained by Burrow and Emeneau (1961:209 no. 2644) as 'syllables sung to keep time in dancing', Kannada *dimi* 'sound produced by the quick motion of the feet in dancing'. Tulu *dimidimi* 'dancing nimbly, agility'. In the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra (ed. Nanjio 1956: 260) we find the spelling *dime-dime*. *i time*[2] refers to the nimble dancer who is near the heart of the yogin. The third word *nime-nime* is a jingling assonance of *time-time*. The variation *t~n* reflects the sound sequence of the Tamil alphabet. In the Laṅkāvatāra there is another assonance *dime-dime hime-hime*, which echoes the sequence of t~d and p~h, that is, the dentals are followed by the labials. Regarding the p~h phenomenon, Caldwell

(1961:147) says: "Tamil and Malayalam are destitute of the sound of *h*.... In modern Canarese *h* is regularly used as a substitute for *p*, as is sometimes the case in Marathi; but ancient Canarese agrees in this particular with Tamil." Thus the jingling sequence of *dime*[2] *hime*[2] is a feature that could have arisen only in the Tamil-speaking areas.

3.6 Traces of Tamil words underlie cryptic expressions in the tantras, which await research. The anuttara-yoga tantras are classified (Wayman 1973: 235) into (i) neither father nor mother tantras, (ii) mother tantras, and (iii) father tantras. The mother tantras are divided into seven groupings. The second group of Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya) is subdivided into five classes. The fifth class pertains to Ārali which has two texts: Vajra-Ārali-mahātantra-rāja (Toh. 426) and Rigi-Ārali-tantra-rāja (Toh. 427), both translated by Kāyasthāpa-gayādhara and Śakya-ye-śes. A sādhana to Rigi-Ārali in the Tanjur was translated by Rin-chen-grub: Rigi-Ārali-sādhana (Toh. 1658). Rigi corresponds to Telugu *rēku* 'petal', Kolami (W) *rekka* 'leaf' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no. 4245). Tamil *araḷi*, *alari*_'oleander, *Nerium odorum*', Malayalam *araḷi* 'Nerium; *Plumeria acuminata*' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no.174). Tamil *ari* is 'beauty', *arivai* 'woman between the age of 20 and 25, woman, lady', Malayalam *aruva* 'fine woman' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no. 180), Tamil *ari* 'fermented liquor, toddy' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961: no. 182). Thus *Rigi-ārali* means the petals of the *Nerium odorum*, alluding to the 64 petals of the lotus on which the Ḍombī dances. The word *ārali* veils an allusion to *ari* 'beauty' and *arivai* 'the charming lady'. It may also conceal an allusion to *ari* 'toddy', for the Caryā-gīti-kośa says: "The customer who comes on seeing the signs of wine, seems to be the antarābhava citta, who now enters the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located, without leaving any sign behind, and drinks the nectar from the lotus of great bliss" (Sastri 1977: 688). The use of Tamil words in Sanskrit dhāraṇīs was a deliberate effort at charging the language with esoteric effects, as a special terminology or sandhā-bhāṣā 'union of two meanings , the ordinary as well as the symbolic', the union of two divergent vocabularies by the insertion of Tamil words in Sanskrit mantras to render them more thaumaturgic in their unfathomable obscurity: the gods love the cryptic (*parokṣa-priyā devāḥ*). The special tantric terminology is also termed sandhyā-bhāṣā 'the language intentionally vague, hidden and enigmatic as the twilight', for it points—without regrets—to the symbolism of the dusk or eventide (*sandhyā*) which is joyfully ingrained in the vocabulary of the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located, and the "*vāruṇī* or wine stands for the *sāṁvṛtika bodhicitta* or the *semen virile*. According to a particular belief of the yogins, when the *śakti* marches upwards through the nāḍīs, the śukra or the *sāṁvṛtika bodhicitta* also proceeds upwards to the head. The aim of the yogin is to see that it proceeds quietly through the middle nāḍī after leaving the nāḍīs on either side and gets accumulated in the vajramaṇi in the head and loses its restless character" (Sastri

1977: 688). The nocturnal intensities of mahāmudrā and mahāsukha are clothed in the rapture and enigma of the meditative glory and depth of the sandhyā-bhāṣā, accentuated by the use of exotic Tamil vocables, wherein saṁsāra and nirvāṇa become one.

4. SOUTH INDIA AS A CRADLE OF PĀRAMITĀYĀNA AND MANTRAYĀNA

4.1 *Śrīparvata*: The cradle of Pāramitā-yāna, Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna was in South India, around Śrīparvata, Dhānyakaṭaka, Potalaka and Oḍḍiyāna which are in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, and in the 8th century this area became an important centre for the transmission of tantras to Indonesia and China. Joshi (1967: 329) opines: "It is therefore clearly established that the earliest seats of tantrika Buddhism were not in Bengal, Orissa and Assam, but in Uḍḍiyāna and Āndhradeśa". From early centuries southern India played a leading role in the development of Buddhism. Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mahāyāna (Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, BST. 118) was a South Indian Brāhmaṇa, who rescued the prajñā-pāramitā from the nāgas, from his hermitage at Śrīparvata:

Dakṣiṇāpatha-vedalyāṁ bhikṣuḥ śrīmān mahāyaśāḥ/
Nāgāhvayaḥ sa nāmnā tu sadasat-pakṣa-dārakaḥ//
prakāśya loke madyānam mahāyānam anuttaram/.

4.2 Hsüan-tsang informs us that the Mahāsāṅghikas had a dhāraṇī-piṭaka (Beal 1884:2.165) and inscriptions prove that they were widely disseminated in Āndhradeśa (Joshi 1967:325).

4.3 The Nikāyasaṅgraha mentions the Vajraparvata and many Vajrayāna works are attributed to the *vajraparvata-vāsi-nikāya*. The Vajraparvata may be another name of Śrīparvata because of its close association with Vajrayāna (Joshi 1967:327). Sanskrit works, like the Harṣacarita (ed. Chowkhamba, p. 9), Kādambarī (ed. Peterson, p. 224–28), Mālatī-mādhava (1.8.10), and Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa (3.267, 4.390) testify to the repute of Śrīparvata as a centre for attaining siddhi. The Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (p. 88) says that in Śrīparvata and Dhānyakaṭaka one realises the mantras quickly:

Śrīparvate Mahāśaile dakṣiṇāpatha-sañjñike/
Śrīdhānyakaṭake caitye jinadhātudhare bhuvi//
sidhyante tatra mantrā vai kṣipraṁ sarvārthakarmasu/.

4.4 *Avataṁsaka and South India:* In the Avataṁsaka sūtra Gaṇḍavyūha Buddha resides at Jetavana amidst an array of śrāvakas and Lokendras, who find it impossible to comprehend the great spiritual power of the Tathāgata. In accordance with the wish of the assembly, Buddha enters the siṁha-vijṛmbhita samādhi and as a result miracles follow. "After this finale of miracles Mañjuśrī departs for Dakṣiṇāpatha, followed by Bodhisattvas, Lokendras and a host of six thousand bhikṣus led by Śāriputra. Upon his arrival at the caitya of Vicitrasāladhvaja near Dhanyākara inhabitants of this town turn

out in large numbers to hear him" (Fontein 1967:6). From among the thousands who flock to the caitya, Mañjuśrī singles out Sudhana to receive instruction in Supreme Knowledge. Mañjuśrī advises and sends Sudhana off to the south and other regions to receive instruction in the conduct of the bodhisattva. In his pilgrimage Sudhana visits over 50 teachers. Among them are: Sāgaramegha who had spent twelve years in meditation on the seashore at Sāgaramukha, Supratiṣṭhita of Sāgaratīra on the way to Laṅkā, the dramiḍa Megha of Vajrapura in Dramiḍapattana, Queen Āśā who lives in the Samantavyūha forest at Samudravelatī, sage Bhīṣmottara-nirghoṣa of Nālayur, and finally he reaches Maitreya who resides at the Mahāvyūha kūṭāgāra in the country of Samudrakatīha. It is interesting to observe that the journey of Sudhana takes him to the South Indian city of Nālayur and to a number of places associated with the sea, which renders it likely that the composition of the Gaṇḍavyūha be associated with Southern India. The fact that Mañjuśrī witnesses the marvels of the Buddha and returns to Dakṣiṇāpatha corroborates the aforesaid contention. Behind the right shoulder of Mañjuśrī appears a crescent-shaped ornament—an attribute often associated with Mañjuśrī. This crescent is used to denote boys of supernatural descent, thus it came to be associated with gods or bodhisattvas of youthful appearance (*kumārabhūta*, Fontein 1971:145 fig. 6). Mañjuśrī kumārabhūta bears affinity with Kumāra or Murugan of Tamil. Avataṁsaka was the first step in the evolution to the tantras connected with Vairocana and we cannot rule out the evolution of the Vairocana systems in the Tamil area, culminating in the caryā, yoga and anuttara tantras. In the Abhidhānottara and Saṁvarodaya tantras the 24 heroes and ḍākinīs are supposed to reside in different regions called Pullīrmalaya, Jalandhara, Oḍiyāna, etc. (Kalff 1978:158). Pullīrmalaya is a South Indian toponym. There are several South Indian cities beginning with Puli (y)°: Puliyur, Pullur, Pulluru (List of Indian Post and Telegraph Offices, 1954, p. 567–68). This becomes more relevant when we remember that the Abhidhānottara and Saṁvarodaya tantras belong to the Prajñā tantra division which is also called the Ḍākinī tantra division (Kalff 1978:149). The very word *ḍāka* may be akin to Tamil *ṭākku* < T *ḍāka* 1. strength, robustness; 2. petulancy, pride (Tamil Lexicon 3.1696).

4.5 In Japanese tantric Shingon, the ritual of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of the Mahāvairocana-tantra and the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the STTS has in between, the ritual of Acala. Acala (Jap. Fudō) is the main deity (Jap. honzon) of homa (Toki 1899:142). Acala is an emanation of Śiva in Japan, and in the Tibetan tradition he is Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇa. In the Tamil Lexicon (suppl. 314a) Caṇḍeśa is Śiva's seneschal. The role of Acala in the Japanese tradition and his Tibetan name indicate his evolution from Caṇḍeśa in the predominantly Śaiva area of Tamil. In the legend of the Avalokiteśvara on the Potalaka mountain, Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:229) says: "to the people at the foot of

the mountain who pray for a sight of the Bodhisattva, he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika or as Maheśvara." An instance of this syncretism is the Nīlakaṇṭha-Lokeśvara-dhāraṇī which represents Śiva as the Thousand-eyed Thousand-armed Lokeśvara. It has been a very popular work in China since the later Sung dynasty (AD 960– 1127). It was translated into Chinese four times: by Chê-t'ung of Loyang (w. 627–49, Nj 318, T 1057b), by Bhagavaddharma (w. 650–60, Nj 320, T 1059, 1060), and by Bodhiruci in AD 701 (Nj 319, T 1058). The acculturation of Śaiva into Buddhist tradition may have taken place in South India and thence it was transmitted to Indonesia where Śiva–Buddha syncretism was entrenched.

4.6 *Mantrayāna proclaimed at Dhānyakaṭaka/Śrīdhānya:* The Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā (pp. 3–4) by the great Vajrayāna teacher Nāropā says that Śrīdhanya is the place where Mantrayāna was proclaimed: *Śrīdhānye niyata-mantranaya-deśanā-sthāne;* the following is quoted from the mūlatantra:

Gṛdhrakūṭe yathāśāstaḥ prajñāpāramitānaye/
Tathā mantranaye proktā Śrīdhānye dharmadeśanā//

4.7 Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:2.215, Joshi 1967:325) confirms that Dhānyakaṭaka was famed for its shrine to Vajrapāṇi. Avalokiteśvara had directed Bhāvaviveka to this shrine in the mountain to the south of the capital so that he would gain his desire on reciting the Vajrapāṇi-dhāraṇī. A note added to Hsüan-tsang's text tells us that another name for the country was "Great Andhra" (Beal 1884:2.220 n. 97).

4.8 According to the Tibetan tradition, it was at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka that Buddha gave initiation into the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala and the mūla-tantra of the Kāla-cakra: "Before this last deed, on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the Iron-dragon year of the Nam-non cycle, at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka in South India, Buddha arose in the bodily form of the main deity of the Kālacakra maṇḍala before King Sucandra (Zla-ba-bzaṅ-po) and a host of countless gods, nāgas and men of such places as the ninety-six districts of Śambhala.... Further, he gave there the initiation into the great maṇḍala of Vajradhātu and the root text of the Kālacakra tantra. King Sucandra recorded all this in writing and upon returning to Śambhala, constructed a three-dimensional Kālacakra maṇḍala and composed 12,000 commentaries to the mūla tantra" (adapted from Gar-je K'am-trul Rinpoche, A geography and history of Shambala, *The Tibet Journal* 3.3 [1978]: 6).

4.9 Tāranātha (Chimpa/Chattopadhyaya 1970:209) says that Candragomin went from Nālandā to Dhānyakaṭaka caitya to worship Tārā and Avalokiteśvara and thence to the Potala hill. Hsüan-tsang's journey took him to Kāñcīpura, the capital of the Draviḍa

country (Beal 1884:2.228), and 3000 *li* south from this he came to the Malakūṭa country in which was situated Mount Potalaka, the abode of Avalokiteśvara.

5. KĀÑCĪ AS A FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF BUDDHISM

5.1 From very early times Kāñcī had become a cradle of Buddhism. In the excavations at Kāñcīpura, a Buddhist shrine has been uncovered, and there has also come to light a grey-ware sherd with Brāhmī letters of the first/second century AD which have been read as *Pu ta li ti sa* (Champaklakshmi 1978:116).

5.2 *Kāñcīpura as a centre of Pali Buddhism:* The Gandhavaṁsa says that Kāñcīpura, Avanti and Arimaddana were the three renowned centres of Theravāda. Buddhaghosa confirms this in his Manorathapūraṇī, and further points out that he wrote this work on the request of Jotipāla while both were residing at Kāñcīpura. Buddhaghosa refers to Srinivāsa or Siripāla as the king of Kāñcīpura in his Samantapāsādikā.

5.3 The Tamil Thera, Buddhadatta, who lived in the fifth century under the patronage of the Coḷa king Kalabhra Accutavikkanta, was the abbot of several Buddhist monasteries, including those at Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka and at Kāñcīpura.

5.4 The Gandhavaṁsa names ten South Indian Theras who wrote Pali works: Buddhadatta, Ānanda, Dhammapāla, two unnamed, Mahā-vajirabuddhi, Culla-vajirabuddhi, Dīpaṅkara alias Buddhapriya, Culla-dhammapāla, and Kassapa. This work also refers to twenty other Theravāda teachers who wrote in Pali at Kāñcīpura. Among the ten Theras, Dhammapāla (5th–6th century AD) headed the Bhaṭārāditta Vihāra at Kāñcīpura and Dīpaṅkara Thera (AD 1100) became the head of the Bālādicca Vihāra at Kāñcīpura.

5.5 Anuruddha (12th century) of the Pandya land, whose Pali works were popular in Ceylon and Burma, headed the Mūlasoma Vihāra at Kāñcīpura. For the last eight centuries his Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha has served as a textbook for Abhidhamma philosophy in the Pali countries till our times.

5.6 "South India continued to be the centre of Pali Buddhism as late as the 12th century AD. The Kalyāṇi stone inscriptions of King Dhammadazedi (Dhammaceti, AD 1472–92) and the Sāsanavaṁsa of Paññasāmi (AD 1861) give an account of Chapada who returned to Burma during the reign of King Anawratha (AD 10th century), taking with him to Arimaddananagara (city of Pagan) five Buddhist savants, well-versed in the Pali lore, two of whom, namely, Ānanda Thera and Rāhula Thera, were residents of Kāñcīpura. Ānanda Thera (died AD 1245) was a native of Kāñcīpura, who was taken to Arimaddanapura in Burma by Saddharma Jyotipāla, where the Burmese king Jayāsūra received him with great honours and loaded him with presents, including an elephant which he sent to his relatives at Kāñcī. Ānanda was the head of the Burmese Buddhist Church for about fifty years and died in AD 1245" (Ramachandran 1954:7).

5.7 It may be remembered that Diṅnāga was a native of Kāñcī, lived there for a long time in the early part of his life, went to Ayodhyā to learn from Vasubandhu and ultimately settled down at Kāñcī.

5.8 Prior to the third century AD, Kāñcī played a prominent role as one of the four capitals of the Tamil area, the other three being Puhār, Madura and Vanji. These four capitals are mentioned in the Tamil work Maṇimekhalai. Along with the Silappadhikāram, the two are outstanding Tamil classics of the Sangam period and constitute a twin epic: "the subject-matter of the two is one continuous story, and describes what befell a householder and his wife of the city of Puhār, and, as a consequence, the renunciation of the daughter of the hero of her life as the first courtezan of the Chola capital."

5.9 The author of the Maṇimekhalai Sāttan (from Skt. *śāstā*=Buddha), figures among the traditional forty-nine of the Third Tamil Sangam (according to Champaklakshmi 1976:116, the Maṇimekhalai is a post-Sangam work of about the fifth century AD). His only important work is the Maṇimekhalai, whose main purpose is the exhaltation of Buddhism as a religion and philosophy. The Silappadhikāram contributes to this end in a general way. It is remarkable that two of the greatest Tamil classics are Buddhist works, for Buddhism held sway in the Tamil area.

5.10 Maṇimekhalai found enough to learn of Buddhism in the initial stages at Puhār. She also learnt all that the heretical teachers had to teach at Vanji. She happened to see her grandfather there in the Buddhist vihāra outside the fortress. The grandfather requested her to proceed to Kāñcī which was suffering from a severe famine and to relieve the acute distress by her inexhaustible alms bowl that she carried in her hand. Her grandfather also advised her that at Kāñcī alone could she get the most authoritative teaching of Buddhism from Aṟavaṇa Aḍigaḷ. At the direction of her grandfather Maṇimekhalā flew through air to Kāñcī. She was received by the viceroy, Iḷaṁ Kiḷḷi and was alloted accommodation in the south-western corner of the city in a grove called Dharmadavana, wherefrom she fed the suffering people from her inexhaustible bowl much to the relief of all. The grateful viceroy provided for her a big new vihāra with all necessary appurtenances for her residence in the city and did all else she wanted. She got a Buddha seat erected and a special caitya for holding the footprints of the Buddha, and received the teaching of Aṟavaṇa Aḍigaḷ, as she was not satisfied with all that she had learnt earlier. Chapter 19 of the poem details Buddhist logic that Aḍigaḷ teaches to Maṇimekhalā, and he is introduced as a Buddhist saint of the highest reputation in Tamil area at the time. The epic gives an elaborate description of the town of Kāñcī where Maṇimekhalā ultimately attained enlightenment. So, during the period to which the story of Maṇimekhalai refers, Kāñcī was still a Cola viceroyalty, and the viceroy at the time was a younger brother of the reigning Cola (Aiyangar 1928:20–21). "No princely vice-

roy of the Cola was possible in Kāñcī after AD 300, from which period we have a continuous succession of Pallava rulers holding sway in the region" (Aiyangar 1928: xxviii).

5.11 The Dhyāna school (Jap. Zen-shu) of Buddhism is associated intimately with Kāñcī. It was introduced into China by the Indian teacher Bodhidharma, who was the third son of a king of Kāñcī. He reached China in AD 520 or 527. He had transmitted a copy of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra to his disciple Hui-k'o (traditional dates AD 487–593, Fontein and Hickman 1970: xv, 2). The title of Laṅkāvatāra indicates the likelihood of this text having been written at Kāñcī which was "situated on the mouth of the southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Siṁhala" (Beal 1911:139). It was the port for sailing to Laṅkā: the Laṅkā-avatāra. Tantric commentators "quote the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra for their Yogācāra-type vocabulary, and this sūtra was first translated into Chinese in AD 443 and in the fifth century had become so popular among Indian Buddhists that it was the chief text of Bodhidharma when he came to China in either AD 520 or AD 527 (the alternate dates of the Sino-Japanese tradition)" (Wayman 1977:97). The Vajra-śekhara-tantra which took form in the South is closely related to Yogācāra (Malalasekera 1973:379b). This relationship may conceal in it the history of the development from Yogācāra to the yoga-tantras (of which Vajraśekhara-tantra is the second fundamental text) in the Kāñcī region itself. It requires further investigation.

5.12 Dharmapāla (AD 528–60), the head of the Nālandā monastery was the eldest son of a minister of Kāñcī (Raghavan 1976:8). His disciple was the famous Śīlabhadra of Nālandā, under whom Hsüan-tsang studied.

5.13 Mahendravarman in his Mattavilāsa-prahasana gives additional proof of the existence of a Buddhist vihāra in Kāñcī in the early part of the seventh century AD (Champaklakshmi 1978:116).

5.14 In AD 640 Hsüan-tsang stayed at Kāñcī (Watters 1905:2.335) where he halted for some time in the hope of visiting Sri Lanka (Beal 1911:139). Shaman Hwui-li, in his biography of Hsüan-tsang makes some important observations (Beal 1911:138, 139) that Kāñcīpura was the capital of the Draviḍa kingdom and it "is situated on the mouth (bay) of the southern sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Siṁhala, distant from it three days' voyage." Hsüan-tsang had come to Kāñcī for going to Sri Lanka, but prior to his departure the king of Siṁhala died and the country was in disorder, so much so that Bodhimegheśvara and Abhayadaṁṣṭra with three hundred priests left the country and arrived at Kāñcīpura. Hwui-li continues:

"The Master of the Law, having obtained an interview with them, asked them as follows: "It is reported that the chief priests of your kingdom are able to explain the Tripiṭaka according to the Sthavira school, and also the Yoga-śāstra. I am anxious to go

there and study these books. May I ask why you have come to this place?" In reply, they said: "The king of our country is dead; and the people are suffering from famine, without any resource for help...

"Moreover, among the members of our school who know the Law there are none who excel ourselves as to age and position; if you have any doubts therefore, let us, according to your will, speak together about these things.

"The Master of the Law [i.e. Hsüan-tsang] then gave examples of choice passages of the Yoga-śāstra, both long and short sections, but they were not able to explain any of them as Śīlabhadra did."

In the above passage we find the expression: "are able to explain the Tripiṭaka according to the Sthavira school, and also the yoga-śāstra", which refers to the wide-ranging dimension of the knowledge of the Sri Lanka monks who were well-versed in the most ancient Theravāda tradition as well as the latest system of *yü-ch'ieh-lun*. Beal translates *yü-ch'ieh-lun* as yoga-śāstra. In fact *yü-ch'ieh-lun* means the *yoga-tantras*. At the end, in "choice passages of the yoga-śāstra" the Chinese text has the term *yü-ch'ieh* which is a transcription of *yoga*. In fact, the term *yü-ch'ieh/yoga* is employed by Vajrabodhi (who arrived in China in AD 719 and died there in AD 732), to denote the yoga-tantras, and he is the great teacher who introduced this genre of tantra in China by translating an STTS text into Chinese. An abridged version of the STTS, translated for recitation (Nj 534) in AD 723 has *yü-ch'ieh* for yoga-tantra. An extract from the Vajraśekhara on the rites of Cintāmaṇicakra–Avalokiteśvara (Nj 538) was translated by Vajrabodhi in AD 730. Its Chinese title is Kuan-tzŭ-tsai ju-i-lun p'u-sa yü-ch'ieh fa-yao, whose word-to-word equivalence would be: Avalokiteśvara cintāmaṇicakra bodhisattva yoga vidhi. It has been mistranslated by Nanjio as "The importance of the law of Yoga of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara-cintācakra (or -maṇi?)". The correct translation is: "Rites of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara according to the yoga-tantras." Here yoga connotes the system of yoga-tantras. Similarly, in other works translated by Vajrabodhi during AD 723–30, namely in Nj 1033, 1427, 1430, *yü-ch'ieh* 'yoga' stands for yoga-tantras.

5.15 Vajrabodhi was assisted, and later followed, by his disciple Amoghavajra (in China from 719 to 741 and again from 746 to 774) in the translation of yoga-tantras from Sanskrit into Chinese. Amoghavajra employed the term *yü-ch'ieh ta-chiao-wang* (Nj 1022) = *yoga mahā-tantra-rāja*, where tantra was translated as *chiao*. Elsewhere *yü-ch'ieh*, the transcription of yoga, serves as a technical equivalent of yoga-tantra: Nj 1036, 1044, 1052, 1319,1383, 1389, 1390, 1400,1411, 1428, 1433, 1443, 1447, 1448, 1453. This serves to confirm that Hsüan-tsang was referring to the yoga-tantras, and thus Hwui-li's biography of his master preserves an important evidence of the presence of teachers

of yoga-tantras at Kāñcī in the seventh century.

5.16 Hsüan-tsang in his Si-yu-ki (Beal 1884:2.229) points out that Kāñcī had 'some hundreds of' monasteries, ten thousand monks, and there was a stūpa about 100 feet high, which was built by King Aśoka.

5.17 The South Indian śramaṇa, Bodhiruci (Nj p. 442 no. 150) worked in China during AD 693–713 and translated 53 works into Chinese. Among them are tantric texts like the Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā (Nj 18, T 240) and the Ekākṣara-Uṣṇīṣacakravarti-sūtra (I-tzu fo-ting-lun-wang ching, Nj 532, T 951) which was translated in AD 709. Prof. Seigai Omura has explained the maṇḍalas expounded in these sūtras translated by Bodhiruci, in the second volume of his *History of the Development of Esoteric Buddhism* (Lokesh Chandra 1972:34). Another nexus between tantras and South India.

5.18 The eight patriarchs of Shingon or Japanese Vajrayāna, who transmitted the doctrine and rites are (Saunders 1964: 149): Nāgārjuna, Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi (AD 670–741), Śubhākarasiṁha (AD 637–735), Amoghavajra (AD 705–74), I-hsing (AD 683– 727), Hui-kuo (AD 746–805), Kōbō Daishi (AD 774–835).

Tantric Buddhism was carried to East Asia by Vajrabodhi of Kāñcī who "according to his biography, travelled to southern India at the age of 31 and began a seven-year period of study under Nāgabodhi, a disciple of Nāgārjuna. At this time, it is recorded, he studied the Vajraśekhara-yoga-sūtra.... According to a Chinese source Vajrabodhi's birthdate is conjectured as AD 671, and so his thirty-first year would correspond to the year AD 701" (Matsunaga 1977: 178). Nāgārjuna is an eminent authority on the tantras in the Tibetan tradition as well. In the Blue Annals (2.753) it is clear that the yoga and anuttara-yoga-tantras spread from the south: "the ācārya Nāgārjuna and his disciples obtained the yoga-tantras, including the Guhyasamāja and others (the anuttara-yoga-tantras, were also called mahāyoga-tantras...), and preached them. They spread from the South. After that, Kambala and others discovered the yoginī-tantras in the country of O-ḍi-yan. They also spread towards Madhyadeśa". Nāgārjuna is associated with the construction of an iron stūpa in South India, which is illustrated in the Kakuzen-shō 'collection of Kakuzen' written and drawn by him about AD 1183–1213, reproduced in the Iconographic Section of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, vol. 5, no. 103.392. The term 'iron' is a translation of *loha* which in Tamil means 'metal'. As a holy monument the stūpa could not have been overlaid with iron only but with seven or nine metals including precious metals as is usual in sacred architecture. Thus the phrase 'iron stūpa' in its mistranslation conceals a Tamil nuance.

5.19 The third patriarch, Vajrabodhi was the son of the royal preceptor of the Pallava king of Kāñcī. Thus the Chinese and Japanese sources provide positive evidence of the vogue of tantras in South India and even at Kāñcī itself which to them was the

original home for the dissemination of tantric learning.

5.20 For seven years Vajrabodhi studied the STTS and other tantric texts under Nāgabodhi in South India (Takakusu 1956:151). Amoghavajra "first received the transmission from Vajrabodhi, the Tripiṭaka Master, and moreover visited the Acharya Nāgabodhi in southern India and acquired completely the Vajraśekhara sūtra comprising eighteen divisions" (Hakeda 1972:143).

5.21 In the 8th–9th century AD when the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvār, Tirumaṅgai of Tiruvali-Tirunagari came upon the scene, the vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam was so flourishing that it had a Buddha image of solid gold, as narrated in the Guru-paramparai (Āṟāyirappaḍi) of the twelfth century, which is one of the hagiologies of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism (Ramachandran 1954:15).

5.22 The biographies (Bagchi 1938:2.583) of Prājña of Kapiśā (worked in China, AD 785–810) point out that at the age of 23 years he entered Nālandā and studied the sūtras and śāstras which included the Vajraśekhara (Bagchi: Kin kang king). He went to the country of Chen-li where he stayed for 18 years. He learnt the speech of South India where they persue the guhya-piṭaka or vidyādhara-piṭaka and practise strange rites. Thereafter he proceeded to the South where he studied the yoga-tantra, maṇḍala and mudrā of the 'five families' in more than 3000 gāthās. Here South India should refer to Kāñcī, for in the life of Hsüan-tsang (Nanking woodprint, chapter 4 folio 6b line 9) Drāviḍa has the gloss *nan-yin* 'South India' in miniscule letters, and the capital of Drāviḍa was Kāñcīpura.

5.23 Thereafter, Prājña studied the language of Cīna or China. He embarked on a boat destined for Kuang-chou, but the outbreak of a tempest took it to the island of Sri Lanka. Thence by the route of the Southern Sea he arrived at Kuang-fu in AD 781. He took residence at Ch'ang-an, worked there till AD 810, and translated eight Sanskrit works into Chinese.

5.24 The biography of Prājña is a clear indication that South India was a renowned centre of tantric philosophy, art and ritual. Prājña studied the Chinese language and embarked for China from a South Indian port. This goes to show that South India in this context refers to Kāñcī, which is described by Hwui-li as: " 'The town of *Kin-chi* is the opening (mouth) of the Southern Sea of India, and in the direction of Sinhala the water journey is three days.' It seems to imply that Conjiveram was the central town from which the traffic to Ceylon was conducted" (Beal 1884:2.228). As a major port and capital of the Drāviḍa kingdom, Kāñcī must have been frequented by rich Chinese merchants and it is from them that Prājña could acquire a knowledge of Chinese.

5.25 In China, Prājña taught Sanskrit to Kōbō Daishi, the founder of Shingon or Vajrayāna in Japan (Hakeda 1972:33). He gave Sanskrit manuscripts to Kōbō Daishi:

"With the pledge to transmit the torch of the Dharma, I came to China. I wish to sail for Japan, but circumstances do not allow me to fulfil my intention. Take with you the new Avataṁsaka Sūtra and the Ṣaṭ-Pāramitā Sūtra, both of which I have translated, and these Sanskrit manuscripts. I sincerely hope that these will help create conditions [in which to propagate Buddhism] so that people will be saved" (Hakeda 1972: 149). In the years AD 796–98 Prājña translated anew an Avataṁsaka sūtra in 40 fasciculi. It is important to note that at the end there is a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor from the King of Wu-ch'a (Uḍa) in *South India*, who presented his own copy of the Sanskrit text to the Chinese Emperor in AD 795 (Nj 89). Here Wu-ch'a (Uḍa) is explicitly stated to be situated in South India, and it can be none other than Uḍḍiyāna/Kāñcī. The search for authentic Sanskrit manuscripts preceded the Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. A century earlier, the Chinese translation of the Avataṁsaka in 80 fasciculi was completed by Śikṣānanda in AD 695–99 after the Empress Wu Tsö-t'ien had sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of this sūtra (Nj 88). It was perfectly natural that when Prājña wanted to procure an authentic manuscript of the Avataṁsaka, he must have requested the Chinese Emperor to get it from Oḍḍiyāna. The year AD 795 when the Avataṁsaka manuscript reached China is significant. It was prior to the years AD 796–98 during which Prājña was engaged in its translation.

6. TRANSMISSION FROM SOUTH INDIA TO THE EAST AND NORTH-WEST

The oldest of the texts of its genre the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. BST.112) clearly states that the Pāramitānaya (Joshi 1967: 345) originated in the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha) and spread to the East and later flourished in Uttarāpatha, i.e. the north-west of India: *ime khalu punaḥ śāriputra saṭpāramitāpratisaṁyuktāḥ sūtrāntās tathāgatasyātyayena dakṣiṇāpathe pracariṣyanti, dakṣiṇāpathāt punareva vartanyāṁ pracariṣyanti, vartanyāḥ punar uttarāpathe pracariṣyanti*. Haribhadra in his Ālokā (ed. BST. 427): *Vartanyām iti pūrvadeśe*. The Pāramitāyāna developed into Mantrayāna (Lessing/Wayman 1968: 21), and this confirms that the route of transmission of Mantrayāna was from the South to the North-west. The South Indian monks were great wanderers who roamed far and wide disseminating Buddhism. An inscription in one of the apsidal temples at Nagarjunikonda (EI. 20.22–23) actually records a donation for nuns and monks who in their journeys to far-away lands had visited Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Aparānta, Yavana (?), and Tāmraparṇī (Sri Lanka) (Weiner 1977:34).

7. CONCLUSION

The evidence of different Buddhist traditions points to the origin of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna in the South and its spread thence to other regions of India. The linguis-

tic evidence of the word Oḍḍiyāna itself, the presence of South Indian vocables in dhāraṇīs, the unanimous traditions about the origination of tantras in various places of southern India, and the fact that Kāñcī was a cradle of Buddhism as well as a centre for the dissemination of Vajrayāna to East Asia: all converge to the conclusion that Oḍḍiyāna is Kāñcī.

4. STONE INSCRIPTION OF KULŪTA FROM MATHURA

In August, 1968 I was fortunate in discovering the present inscription which can be assigned to the Kushan epoch paleographically. It comes from Mathura and has been cut off from its parent stone by an inexperienced person causing vandalistic harm to the inscription which had otherwise survived intact in a good state of preservation over the centuries. During this cutting off, the inscription became fragmented into seven pieces and that has impaired its readability in a number of places. On the whole, the writing is careful and clear. It is 23 cm wide and 90 cm long. The written surface measures 19 × 78 cm excluding the auspicious mark. It is a two-line votive inscription recording the construction of works of public well-being to propitiate Lord Maheśvara. The name of the donor is preceded by a string of genealogical genetives. On the left hand side is a symbol. It is none of the monograms on Kushan coins, seals and inscriptions, which have been illustrated in figure 7 on page 69 of John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. It is also not a sculptor's mark.[1] It is a *maṅgala* symbol. We find a number of Mathura inscriptions bearing auspicious symbols. For instance, the following inscriptions have clear-cut *maṅgala* symbols in Heinrich Lüders and Klaus L. Janert, *Mathura Inscriptions*:

§39	p. 75	facsimile on p. 275 (four *maṅgala* symbols with the inscription engraved in their interstices. The *ghaṭa* resembles our symbol).
§40	p. 76	fac. on p. 276 (four *maṅgala* symbols interspersed).
§44	p. 80	fac. on p. 278 (eight *maṅgala* symbols interspersed).
§108	p. 152, n. 3	fac. on p. 300 (svastika at the end).
§113	p. 154	fac. on p. 301 (svastika at the beginning).
§125	p. 165, n. 5	fac. on p. 306 (*maṅgala ghaṭa* at the end).
§161	p. 193, n. 3	fac. on p. 314 (𑖌 symbol of *oṁ* at the beginning. This symbol opens every folio of a Tibetan xylograph).
181	p. 208	fac. on p. 319 (elaborately carved auspicious symbol).

As the inscription is consecrated to Maheśvara, the probability is that our symbol is the auspicious *ghaṭa* which is always placed over the liṅga of Maheśvara. Sircar (1972:14) identifies it as śrīvatsa.

The first line commences with *Gotīputrasa*. Gotīputra occurs in a number of inscriptions. According to Heinrich Lüder's List of Brāhmī Inscriptions (EI. 10.1912) this matronymic (*Gauptīputra*) occurs in the following inscriptions: 92, 94, 96, 156, 194, 271,

[1]For sculptor's marks see Lüders 1961: §70 p. 104 fac. on p. 289, §105 p. 151 fac. on p. 299.

442, 663, 680, 681, 687, and 1088. Nowhere do we find genealogical identity with our inscription.

The second word of the first line is *Rāhilasa*. On the original stone the rightward extension of the *–ā* sign at the top clearly warrants the reading Rā–. Rahila (with short ră–) occurs in a Prakrit inscription from Bhilsa, where the mother of Aya (ārya) Rahila is the donatrix (Heinrich Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, no. 198).

The third word is *pautrasa*. The *–au–* is certain by its triple mātrā. So the first clause means "the grandson of Rāhila the son of Gotī." Mother's name is mentioned in all the succeeding names too.

The next name is lost in the cleaving of the stone. Nothing is sure of the first akṣara except its upper and lower horizontal lines. The next akṣara is *si* and the third is a conjunct with the vowel-sign of long *–ī* whose upper part can be a *ṣ* and the lower part *ṭh*? It was the name of the mother. The second member of the compound is *putrasa*. The name of the son follows. Its first akṣara has been irreparably damaged and only the subscript *ra* is readable. We tentatively read it as [*p*]*rahastasa,* followed by *putrasa*. Sharma (1971:24) proposes [Pra]bāstasa and Sircar [Aṁ]bādattasa. If read as *dattasa,* the direction of its *da* differs from that of *de* in *devakulāni*. The letter *sta* is clear, it is not *tta*. Until a better reading emerges we propose to retain Prahastasa.

The subsequent matronymic has also suffered the ravages of the antiquity hunter's hammer. The first akṣara is *ku*, where the vertical extension of *u* is clear. Thus the complete compound is *Ku*[–]*īputrasa*.

The next word is *magakasa* where *–sa* is the genetive affix. *Magaka* is most likely a non-rhotacised from of *margakos,* the legend on the Kushan Bear Seal[2], which according to John M. Rosenfield suggests Soter Megas (2) by its monogram with a circular bottom, but on the basis of the letter types it belongs to the time of Kaniṣka I. Rosenfield suggests that *margakos* may be the equivalent of the Saka title *marjhaka=gṛhapati,* i.e. chamberlain or treasurer. *Magaka* may be taken as 'Treasurer'. The use of Bhaṇḍārī 'Treasurer' is common as a surname to this day. Sircar (1972:15) reads "*Magakasa* (or *Māgakasa*) *Kulutasa* 'of Magaka or Māgaka, the Kulūta'. The name is probably Sanskrit *Mārgaka* and the person belonging to the Kulūta clan apparently hailing from the Kullu valley". Sircar vaccilates between *Kalutasa* and *Kulūtasa*. The letter is *ku* as attested by *Kuxīputrasa*. The vertical stroke of *ka* in *magaka* does not hang down, while that of *ku* does.

The following word is *Kulūtasa*, in which the long *–ū* is to be noted. Here *Kulūta* is the name of the donor. It is a geographic designation in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*.

[2]John M. Rosenfield, p. 102 pl. XVI. For a full discussion on *marjhaka* see Sten Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, p. 143, and John M. Rosenfield, p. 52.

Nundo Lal De (1927:106) identifies it with Kulu in the Kangra district.

In the *second* line, the very first words have been devastatingly broken right across the middle. They are to be read *puṣkiriṇī-arāma-sabhā-śilāpaṭṭa-devakulāni*. In *puṣkiriṇī* the first akṣara has two superscript strokes which are not the vowel-sign of long *–ī*, but their presence is inexplicable except as a carelessness of the engraver. In the second akṣara *ṣki*, the subscript *k* does not cut across the vertical line. *ri* and *ṇī* are certain, though the lower horizontal stroke of *ṇ* is damaged. *a* of *a*rāma is also damaged. An inscription on the pedestal of a Nāga image from the Rāl Bhaḍār mound, dated in the 8th year of Kaniṣka,[4] records the construction of a tank and a garden (*pukṣiriṇi aramo*). It is noteworthy that like our inscription, *pukṣiriṇi* has an *i* in the second akṣara and short *a* in *arama* instead of *ārāma*. These represent the spoken forms of the time. The construction of a tank and the laying out of a garden went together, as we find *puṣkariṇī* and *ārāma* occurring side by side in a number of inscriptions. *Ārāma* was a garden-cum-orchard (Vācaspatya, p. 4405 says: *ārāmaḥ puṣpa-phal-opāya-hetur bhūbhāgaḥ*).

When a personage of the eminence of Treasurer (*magaka*) donated works of public utility, he had a chain of charitable structures constructed. In the slab inscription from the Jamalpur mound the Treasurer (*gaṁjavara*) of *svāmin mahākṣatrapa* Śoṁḍāsa had a tank, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone-slab constructed: *puṣkaraṇi udapāno ārāmo staṁbho i* (...) [*śilā*]*paṭṭo*[5] *ca*. An inscription of the time of Vima Kadphises[6] reads: *ārāmo puṣkariṇi udapān*[*aṁ*] *ca sa*[*bh*]*ā dā*[*ra*]*koṭhako*. The fragmentary inscription on a broken slab from Mathura referring to mahākṣatrapa Ś[o](ḍāśa), commemorates the donation of a stone palace, halls and stone-slabs: *pārvato prāsād[o] sabh[āḥ] śilāpa [ṭā]* where *sabhā* and *śilāpaṭa* occur side by side as in our inscription.

The aforesaid inscriptions commemorate the construction of *puṣkariṇī* (reservoir, tank), *udapāna* (well), *ārāma* (grove, park, garden), *stambha* (pillar does not have a public function, it can be a misreading for *sabhā*), śilāpaṭṭa (stone-slab?), *sabhā* (assembly hall, community hall), *dvārakoṣṭhaka* (gateway?), *pārvata prāsāda* (stone palace). These charitable acts for public good are comprehended under the generic term *pūrta*. In Sanskrit texts *pūrta* is defined as:

पुष्करिण्यः सभा वापी देवतायतनानि च ।
आरामश्च विशेषेण पूर्तकर्म विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ इति भरतः

The Purāṇas lay great emphasis on *pūrtadharma*, and thereby stress social service as the only means to attain mokṣa: पूर्ते मोक्षं च विन्दति according to Varāhapurāṇa 172.33. The Purāṇa continues:

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[4]Lüders § 102 p. 148.
[5]Lüders § 64 p. 99.
[6]Lüders § 98 p. 135.

वापीकूपतडागानि देवतायतनानि च ।
पतितान्युद्धरेद्यस्तु स पूर्तफलमश्नुते ॥ (quoted from Śabdakalpadruma 3.221c).

Pūrta seems to have comprised mainly five constituents; so we find in Bharata and in the two inscriptions quoted above. The patron of our inscription also donated five constituents of *pūrta* which shows that he must have been an influential and affluent person, a high state functionary like the Lord of the Treasury. His magnanimous donation lends support to our interpretation of his prefixed designation of *magaka* as being equivalent to *marjhaka* in the sense of 'Treasurer', or better as 'Lord of the Treasury' to emphasise his eminent status. In the Jamalpur Mound and the Tokri Tila inscription too, where the *pūrta* is quintuple, the donors are topmost state dignitaries. In the first inscription the patron is a *gaṁjavara* or Treasurer, and in the second a *bakanapati*.

The final clause is *prīyatāṁ bhaga[vāṁ Mahe]śvara*. The long *–ī* in *prī-* makes it grammatically correct Sanskrit. The final akṣara of *bhaga[vāṁ]* has chipped off in breaking the inscription from its parent stone.

The following Mathura inscriptions have a similar propitiation formula:

§15	p. 47	*Prīyatām=bhagavān=Ṛṣabhaś[r]īḥ*
§22	p. 52	*priya dev[o]*
§94	p. 126	*prīyant[ā]m=agnaya(ḥ)*
§104	p. 150	*priyatāṁ Sidha[ḥ]*
§176	p. 202	*priyatā[ṁ] bhagav[ā]*
§182	p. 209	*priyatāṁ devi grām[eṇa]*

A Mathura inscription on a Varāha imagae (JRAS. 1966:8, *priyatāṁ bhagavāṁ*. The alternation of *priyatām* and *prīyatām* is noteworthy from the grammatical point of view.

The first two letters of *[Mahe]śvara* have been lost in cutting, though remnants of their top portions peep out of the damage. The horizontal middle line of ś in *śva* has not been incised, a lapse of the engraver. He seems to have become careless in the second line where the depth of the incision is less, the letters are not as calligraphic as in the first line, and superfluous lines on top of *pu* and below *ṣki* in *puṣkiriṇī*, anusvāra like chisel-mark between the akṣaras *sa* and *bhā*, a slight chisel-fall over *bha* of *bhaga*[*vāṁ*]. It cannot be ruled out that the second line was inscribed by a person other than the engraver of the first line.

The inscription closes with a reverse *svastika* which has bipartite flourishes at the ending of all its four arms. A similar flourish can be seen on one arm of the svastika in the Mora Well inscription (Lüders § 113 fac. on p. 301). Reverse svastika can be seen in a number of places, *inter alia* on Taxila coins (Allan 1967:cxxxvii).

The complete reading of the inscription is given below:

Line 1: *Gotī-putrasa Rāhilasa pautrasa*
[Vā]si(ṣṭh)ī-putrasa [P]rahastasa putrasa
Ku[-]ī-putrasa magakasa Kulūtasa

Line 2: *puṣkiriṇī-arāma-sabhā-śilāpaṭṭa-devakulāni*
prīyatāṁ bhaga[vāṁ Ma]heśvara 卐

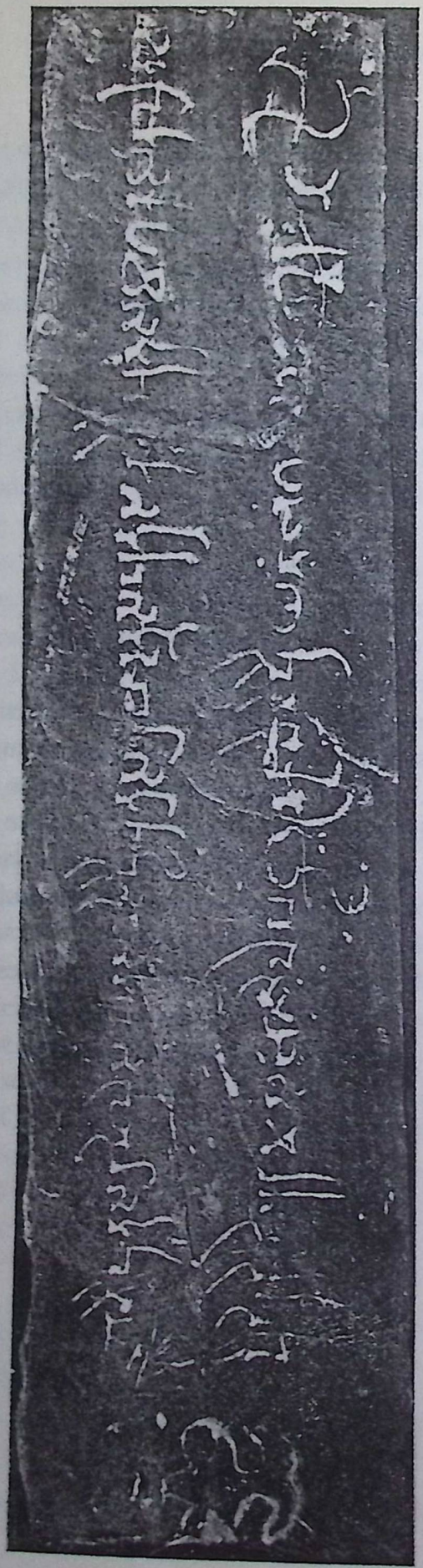
It can be translated as:

"May Lord Maheśvara be pleased [by]: the reservoir tank, park, community hall, stone-slab and temple [constructed for public welfare] by the Lord of the Treasury (*magaka*) Ku[-]īputra Kulūta, the son of [Vā]si(ṣṭh)ī-putra [P]rahasta, and the grandson of Gotī-putra Rāhila".

The geneology of the donor is tabulated below:

(grandfather) Rāhila whose mother was Gotī
(father) [P]rahasta whose mother was [Vā]si(ṣṭh)ī
(son) Kulūta whose mother was Ku[-]ī

The language of the inscription is Prakrit from the inflectional point of view. In vocabulary, most of the words are Sanskrit. Of the three matronyms only one is preserved and that is Prakrit Gotī (Skt. *Gauptī*). The male proper names of the son, father and grandfather are Sanskrit? Maheśvara is also a Sanskrit form. The termini technici of the five *pūrta* (Kane 5/2.947–50) constructions are Sanskrit except one in its popular spoken form of *puṣkiriṇī* (*ṣki* due to vocalic harmonisation with the subsequent vowels). The genetival ending is the mid-Indic *-sa*. *Prīyatāṁ* is correct Classical Sanskrit: religious terms, expressions and formulae tend to remain unchanged. Maheśvara does not have the nom. singular ending.



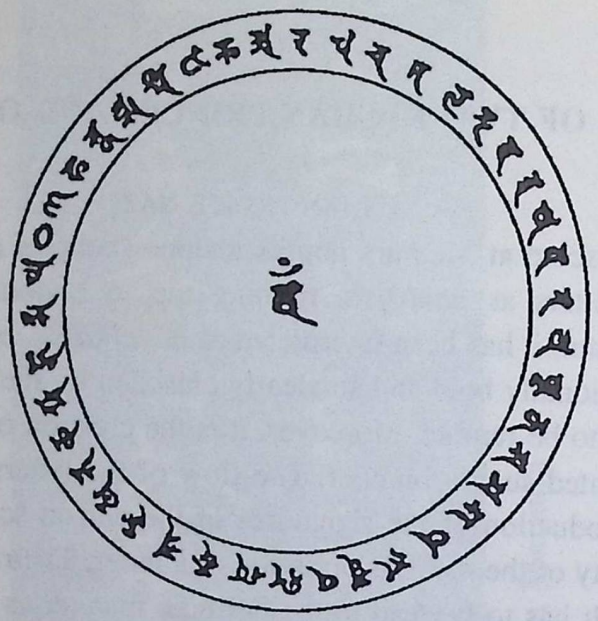
Stone Inscription of Kulīta from Mathura

5. PORTRAITS OF TWO KUSHAN PRINCES AND OF ŚUBHĀKARA

A KUSHAN PRINCE NĀZ

The Govt. Museum at Mathura houses a stone statue of a Kushan personage inscribed in Brāhmī letters as *nāy[a]sa,* running top to bottom. It bears the number 16.1252. In the Museum, it has been interpreted as *nāya[ka]sa,* by inserting the letter *ka.* The letters are exceptionally bold and so clearly chiselled on the statue that the possibility of an error seems to be remote. Moreover, it is the creation of a master sculptor who would not have tolerated such a blunder. The flow of the letters in the inscription suggests that it is a reproduction of the signatures of the person sculpted. This would also preclude the possibility of the careless omission of a letter. Their vertical direction points to a Serindic origin. It has to be read in the Serindic manner as *nāysa=nāz*: the zeta (*z*) was written in Khotanese (Konow 1932:39) and Kuchean as *ys*; for example Khotanese *zāta* is written *ysāta* 'born', *zānṇu* (written *ysāṁṇu)* =Zend *zānu,* Skt. *jānu.* The name of the father of Caṣṭana, king of the Kṣatrapa dynasty of Lāṭa, was Ysāmotika (Lévi 1937: 355f.) which is to be pronounced Zāmotika. *Ys* was a grapheme of Serindian languages which was invented to supplement the Brāhmī script. It was a singular innovation which was common to both Khotan and Kucha. In India it is absent except in the arapacana alphabet which occurs in the Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā, Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā and the Gaṇḍavyūha text of the Avataṁsaka. The hero of the Gaṇḍavyūha, Sudhana, in the course of his pilgrimage for enlightenment across India, goes to Śilpābhijña, the son of a merchant. To elucidate *bodhi* to him, Śilpābhijña explains all the letters of the arapacana. He explains the grapheme *ys* as: *ysakāraṁ parikīrtayataḥ sarva-buddha-dharma-nirdeśa-viṣayaṁ nāma prajñāpāramitā-mukham avakrāntam* "On uttering the letter *ysa* one enters the portal of prajñāpāramitā called the proclamation of all the Buddha-dharmas" (Gaṇḍavyūha 450.13–15). The letter *ysa* is written in the Siddham form of the Nagari script in the Kegonkyō-jirin-giki [*Avataṁsaka-sūtra-akṣaracakra-kalpa, T 1020] by Amoghavajra (AD 746–71). All the 42 letters of the arapacana alphabet are disposed herein, between two concentric circles whose centre is graced by the syllable *vaṁ* symbolising Vairocana.. Such an arrangement is called an *akṣaracakra* or *jirin* in Japanese (shown on the next page).

In the Chinese translations of the Prajñāpāramitā and Avataṁsaka texts we find that *ys* is transliterated into Chinese characters (Lévi 1937:355–63) either as *ys*, or as *j/jh* which was the vulgate Indian pronunciation of *z*. The following Chinese translators transcribe the letter *ys* correctly as such:



Arapacana alphabet. The letter *ysa* written in the Siddham form of the Nāgarī script in the Kegonkyō-jirin-giki [*Avataṁsaka-sūtra-akṣaracakra-kalpa, T 1020] by Amoghavajra (w. AD 746–71).

1. Hsüan-tsang (AD 602–64) in his translation of the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā (Nj 1, T 220), chapters 53 and 490: *yi-so* 逸 娑

2. Śikṣānanda (AD 652–710) of Khotan in his translation of the Avataṁsaka (Nj 88, T 279) done during AD 695–99: *ye-so* 也 娑

3. Amoghavajra (w. AD 746–71) in his translation of the Avataṁsaka (Nj 1450, T 1019): *ye-so* 也 娑 (二 合)

4. Amoghavajra (w. AD 746–71) in his translation of the Avataṁsaka-sūtra-akṣaracakra-kalpa, transcribes it as *ye-so* with different Chinese characters: 野 娑 (二 合) (T 1020).

5. Prājña in his translation of the Gaṇḍavyūha (Nj 89, T 293) done in AD 796–98: *yi-so* 夷 娑 (二 合)

It is transcribed as *ja/jha* in the following Chinese translations:

1. Mokṣala of Khotan in his translation of the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Nj 2, T 221) done in AD 291: *ts'ouo* 嗟

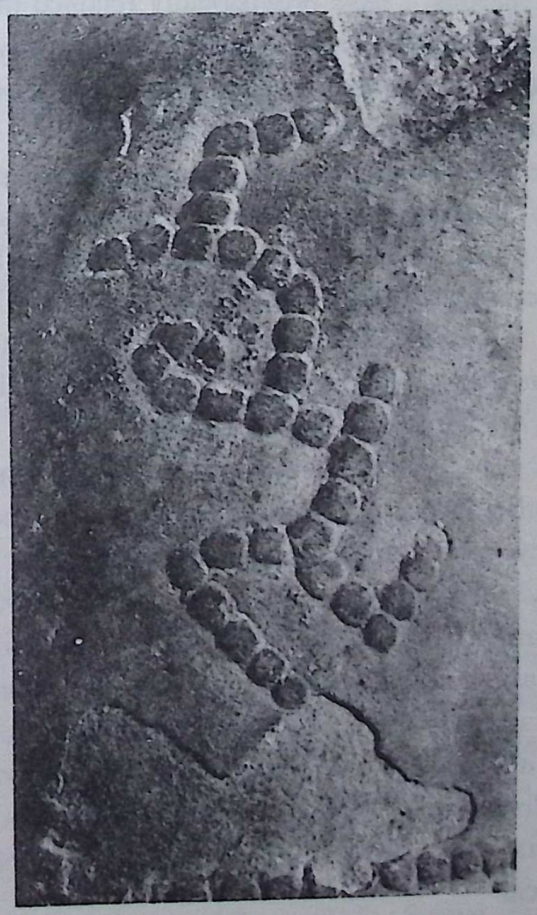
2. Kumārajīva (AD 384–417) of Kucha in his translation of the Pañcaviṁśati-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Nj 3, T 223): *ts'ouo* 酋差. He uses the same transcription in his Chinese translation (Nj 1169) of Nāgārjuna's commentary on the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā, done during the years 402–05.

3. Buddhabhadra (AD 359–429) in his translation of the Avataṁsaka (Nj 87, T 278) transcribes *che* 闍. Divākara follows this transcription in his translation of the Avataṁsaka (Nj 101, T 295) done during AD 676–88.

The Sanskrit manuscripts used by Mokṣala of Khotan and Kumārajīva of Kucha could have had the letter *ja/jha*. Both of them were conversant with the ligature *ys* = *z* as it was of common use in their native languages Khotanese and Kuchean. They could not confuse *j* and *z*. In the Sanskrit manuscript of the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (sanscrit 68) *ys* has actually been reduced to a simple *j* (Lévi 1937:363). Another explanation may be that they were reproducing the Indian pronunciation as a single sound, instead of transcribing its written form as two letters of the conjunct grapheme.

The Chinese translations of the Prajñāpāramitā and Avataṁsaka texts are important testimonia that the letter *ys* was originally present in these texts. Hsüan-tsang was meticulous in transcribing the ligature as *ys*. The translators of the Avataṁsaka were Śikṣānanda of Khotan and Amoghavajra from Samarkand, who correctly transcribed the grapheme *ys* = *z* which was, for them, a distinct phonetic reality of a living linguistic texture, not to be confused or glossed over into any other sound.

The grapheme *ys*, pronounced *z*, had become an integral part of the Brāhmī script used in Central Asian lands and an inherent component of the arapacana alphabet in the Buddhist texts. Thus we have a sure and positive ground for reading the Mathura inscription on the Kushan portrait-statue as *nāysa* = *nāza*. The final *a* is not to be pronounced, and the word is *nāz*. It seems to be the earliest attestation of this Iranian word, and as such a valuable vestige for a study of the historical development of Iranian vocabulary.



The reading of the graffiti *nāysa*, pronounced *nāz*, is confirmed by H.W. Bailey's Dictionary of Khotan Saka (Cambridge University Press, 1979:180): *nāys-* 'be proud, delicate', New Persian *nāz* '1. glory, pride, 3. elegance 4. fresh, young', Sogd. Bud. *n'zwk* 'tender, dear', Slav. Russ. něžnyj 'delicate' (for further parallels see the Dictionary). The Khotan Saka spellings are *nāys* where *ys* represents *z*.

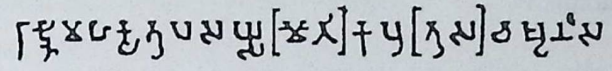
A KUSHAN PRINCE MASTANA

A portrait unearthed at Mathura among images of Kushan kings from their dynastic shrine at Māṭ has been ascribed to Caṣṭana, due to misreading the legend on the lower hem of his coat. Caṣṭana was the grandfather of Rudradāman I whose long inscription at Junagarh, dated in the year 72 = AD 150, records his wide dominions including Vidiśā, northern Konkan, Kutch, Surāṣṭra and Sindhu-Sauvīra. Rudradāman defeated the Yaudheyas who were the main threat to Kushan power. The portrait cannot belong to Caṣṭana as the name thereon conspicuously lacks any epithets of rank. The reading of the inscription has been doubtful. It has been read as Ṣastana or Mastana. If it were a royal person, the name would have been preceded by titles, like the portraits of Kaniṣka and Vima which bear full royal epithets. Rosenfield (1967:146) says: "The name on the work identifies the subject, and Caṣṭana's is the most notable name to resemble Shastana. The part of the inscription which might have yielded any titles is broken away. The portrait carving is almost as tall as that of Kaniṣka, hence the subject must have been an important figure. Caṣṭana was at the height of his power when the shrine was functioning. For these reasons, I have provisionally retained the label the "statue of Caṣṭana," but admit that it is tenuous, unsupported by other positive evidence of Saka–Kushan relations, and should be used with restraint." The inscription is not only clear but complete with a punctuation mark. No part of it is broken. The lettering of the inscription differs from that on the coins of Caṣṭana, which bear royal titles. All the three coins bear the royal epithets *Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Zāmotikaputrasa Caṣṭanasa.* The statue seems to pertain to a royal prince, who was not a ruler and hence had no regal titles. It is like the head of a princely portrait statue of Nāysa (to be read Nāz) (Rosenfield 1967: pl.4).

Reading: Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (1920:51–53), Ojha, Har Prasad Shastri, Spooner and Jayaswal have read the graffiti on the statue as Ṣastana (Satya Shrava 1947:70). The first letter is not *ṣa.*

The history of the reading of the graffiti is given in Lüders (1970:145f.) and Rosenfield (1967: 146). So it has not been repeated here. Lüders has rightly pointed out: "In my opinion the letter cannot be anything but a *ma* of the transitional type between the *ma* of the Kuṣāṇa period and the Northern Gupta *ma.* The inscription on the statue is clearly *Mastana.* The first letter is *ma* beyond doubt." *Ma* of the statue corresponds to the Kushan alphabet d of about 2nd–3rd centuries AD (Sander 1968: Tafel 4.) This alphabet is used in a palmleaf manuscript of an Abhidharma text found from the Manuscript Cave at Šorčuq by the Third Turfan Expedition (Waldschmidt no. 920, Sander 1968:63). The discovery of MS. no. 920 from Turfan in the Kushan script allays all doubts about the first letter being *ma.* The *ma* of the portrait sculpture and of the manuscript is identical.

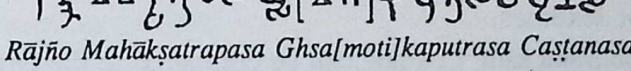
The second ligature is dental *sta* and not cerebral *ṣṭa*. In the coins of Caṣṭana, the *ṣṭa* is unambiguously cerebral (Rapson 1908:74):



Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Ghsa[moti]kaputra[sa] Caṣṭanasa

Inscr. (XII, r. to 1.) in Kharoṣṭhī characters:

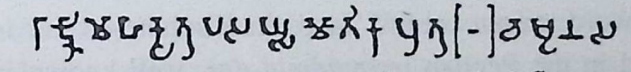
Caṭhanasa



Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Ghsa[moti]kaputrasa Caṣṭanasa

Inscr. (XI, r. to 1.) in Kharoṣṭhī characters

Caṭhanasa



Rājño Mahākṣatrapasa Ghsamotikaputra[sa] Caṣṭanasa

Inscr. (XI, r. to 1.) in Kharoṣṭhī characters

Caṭhanasa

The writing on the portrait can by no stretch of imagination be Caṣṭana.

Etymology: Eilers (1970:112–27) has discussed the etymologies of the names of Kushan Kings, which are Iranian:

Kaniṣka = Skt. Kaniṣṭha

Huviṣka = *huviśta = Skt. su+iṣṭha

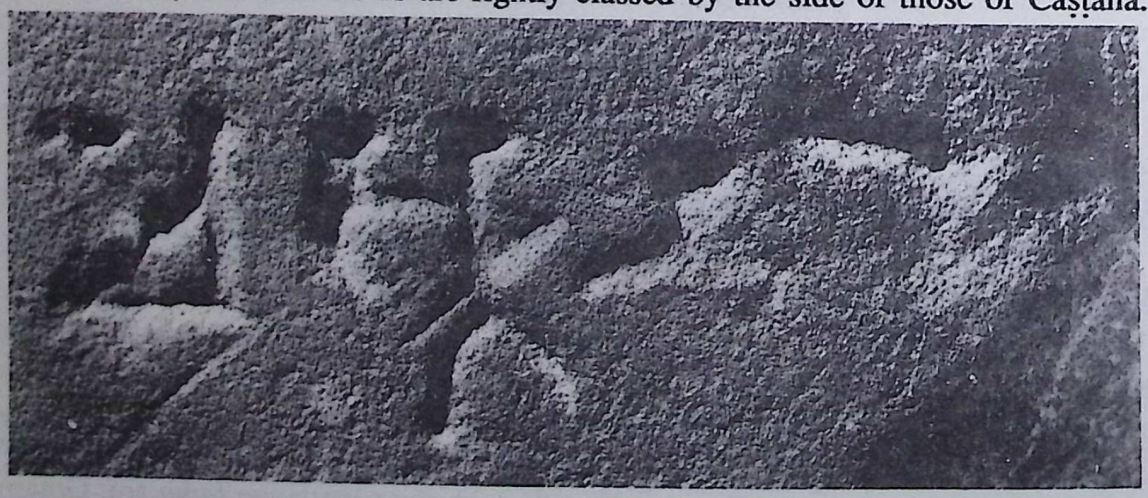
Vāsiṣka = Old Iranian vāzišta = Skt. Vāsiṣṭha

According to him the Kushan kings had superlative names. In Sanskrit too we have Nābhanediṣṭha, Vasiṣṭha, Śraviṣṭha, etc. Names with the superlative *tama* are: Gotama/ Gautama (Avesta Gaotăma), Young Avesta Aurvōtăma, Parθama (=Prathama). So we have to seek for the meanings of Mastana in Iranian. It can be compared to Khotanese *maśtä* 'greater', Av. *mazda* = Skt. *mahat* 'great' (Bailey 1979:325). I am inclined to connect the name with Av. *masta,* New Persian *mast* 'drunk', Sogd. Bud. *mst* 'intoxicated', Khotanese *māsta* 'intoxicated' (Bailey 1979:329). Morgenstierne (1929) gives the following meanings: Parachi dialect: *mastāna* 'coquettish' Prs. (1.274), Pashai dialect:

masta:na 'wanton', *mast* 'intoxicated, sturdy', *masti* 'intoxication, revelling' (3/3.125). In his English–Iranian index, Morgenstierne has the following entries:
coquettish *mastāna*, nāzuk P.
coquetry *nāz* P.

With the three letters of the sculpture being finally read as *Mastana,* there is no possibility of equating him with Caṣṭana. The absence of royal titles with *Mastana* excludes his having been a ruler. Just as the parallel head of *Nāysa* can be a princely portrait, so *Mastana* too should have been a Kushan prince. Nāysa (=Nāz) and Mastana could have been brothers, as Morgenstierne gives *mastāna* and *nāzuk* as equivalents of the English word 'coquettish'. The names of the two brothers though based on one semanteme had different lexemes.

The name of the Śaka king Caṣṭana can be compared to the Ormuri dialect *čēṣṭan,* K. *taṣṭan* 'husband, master' Pashto; see Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto s.v. *caṣṭan* (Morgenstierne 1929:1.392), *caṣṭan* Pš. 'husband' (Morgenstierne 1929:1.30*), master, *caṣṭan* Pš, *čēṣṭan.* The name Caṣṭana thus means 'master, lord', like his father Zāmotika which means 'Lord of the Land'. Ghsāmotika has to be read as Ysāmotika, where the ligature *ysa=za.* The word *ysama* means 'land' in Khotanese, and is clearly related to Avesta *zem,* conserved in the Persian term *zamin-dar* well-known in Indian languages (Lévi 1929: 355–63). Ysāmotika is identical with the king who minted coins under the name Bhūmaka, and these coins are rightly classed by the side of those of Caṣṭana.



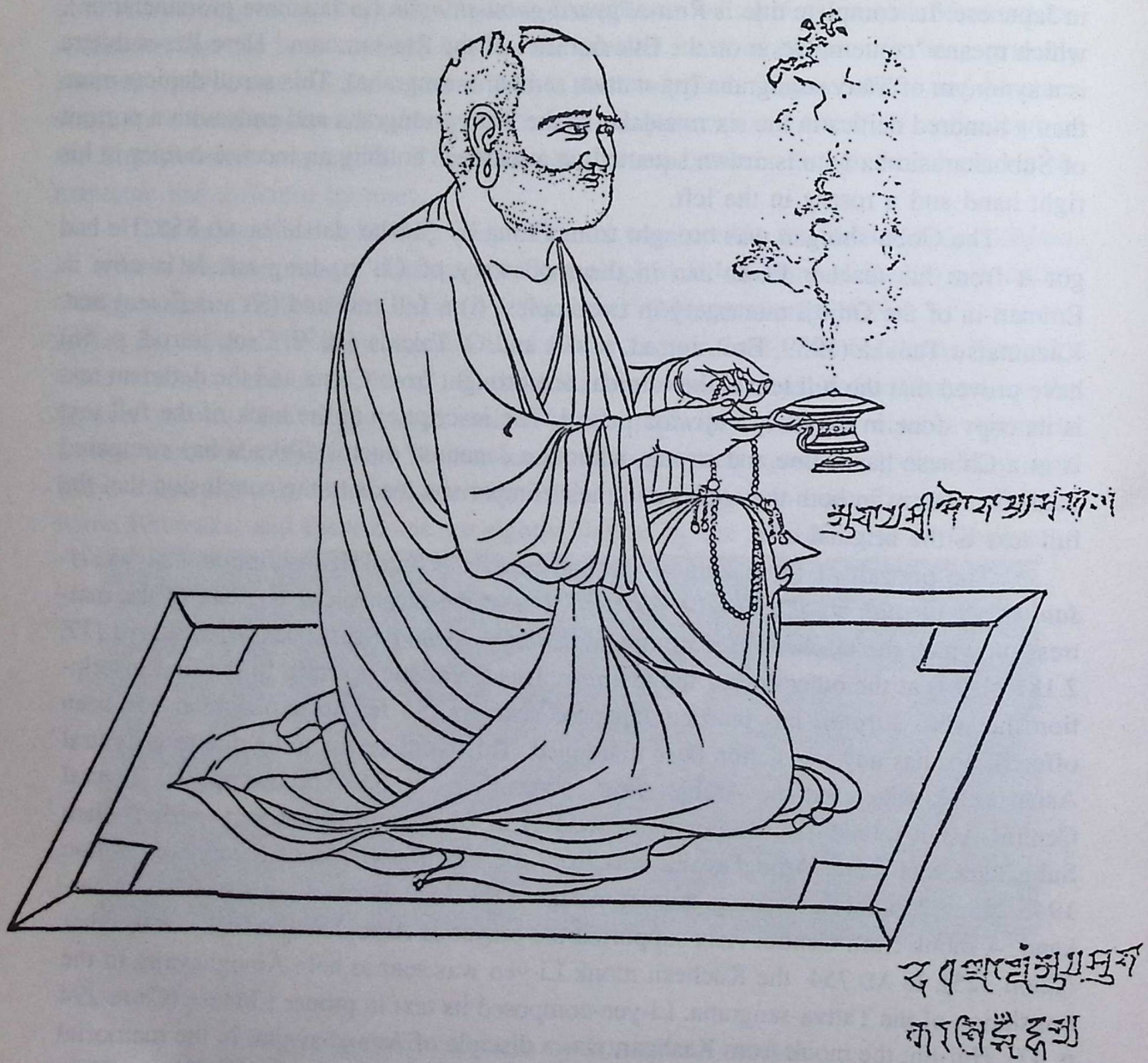
PORTRAIT (*SURATA*) OF ŚUBHĀKARASIṀHA

In AD 716 Śubhākarasiṁha (Chin. Shan-wu-wei, AD 637–735) arrived in China where he was hailed as a National Preceptor, and was on intimate terms with the emperor: "Messengers were [sent] repeatedly [from the Emperor] to inquire after his

health and the presents [given him] were unusual" (Chou 1945:264). In 724 Śubhākara accompanied the Emperor to Lo-yang and there he received an imperial edict to translate the Mahāvairocana-sūtra into Chinese. The complete Sanskrit text extended to 1,00,000 stanzas and Śubhākara translated only its essentials. Another work of Śubhākara is the illustrated pantheon Wu-pu-hsin-kuan (in Chinese) which is pronounced as Gobu-shingan in Japanese. Its complete title is *Rita-sōgyara-gobu-shingan* (in Japanese pronunciation), which means 'contemplation on the five families of the Ṛta-saṁhāra.' Here Ṛta-saṁhāra is a synonym of Tattva-saṅgraha (ṛta=tattva, saṁhāra=saṅgraha). This scroll depicts more than a hundred deities in the six maṇḍalas of the Tattva-saṅgraha and ends with a portrait of Śubhākarasiṁha who is drawn squatted on a mattress holding an incense-burner in his right hand and a rosary in the left.

The Gobu-shingan was brought from China by Chishō daishi in AD 855. He had got it from his teacher Fa-ch'üan in the monastery of Ch'ing-lung-ssŭ. It is now in Emman-in of the Onjōji monastery in two copies: (i) a full text and (ii) a deficient one. Kazumatsu Tanaka (1939, Esot. introd. p. 47) and O. Takada (1959, Esot. introd. p. 46) have proved that the full text is the original one brought from China and the deficient text is its copy done in the early Fujiwara period. The inscription at the back of the full text is in a Chinese hand, fine and strong, without a Japanese ductus. Takada has compared Sanskrit mantras in both the copies and their comparison leads to the conclusion that the full text is the original one.

The portrait of Śubhākara at the end bears the Sanskrit inscription *Ācārya-śrī-śaubhasya suratah* [illegible] near the incensoir at one end of the mattress on which the teacher is squatting and *dedharmo'yam ārya-śubhakara-siṅhasya* (TZ 2.187 pl. 74) at the other end of the mattress. It is a realistic portrait. In the first inscription the word *suratah* has puzzled Japanese scholars. So far no explanation has been offered, nor has any translation been attempted. This word seems to be due to a Central Asian monk who used the Arabic *surat* 'portrait' in the Sanskrit inscription. Several Central Asian monks from Samarkand worked in China during the very period when Śubhākara was there. Amoghavajra was from the neighbourhood of Samarkand (Chou 1945:285 n. 2, p. 321). Fa-tsang, a great master of the Avataṁsaka, was also from Samarkand. A monk from Central Asia supported the prayer of Amoghavajra for clear weather (Chou 325). In AD 754 the Kuchean monk Li-yen was sent to help Amoghavajra in the translation of the Tattva-saṅgraha. Li-yen composed its text in proper Chinese (Chou 294 n. 47). Hui-lin, the monk from Kashgar, was a disciple of Amoghavajra. In the memorial dated AD 767, five disciples of Amoghavajra bear the family names of Pi, K'ang, Shih, and Lo. All of them are localities in Central Asia: Pi(-kuo) is Betik, K'ang is Samarkand, Shih(-kuo) is Tashkent, and Lo is T'u-huo-lo or Tukhara (Chou 330). They started as



Inscribed portrait of Śubhākara-siṁha at the end of the Gobu-shingan, an illustrated pantheon of the STTS preserved at the Onjōji monastery since AD 855.

attendants in temples and after a long time they were initiated. They played a significant role because of their knowledge of both Sanskrit and Chinese. Central Asia was also famous for its paintings. The Chinese work *T'u-hua chien-wên chih* says that Emperor Hsüan-tsung sent Chü to Khotan to copy the image of Vaiśravaṇa, which was painted by Chü on the wall of a Chinese temple in AD 725. Though the veracity of this legend is disputed, yet it points out to a prevailing situation that Central Asian images and murals provided prototypes for Chinese monasteries. The Central Asian monks were in the envious position of being the mediators in the transmission of Sanskrit culture to the Chinese, being on the confluence of both the Kulturkreis, and equally conversant with the two languages Sanskrit and Chinese, and themselves devout inheritors of a glorious Buddhist culture which had flourished among them for centuries and which they had enriched with ideal images of intense beauty. They could provide the technical know-how and linguistic proficiency, enriched by a legacy of faith in Vajrayāna to help the Chinese Buddhists to introduce the new esoteric way. Moreover, the Buddhist sanctuaries of Central Asia were being threatened by the gathering storm of Islam: the Nav Bahār at Balkh was already a centre of national resistance in AD 663–64 when it was attacked by Mu'āwiya. No wonder, that the Central Asian monks found a haven of peace in the flourishing Buddhist monasteries of T'ang China and they flocked to them in numbers to continue their rich Buddhist heritage. A parallel is provided by a similar situation in later centuries when Nālandā, Odantapurī, Vikramaśilā, and other great Buddhist centres of India were being reduced to ruins, Indian teachers took refuge in Nepal and Tibet to keep the wisdom and learning of Buddhism alive.

Śubhākara (637–735) whose sojourn in China from 716 to 735 coincides with this turbulent period for Central Asian Buddhism, must have found gifted monk-artists from there to draw in polychrome all the six maṇḍalas of the Tattva-saṅgraha, and that is why we have the term *surataḥ* for 'picture' in the colophon. Furthermore, the Central Asian monks spoke Sanskrit, were fluent in the Indian exegetical methodology and conversant with the life-styles of India, and they must have provided Śubhākara with an intimacy, homely cosiness, and an academic companionship, that he must have shared with them his literary life in such measure that he could think of them alone for the delineation of the maṇḍala pantheon. Moreover, to the Chinese artists it was a *terra incognita* till then. The actual drawing of the Gobushingan *can* be attributed to a Central Asian artist working in Chinese style.

The word *surat* occurs in the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin 21.122 in the following context:

Sāmpun mojar sira dadi humĕnĕṅ, pĕrīkaṅ luh drava makabarabas/
niśśabda ṅ vre taya vĕnaṅ anaṅis, saṅke göṅ niṅ lara kadi ta surat//

"After he spoke thus, he remained silent, wiping his fast-streaming tears. The monkeys were also silent, not even able to weep. Due to their sorrow, they were silent like images."

The editor Soewito Santoso adds a note: "Juynboll renders the word *surat* with *teekening* (picture), but remarks that he does not understand the pharase *kadi ta surat* clearly. He says *surat* can mean manuscript, image, picture, etc. I render this word with image in the sense of statue, which implies that the monkeys do not utter a sound or move a muscle either.."

6. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHINESE AND UIGUR INVOCATION TO SARASVATĪ

Altun yaruq or the Uigur–Turkish version of the Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra contains the transliteration of a Sanskrit invocation to Sarasvatī which is interesting for the restoration of Classical texts as well as for the evolution of Sarasvatī worship in Buddhism. Without an intelligible and determinative text it becomes difficult to assess the internal textual evidence for cult development. Moreover, as the Uigur transliteration was done from I-tsing's Chinese version in the tenth century, it is a valuable evidence of Chinese pronunciation in certain parts of the country during the period.

The Suvarṇaprabhāsa is known in its original Sanskrit text, but from very late manuscripts. In these late mss the text has been added to and corrupt readings abound. Prof. Johannes Nobel has edited the text from seven mss. Most of them are 19th century copies. Only ms B (Cambridge Add. 875) is dated NS 914 = AD 1794. The palmleaf ms G (Cambridge Add. 2831) is fragmentary and its colophon does not survive. Its preserves the oldest readings, e.g. sayetham in the very commencement of the dhāraṇī. Its facsimile edition would be a help in detailed textual studies of the sūtra.

The Suvarṇaprabhāsa was translated into Chinese three times:

AD 414–21	Dharmakṣema	(K 1465, Nj 127, T 663)
AD 597	Pao-kuei	(K 128, Nj 130, T 664)
AD 703	I-tsing	(K 127, Nj 126, T 665)

Pao-kuei has taken over and put together the three translations of Dharmakṣema, Paramārtha (d. 569), and Jñānagupta (d. 600) + Yaśogupta (d. 605) in 12 chapters. The translations of Paramārtha and Jñānagupta/Yaśogupta survive partly in Pao-kuei's version only.

I	Dh.	VII	Dh.
II	Dh. and Jñ.	VIII	Dh.
III	P.	IX	P.
IV	Dh.	X	Dh.
V	P.	XI	Jñ.
VI	P.	XII	Dh. and Jñ.

The Suvarṇaprabhāsa was rendered into Tibetan thrice:

Tib. I (8th cent.) translated by Su-dgu-śo-ka and Jñānakumāra during the reign of King Mes Ag-tshoms (AD 705–55)

Tib. II (9th cent.) translated by Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye-śes-sde under King

Ral-pa-can

Tib. III (9th cent.) translated from the Chinese version of I-tsing by Ḥgos Chos-grub during the reign of King Ral-pa-can (AD 817–36) (Nobel 1958: xxvii).

These versions show divergences amongst themselves and substantial additions, for instance the chapter on trikāya in I-tsing. Dhāraṇīs are not found in all the versions. The oldest Sanskrit palmleaf ms G corresponds to Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation of the fifth century, in contradistinction to other Sanskrit manuscripts which in differing from G correspond to Tib. I; this can be seen succinctly in the conspectus of chapters in I-tsing, Tib. II, Pao-kuei, Sanskrit ABCDEF, Sanskrit G, Tib. I, and Dharmakṣema in Nobel (1937:li).

The Sanskrit manuscripts are much later than the Chinese, Tibetan, and Uigur translations, which present earlier and better Sanskrit readings in the dhāraṇīs in a number of cases. The Uigur transliteration is important for the phonology of Chinese, as it preserves the ancient pronunciation of Chinese at the time of its translation by Sïngqu Säli of Bišbalïq in the tenth century.

We have compared and discussed the Sanskrit, Chinese, Tib. III and Uigur versions of the dhāraṇī of Sarasvatī. The Sanskrit text has been corrected with the help of versions in the other three languages. As compared to the text of Nobel (1937) our newly reconstituted readings are more meaningful and better in all respects.

The invocation to Sarasvatī occurs in the following printed texts:

Sanskrit text

Nobel 1937: 108–09.

Chinese text of I-tsing

Taishō 665 (vol. 16.436).

K 12, Nj 126, T 665.

Nobel 1937: 270–71 (Chinese text with Sanskrit equivalences).

Nobel 1958: 243 (Romanisation of the Chinese transliteration).

Tibetan III: translation of I-tsing's version

Nobel 1944: 84–85.

Nobel 1958: 211–12 (with the full text of P B and variants from N Lh).

Uigur

Survaṇaprabhāsa: Sutra Zolotovo Bleska, ed. V.V. Radlof and S.E. Malov, Bibliotheca Buddhica XVII:482–83.

Below is the new text followed by that of Nobel in the second line:

tadyathā/ mure cire/ avaje avajavati/ hiṅgule-miṅgule miṅgulavati/
syād yathedam[26]/ mure[27]/ cire[28]/ abaje[29]/ abajabati[30]/ hiṅgule[31]/ miṅgule[32]/ piṅgalabati[33]/

maṅguṣe/ Mārīci/ samati visamatiO agri-magri/ taraci taracavati/
maṅguṣe[34]/ marīci[35]/ samati[36]/ daśamati[37]/ agrīmagrī[38]/ tara/ citara/ cabati[1]/

ciciri/ siri miri/ Mārīci/ prāṇapriye/ lokajyeṣṭhe/ lokaśreṣṭhe/ lokapriye
ciciri/ śiri miri/ marīci/ praṇaye[2]/ lokajyeṣṭhe[3]/ lokaśreṣṭhe[4]/ lokapriye[5]/

siddhavrate bhīmamukhi (Uig. bimbamukhi) śuci-cari apratihate apratihatabuddhi
siddhiprite[6]/ bhīmamukhi[7] śuci khari[8]/ apratihate/ apratihatabuddhi[9]/

namuci-namuci mahādevi pratigṛhṇa namaskāram amukasya/ mama buddhi
namuci[10] namuci[11] mahādebi[12] pratigṛhṇa[13] namaskāraṃ[14]/

darśihi/ sarva-sattvānāṁ buddhir apratihatā bhavatu/ śivaṁ me viśudhyatu
mama[15] buddhir apratihatā[16] bhavatu[17] vidyā me sidhyatu[18]

śāstra-śloka-mantrapiṭaka-kāvyādiṣu/
śāstraśloka- tantrapiṭakakāvyadiṣu[19]/

tadyathā/ mahāprabhāve hili-mili hili-mili/ vicaratu me buddhir
tadyathā/ mahāprabhāve[20] hili hili/ mili mili[21]/ vicaratu mama[22]

amuka-buddhi-śuddhiḥ bhagavatyāṁ devyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ/ karaṭe keyūre
bhagavatyā[23] devyāḥ[24] Sarasvatyā[25] anubhāvena[26] karaṭe[27] keyūre/

keyūramati hili-mili hili-mili/ āvāhayāmi mahādevi Buddhasatyena
keyūrabati/ hili mili/ hili mili[28]/ hili hili/[29] āvāhayāmi mahādevīm[30] buddhasatyena

dharmasatyena saṅghasatyena Indrasatyena Varuṇasatyena/ ye loke
dharmasatyena[31] saṃghasatyena Indra-satyena Varuṇa-satyena[32] ye loke

satyavādinaḥ teṣāṁ satyena satyavacanena āvāhayāmi/ mahādevi
satyavādinaḥ santi[33] teṣaṃsatyavādināṃ satyavacanena āvāhayāmi mahādevīm[34]/ tadyathā[35]/

hili-mili hili-mili/ vicaratu amukabuddhiḥ/ namo bhagavati mahādevi
hili hili[36] hili mili hili mili[37]/ vicaratu mama[38]/ namo bhagavatyai mahādevyai[39]

Sarasvati/ sidhyantu mantrapadā me/ svāhā/
Sarasvatyai[40] sidhyantu[41] mantrapadā me[42]/ svāhā//

The dhāraṇī is divided into two parts. Each part begins with tadyathā. The first part pertains to Mārīcī, who seems to be the precursor of Sarasvatī. The second part invokes Sarasvatī and prays for the fulfilment of the wishes of the officiant. While Mārīcī is light, Sarasvatī is learning.

The bipartite character of the dhāraṇī is clearer in the more ancient tradition of I-tsing where we find *śivaṁ me viśudhyatu* at the end of the first part dedicated to Mārīcī, in place of *vidyā me sidhyatu* in the Sanskrit mss which is pertinent to Sarasvatī, but not to Mārīcī.

In Nobel's text most of the epithets of the goddesses are in the vocative while some are in an accusative construction. In the ancient tradition of I-tsing all the epithets are in the vocative and thus are syntactically more coherent.

Mārīcī 'shining' is a Buddhist goddess of the aurora, an emanation from Vairocana. Her chariot is drawn by seven sūkaras, like the seven horses of the chariot of the Sun (Liebert 1976:173–74). She is a very important goddess with 16 sādhanas dedicated to her in the Sādhanamālā (§132–47) and with an independent maṇḍala in the Niṣpannayogāvalī (§17) where she is sovereign in the centre of the maṇḍala (Mallmann 1975: 259f). Mārīcī is a matronymic from marīci 'particles or rays of light of the sun or the moon' (MW 790a). Thus Mārīcī the goddess is Vision thrilled with Light. The mysterious maze of the rent and parcelled syllables *mure cire* in the dhāraṇī is to open the mind to its encounter with the eternal rays of illumination. The holy name of the goddess deepens in the heap of its shreds to throb afresh with the unfathomed rhythm of eternity. They are beads of an atomised word that breaks in ecstasy, wave-tossed in the limitless mind wherein dances the tumultuous dream of Sarasvatī the goddess.

The final prayer to Mārīcī is to endow the officiant with the Mantra-piṭaka. The close nexus between Mārīcī 'the Goddess of Light' and the Mantra-piṭaka deserves special notice, as the evolution of the tradition of Vetulla/Vaipulya-Mantrayana-Vajrayāna was an emanation of the Light of the Enlightenment of Lord Buddha.

1. tadyathā

Nob. syād yathedam, G sa(saṁ?)yethaṁ. G is the oldest manuscript and on palmleaf. It represents the oldest Sanskrit version whose chapter numbers differ from all the other mss as is evident from the conspectus of chapters in Sanskrit and its various translations in Chinese and Tibetan (Nobel 1937:li). The chapters of ms G agree with the oldest Chinese version of Dharmakṣema done in AD 414–21. The reading sayethaṁ in G is not syād yathedaṁ, but the old form sayathedaṁ which corresponds to Pali seyyathīdam. The commonest variant is sadyathīdam, once saṁyathīdam in Mahāvastu (Edgerton

1953:582b).

Chinese 怛 姪 也 tan-chih-t'a = Skt. ta-dya-thā.

Tib. III tadya-thā (Lh. sādya-the-dam: influenced by another version).

Uigur tadyata.

2. mure cire

Nob. mure/cire/ BD sure vire, G sure cire, AE mure vire. śūre vīre is a later emendation to give some meaning to the magical words: śūre 'oh powerful goddess', vīre 'oh heroic one' corresponding to the male vīra in later Vajrayāna.

Mure cire has the consonants m r c r which are a thaumaturgical transformation of m r c of *Mārīcī* with different vowels. The vowels a i occur in Mārīcī. These are replaced by succeeding vowels u e: thus *Mā rī* becomes *mu re*, while cī of Mārīcī is retained and re is added to it (cire) to rhyme with mure. ciciri śiri miri in subsequence represents the same phenomenon.

Chinese 莫 唎 只 唎 mu-ri chih-ri=Skt. mure cire (re is confirmed by later lokas*re*ṣṭhe).

Tib. III mu-ri tsire, PB mori tsire.

Uigur muri ciri.

3. avaje avajavati

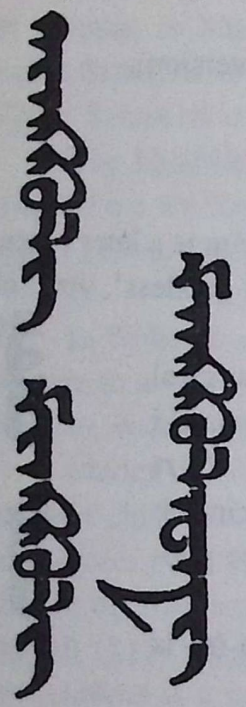
Nob. abaje/abajabati/, ABDE araje arajavati, G avaje (variant for the second word has not been cited by Nobel, it has to be seen in the ms). The oldest ms G has the correct reading avaje. Avaje means 'the low (ava) born (jā, fem.)'. We can compare this epithet with Mātaṅgī as a name of Durgā, a name of the Ten Mahāvidyās or ten personifications of Śakti (MW). Mātaṅgī is a caṇḍāla woman, a woman of the lowest rank. In later times this lectio difficilior was naturally simplified to araje arajavati 'the immaculate one'.

Chinese 阿 伐 帝 阿 伐 吒 伐 底 a-fa-ti/ a-fa-ch'a-fa-ti/ clearly points to avaje avajavati.

Tibetan a-ba-dze/a-ba-dza-ba-ti/. PB a-bad-dhe/a-bad-dhe/show an entirely new reading abaddhe 'oh You the unfettered one, the free.'

Uigur inci ancuvati (the original xylograph has to be consulted as inci can be avaci).

4. hiṅgule[a]-miṅgule[b] miṅgulavati[c]



hiṅgule means 'Oh goddess with the auspicious vermilion mark on the forehead.' The following two words are jingling assonances for esoteric effect.

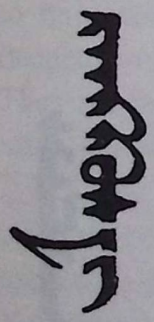
Nob. hiṅgule/miṅgule/piṅgalavati/ [a] D Tib. I (Derge) higule [b] ABEG piṅgale, [c] Tib. I biṅ(bi)-ga-. The variants suggest the reading piṅgale piṅgalavati 'Oh goddess with red-brown eyes'. Piṅgalākṣa is a name of Śiva (MW). The Chinese transcription clearly supports our reading.

Chinese 幣 遇 嗽 名 具 嗽 名 具 羅 伐 底 hsing-yü-ri/ming-chü-ri/ming-chü-lo-fa-ti/=Skt. hiṅ-gu-le/miṅ-gu-le/miṅ-gu-la-va-ti.

Tib. III hiṅ-gu-le/miṅ-gu-le/miṅ-gu-la-ba-ti/. PB have miṅ-gu-la-bad-dhe (B omits miṅ-gu-la) for the third word. N Lh piṅ-ga-la-, Tib. I(Derge) mi-gu-le for the second word.

Uigur hingguli mingguli manggulavati.

5. maṅguṣe



Nob. maṅguṣe, ABDE mukhe, G mutrāṣe. maṅguṣe can refer to Prakrit maṅgusa, Hindi māgūs, Tamil mūṅkā, etc. (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:4014) which means a mongoose. It is an attribute of Kubera, the god of wealth. Kubera holds a mongoose in his right hand. The money-pouch was made of a mongoose and the Hindi word for a purse is nevlī (nevlā 'mongoose').

Chinese 恙 具 師 yang-chü-shih = Skt. aṅ-gu-śe.

Tib. III aṅ-gu-śe, PB oṁ-gu-śe, Lh. maṅ–.

Uigur ranggusti.

6. mārīci (Uigur omits it here, as it occurs later on in a surer context. It is redundant here).

Nob. marīci, Tib. I ma-ri-tsi.

Chinese 末 唎 只 mo-ri-chih = Mārīci (voc.).

Tib. III ma-rī-tsi, PB ma-ri-tsi, N mā (Lh ma)-ri-tsyai (dative form is uncalled for here).

Uigur omits it.

7. Samati visamati 'Oh goddess with a beautiful well-shaped body in all (vi) the harmony of proportions (samatā). Samatī (nom. sg.) is an irregular feminine form from samatā,

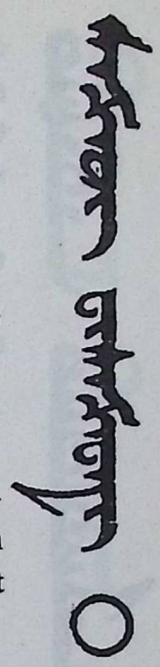
referring to the evenly proportioned figure. It is parallel to suṣamā 'exquisite beauty'. The repetitive visamati emphasises the gracefulness of the goddess, where the prefix vi is intensificative.

Nob. samati/daśamati, ABDE sumati diśa-, G svamati disa-. The reading diśa (sa)mati can refer to adhisamati with the same meaning as visamati. The Chinese and its Uigur version clearly indicate visamati and as the oldest texts they have been given precedence over other readings.

Chinese 三 末 底 毗 三 末 底 san-mo-ti/p'i-san-mo-ti = Skt. sam-ma-ti/vi-sam-ma-ti.

Tib. III saṁ-ma-ti/bi-śa-ma-ti, PB. sa-mad-tre/bi-sam-mad-te, N saṁ-ma-ni/da-śa-, Lh. sva-ma-ni/da-śa-.

Uigur samati visamavati. The Uigur reading visamavati clearly confirms the interpretation of visamati indicated above. Vati in visamavati is an ancient gloss, when the language of dhāraṇīs was well understood. *Note* that Uigur marks a stop here.



8. agri-magri 'Oh foremost one' (voc.). This is the reading in the oldest versions of Tib. I, Chinese and its Uigur translation. Agri-magri can be translated as 'prime among the foremost'. Compare agrī with bodhyagrī mudrā.

Nob. agrīmagrī (the i should be short as it is a voc.) BE aśrīmaśrī, D aśrī (only), G atrīmatrī, Tib. I a-gri ma-gri.

Chinese 惡 近 唎 莫 近 唎 o-chin-ri/mo-chin-ri=Skt. agri-magri.

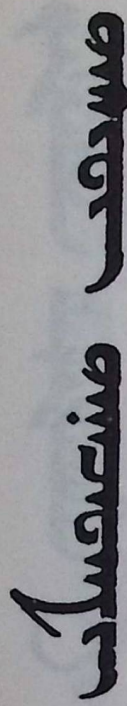
Tib. III a-ghri-ta/ma-ghri-ta, P a-gri-ma-gri, B a-grim-gri, N a-gra-ti/ma-gri-ta (the intrusion of ta is inexplicable).

Uigur agri magri.

9. taraci taracavati (the oldest ms G has this correct reading, which has unfortunately been ignored by Nobel). Taraci is the voc. of tarasī (the -ci instead of-si is due to Tamil influence. For the role of Tamil in the formation of dhāraṇīs see the author's paper 1979:7). Taras 'strength, energy, efficacy', tarasvatī (f. pl.) 'the swift ones' = rivers (Nighaṇṭu 1.13). In taracavatī too c stands for s (as before). Tarasvatī refers to the flowing (saras) eloquence of Sarasvatī.

Nob. tara/citara/cabati, A talavitale-cabuḍi, BDE talabuḍi, G taraci taracavati.

Chinese 怛 囉 只 怛 囉 者 伐 底 tan-ro-chih/tan-ro-

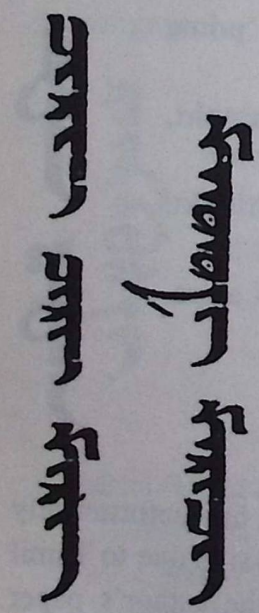


chê-fa-ti=Skt. taraci/taracavati. The division of the words in Chinese transcription in Nob. p. 270 follows the Taisho edition 17.436a and is wrong. The Chinese version in Tibetan transcription (Nob. 1958:243) is correct except that it tags taraci to the previous word magri.

Tib. III ta-ra-tsi/ta-ra-tsa-ba-ti, PB ra-tsi/da-ra-tsa-bad-te, Lh ta-tsa-tsi/ ta-ra-tsa-pa-ti, N D -pa-ti.

Uigur taqivi tanacavanti (for the first word it is imperative to consult the original xylograph).

10. ciciri śiri miri Mārīci



The consonants of *Mārīcī* (m r c) are mangled into ciri miri for esoteric effect. śiri=ciri reflects Tamil phonology c=ś, Śani is written and pronounced Cani in Tamil.

Nob. ciciri/śiri miri/marīci, ABDE viciri (A rī) mariṇi (A ni), G ciciri/siri miri sirī/vi.

Chinese 質質哩室里蜜里末難地曇末唎只 chih-chih-ri/shi-li mi li/mo-nan-ti/ t'an mo-ri-chih/=Skt. ciciri/śiri miri/ mānandada? mārīci. The Chinese adds mānandada?, compare mānada 'giving or showing honour, honourable', and māninī 'proud of her charm'.

Tib. III tsi-ri tsi-ri/śi-ri mi-ri/ma-nan-dhi/da-ma-khi/ma-rī-tsi, PB tsi-tsi-ri/śi-ri mi-ri/ma-na-na-dhi/da-ma-khi/ma-ri-tsi/, N mā (Lh ma)-ri-tsyai. The Tibetan insertion ma-khi is not found in Chinese transcription. Can manandhi/dama-khi be ānandita-mukhī 'of joyous mien'?

Uigur ciri ciri miri mandaddi marici. The Uigur ciri² replaces ciciri śiri of Skt. and Chinese texts, and ciri² śiri of Tibetan.

11. prāṇapriye

Nob. praṇaye, ABDE pāṇaye, G vi prāṇaye, Tib. I omits.

Chinese 八 囉 拏 畢 唎 奇 pa-ro-na-pi-ri-i = Skt. prāṇa-priye.

Tib. III prā-ṇa-bī-rye, D pra-ṇā-bīrye, PB pa-rya-na-bi-rye, N pra-ṇā-, Lh -na-pi-ye.

Uigur pay na payravi (the original xylograph should be re-read).

12. lokajyeṣṭhe

Nob. A lokahyeṣṭake, BD lokajyeṣṭhake, E lokahyeṣṭhake, G -jaiṣṭe. All mss, except the oldest ms G, have the pleonastic suffix -ka. The Chinese and derivative Tib.III and Uigur do not have the suffix –ka.

Chinese 盧 迦 逝 瑟 跓 lu-chia-shih-sê-chi = Skt. lokajyeṣṭhe?

Tib. III lo-ka-dzye-ṣṭhe, PB lo-ka-tse-śtse.

Uigur loka-cisti.

13. lokaśreṣṭhe (var. lokasṛṣṭe, lokaśīle)

Nob. ABDE omit, G -sriṣṭe.

Chinese 盧 迦 失 囉 瑟 耻 lu-chia-shih-ri-sê-ch'ih=Skt. lokaśreṣṭhe (–ṭhe is doubtful. In the transcription of lokajyeṣṭhe the character is employed).

Tib. III lo-ka-śre-ṣṭhe, PB lo-ka-śi-le, N Lh -śe-, D lo-ka-śeṣṭho.

Uigur loka siristi.

14. lokapriye

Nob. ABDE only priya.

Chinese 盧 迦 畢 唎 裔 lu-chia-pi-ri-i=Skt. lokapriye.

Tib. III lo-ka-pri-ye, P lo-ka-bi-re-ra, B lo-ka-bi-re, N lo-kā-bī-re, Lh lo-ka-pri-ya, D lo-kā-bī-re. NBD indicate the reading lokavīre.

Uigur loka prayi.

15. siddhavrate (so in G, Tib. III, Uigur)

Nob. siddhiprite, BDE siddhivrate, Tib.II siddhiprāpte.

Chinese 悉 馱 跋 唎 帝 hsi-to-po-ri-ti=Skt. si-dha-ba-ri-te. Chinese transcribes vṛte where vṛ has been read as vri. The usual North Indian pronunciation of ṛ is ri.

Tib. III sid-dha-bha-ra-te, PBD sid-dha-ba-ra-te, Lh sid-dha-pra-te.

Uigur sidta varti.

16. bhīmamukhi (Uigur bimbamukhi)

Nob. A sīmamukhi, Tib. bi-ma-.

Chinese 毗 麼 目 企 p'i-mo-mu-ch'i=Skt. bi-ma-mu-khi.

Tib. III bhī-ma-mu-khi (so D), PB bi-ma-mu-khi.

Uigur bimba muki. It is a unique reading which differs from the entire tradition and also from the Chinese original whence the Uigur was translated. The Uigur translator could not tolerate bhīmamukhi 'of fierce appearance' for goddess Mārīcī and hence substituted it by bimbamukhi, referring to her charming bimba-like red lips. The beauty of the lips of women is often compared to bimba fruit (Momordica monadelpha) in Sanskrit kāvyas. However, Mārīcī is of ferocious appearance in some of her epiphanies.

17. śuci-cari

Nob. śuci khari (so in Tib.I), A śavirī, B śacivari, D śacicari, G suvacarī. Tib. I suggests śucikari, G śubhacari.

Chinese 輸 只 折 唎 shu-chih-chê-ri=Skt. śu-ci-ca-ri.

Tib. III śu-tsi-tsa-ri (so D), PB śu-tse-tsa-re.

Uigur saci suci cari. It differs from the Chinese version and it indicates that the Uigur translator had a complementary source which could have been even a Sanskrit ms. The Uigur variant can be interpreted as śaci-śuci-carī 'oh thou of pure and pristine conduct.' śaci-śuci is a jingling compound, which can be compared to Hindi saccā-succā.

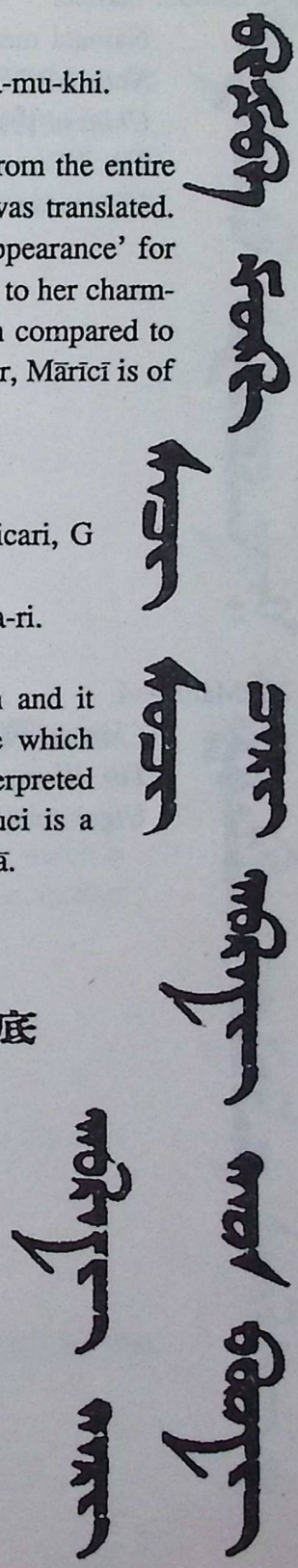
18. apratihate apratihatabuddhi

Nob. G -suddhiḥ for buddhi.

Chinese 阿 鉢 唎[3] 底 喝 帝 阿 鉢 唎 底 喝 哆 勃 地 a-po-ri-ti-ho-ti a-po-ri-ti-ho-ch'ê-p'o-ti.

Tib. III Lh -ha-he for -hate.

Uigur aprati hari aprati hata buddi.



19. namuci namuci

Namuci means nāgī or a female nāga.
Nob. ABDE namici muci, G tamuci (omits the second namuci).
Chinese 南 母 只 南 母 只 nan-mu-chih nan-mu-chih.
Tib. III na-mu-tsi mahā-na-mu-tsi/ (so D), PB na-ma-śtsi.
Uigur namuci namuci:

20. Mahādevi

Chinese 莫 訶 提 鼻 mo-ho-t'i-pi.
Tib. III ma-hā-de-bye (so D), Lh -de-byī, B ma-hā/de-be.
Uigur mha divi.

21. pratigṛhṇa

Nob. D gṛhna.

Chinese 鉢 唎 底 近 唎 昏 拏 po-ra-ti-chin-ri-hun-na.

Tib. III pra-ti-gri-hā-na, PB pra-te/gi-na gri-ni, N -ha, Lh -grī-hā.

Uigur karti krina tram = Skt. pratigṛhṇa tvam. Note that Uigur adds tvam which is not found in any other version. It would be interesting to consult the original Uigur xylograph.

22. namaskāram

Nob. D -ra.

Chinese 南 摩 塞 迦 囉 nan-mo-sia-chia-ro=Skt. namas-kāra (without the acc. ending -m).

Tib. III na-ma-ska-ra, N -ri, Lh na-ma-ska-rā-na.

Uigur namas karana. Here Uigur has the final nasal ending which is absent in Chinese. It shows that the Uigur translator had access to another source.

23. amukasya 'of so and so'

Nob. omits.

Chinese 我 某 甲 wo-mou-chia=Skt. amuka.

Tib. III bdag-gi miṅ brjod 'one should speak one's name here'.

Uigur mam a sukasiya = Skt. mama amukasya.

24. mama buddhi darśihi

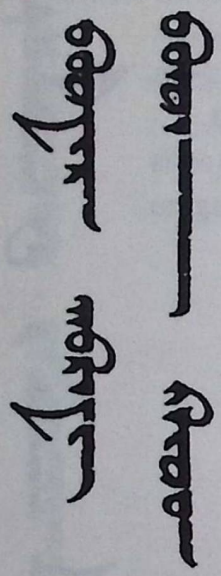
Nob. mama (the other two words are missing).

Chinese 勃 地 達 唎 奢 唎 四 p'o-ti/ta-ri-shê-hsi=Skt. buddhi driśahi.

Tib. III ma-ma bud-dhi/dra-śi-hi (PB).

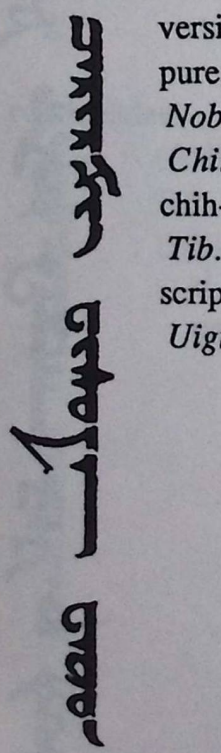
Uigur omits this sentence.

25. sarvasattvānāṁ buddhir apratihatā bhavatu (ABDEG)



Nob. omits sarva-, G -hato, A bhavantu, G bhavati.
Chinese 勃 地 阿 鉢 喇 底 喝 哆 婆 跋 覩 p'o-ti/a-po-ra-ti-ho-ch'ê/p'o-po-tu/= Skt. buddhi[r] apratihatā bhavatu.
Tib. III bud-dhi/apra-ti-ha-ta/bha-ba-tu/ (PB have bha-tu for the third word).
Uigur buddir aprati bonta kavatu.

26. śivam me viśudhyatu (this original reading can be gleaned from the earliest Chinese version and its derivatives in Tibetan and Uigur). vi/śudh 'to become perfectly pure, esp. in ritual sense' (MW).



Nob. vidyā me sidhyatu (A G siddhyantu). This is a later emendation.
Chinese 市 婆 謎 毗 輸 姪 覩 shih p'o-mi/p'i-shu-chih-tu/=Skt. śivaṁ me viśudhyatu.
Tib. III si-bha-me/bi-śud-dha-tsi-to (so D), PB omit -dha-. The Tibetan transcription = Skt. śivam me viśuddhacitto.
Uigur cerirmi visuda yatu.

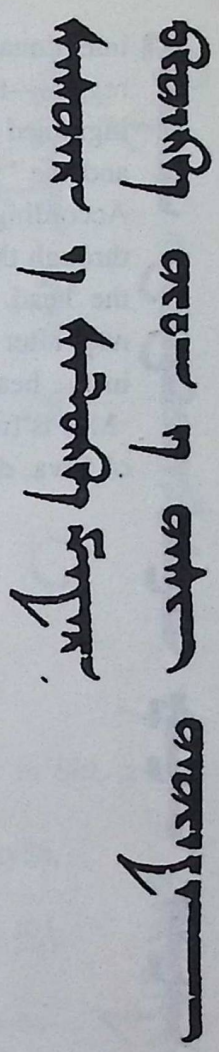
27. śāstra-śloka-mantrapiṭaka-kāvyādiṣu. Mantrapiṭaka instead of Tantrapiṭaka is adopted as the earliest possible reading. śloka means hymnal literature or stotras.

Nob. -tantrapiṭaka-, ABDE śāstra-loka-tantra-, G śāstra-loke/ tatrapiṭakakādyādiṣu

Chinese 舍悉怛囉輸路迦曼 怛囉畢得迦迦婢耶 地數
shê-hsi-tan-ro shu-lu-chia/man-tan-ro/pi-tê-chia chia-pei-yeh-ti-shu.

Tib. III śa-śtha-ślo-ka/man-tra/bi-dyā-ka ka-pi-ya-di-śo, ND -śle-ka/ma-na-tra, Lh bi-dhi-ka-... dhi-śo, PB -śo-lo-ka/man-tra-bi-dhi-ka ka-pi (P bi)-ya-dhi-śo.

Uigur šastar-a šaloka mantar pitaka tiv a dasi.



28. tadyathā

Chinese 怛 姪 他 tan-chih-t'a.

Uigur tatyata.

29. mahāprabhāve hili-mili hili-mili

Nob. hili-hili mili-mili, ABDE only one mili.

Chinese 莫訶鉢喇婆 鼻四里蜜里四里蜜里
mo-ho-po-ra-p'o-pi/ hsi-li mi-li/hsi-li mi-li/.

Tib. III mahā-pra-bha-be/hi-li mi-li/ hi-li-mi-li/, Lh -bha-pe hi-li mi-li (the second repetition is omitted), N hi-ma-hi for the second hi-li mi-li.

Uigur mha prabavi hili mili hili mili.

With hili mili compare the root √hil 'to sport amorously, dally, wanton, express amorous inclination' Dhātupāṭha 28.69. The lexicons give the word hilihila 'sporting, dallying' (MW). It is a cognate of √kel (Dhātupāṭha 15.30) which gives the derivative keli 'play, amorous sport, pastime, amusement', and also a correlate of √khel 'to play'. The phrase hili mili is a sandhā bhāṣā. It has to be understood in the general background of the world-view of the adherents of Mantrayana. The sandhyā-bhāṣā is 'the language

intentionally vague, hidden and enigmatic as the twilight', for it points—without regrets—to the symbolism of the dusk or eventide (*sandhyā*) which is joyfully ingrained in the vocabulary of the vacuity where the lotus with 64 petals is located, and the "vāruṇī or wine stands for the sāṁvṛtika bodhicitta or the semen virile. According to a particular belief of the yogins, when the śakti marches upwards through the nāḍīs, the śukra or the sāṁvṛtika bodhicitta also proceeds upwards to the head. The aim of the yogin is to see that it proceeds quietly through the middle nāḍī after leaving the nāḍīs on either side and gets accumulated in the vajramaṇi in the head and loses its restless character" (Sastri 1977:688).

Mili is from √mil 'to meet, join, fall in, to unite'. Compare Milimilin as the name of Śiva, derived from the mantra containing the word milimili (MW).

30. vicaratu me buddhir amuka-buddhi-śuddhiḥ (from Chinese which is the oldest version).

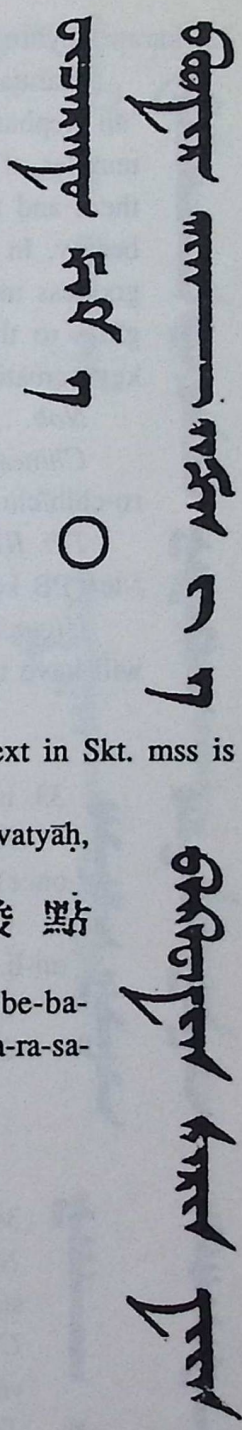
Nob. vicaratu nama (only), ABDE vica(BDE va)tu mama vicaratu me māyā, G as in Nobel's text. The variants are not clear in Nobel's critical apparatus.

Chinese 毗折喇覩謎勃地我某甲勃地輸提 p'i-chê-ra-tu/mi p'o-ti/wo-mou-chia-p'o-ti-shu-t'i/.

Tib. III bi-tsa-ro/bi-tsa-to/bi bud-dhi/bdag-gi miṅ brjod/ma-ma bud-dhi bi śud-

dhi/, ND omits the first bi-tsa-ro, PB bi-tsa-to/bi-tsa (B tsi)-to/...

Uigur vicarantu mam a O bottir ajan naman j a.



31. bhagavatyāṁ devyāṁ Sarasvatyāṁ (according to Chinese, the text in Skt. mss is corrupt).

Nob. bhagavatyā devyāḥ Sarasvatyā anubhāvena (BDE bhagavatyāḥ, G devyā, G -śvatyānubhāvena).

Chinese 薄 伽 伐 點 提 毗 焰 薩 羅 酸 點 po-ch'ieh-fa-tien/t'i-p'i-yen/ sa-lo-suan-tien/.

Tib. III bha-ga-ba-tyaṁ/de-be-yaṁ/sa-ra-sva-tyaṁ, Lh...be-ba-yam...sva-ra-sva-tyaṁ, N...sva-ti, PB bha-ga-bad-tyaṁ/be-ba-yaṁ/sva-ra-sa-tya.

Uigur bagavatina sarin tiyan (omits devyāṁ).

32. karaṭe keyūre keyūramati

Karaṭa 'a man of low or degraded profession' is a lexical usage (MW), karaṭā 'an elephant's temple, a cow difficult to be milked' is again a lexical usage. The temples of a rutting elephant are famed in poetry for the fluid that exudes from them and they symbolise the intoxication of rapture, ardent passion of wanton beauty. In the present context karaṭe can refer to the intoxicating charm of the goddess in the prime of her ageless youth. Is yuvati in mss ABDE a marginal gloss to this effect which has crept into the text or a shredded fragment of keyūramati. Keyūre 'wearing a bracelet on the upper arm'.

Nob. .....keyuravati, G karaḍe?, ABDE kadārake yuvati.

Chinese 羯囉滯雞由嚧雞由囉末底 chieh-ro-chih/chi-yu-ri/chi-yu-ro-mo-ti/.

Tib. III ka-ra-te/ke-yu-re/kai-yu-ra-ma-ti/, N -ti/ omits ke-yu-re/..., Lh -de/... /-te/, PB ka-ra-dhe/ke-yu-re/ ke-yu-ra-mad-te, D ka-ra-ti/kai-yu-ra-ma-ti/

Uigur karte vi kirta? mamati (for the precise reading the original xylograph will have to be consulted).

33. hili-mili hili-mili

Nob. hili mili/hili mili/hili hili/, ABDE hili mili hili, G hili mili (only once), *Tib. I* (D) hili hili only.

Chinese 呬四里蜜里呬四里蜜里 hsi-li-mi-li/hsi-li-mi-li.

Tib. III hi-li-mi-li hi-li-mi-li, ND hi mi-li mi-li, PB hi-li-mi-li.

Uigur hili mili hili mili.

34. āvāhayāmi mahādevi (voc.)

Nob. āvāhayāmi mahādevīṁ, BDE -devi. Nobel has the acc. -vīṁ instead of the voc. -vi.

Chinese 阿婆訶耶弭莫訶提鼻 a-p'o-ho-yeh-mi/mo-ho-t'i-pi.

Tib. III a-ba-ha-ya-mi/mahā-de-be/, NPB a-bha(PB ba)-ya-mi mahā-de-le, Lh a-ba-ya-me/...

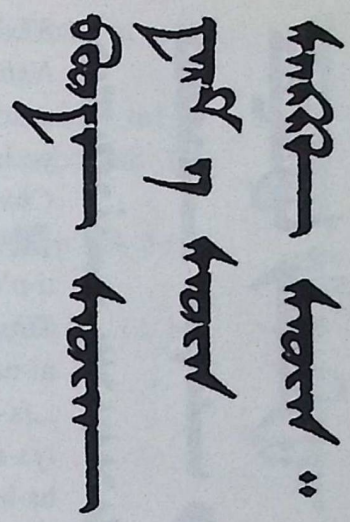
Uigur atahayami makadivi (the original xylograph needs to be re-read).

35. Buddha-satyena dharma-satyena saṅgha-satyena

Chinese 勃 陀 薩 帝 娜 達 摩 薩 帝 娜 僧 伽 薩 帝 娜 p'o-t'o-sa-ti-no/ ta-mo-sa-ti-no/sêng-ch'ieh-sa-ti-no/.

Tib. III PB bud-dha-sa-tve-na/saṁ-gha-sad-te-na/.

Uigur buddha satyen darm a satyen sangga satyen:

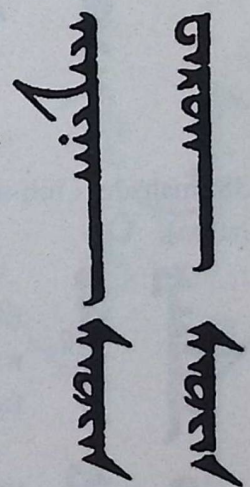


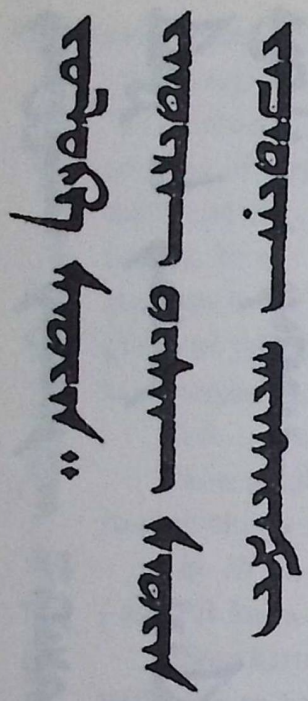
36. Indra-satyena Varuṇa-satyena

Chinese 因 達 囉 薩 帝 娜 跋 嘍 拏 薩 帝 娜 yin-ta-ro-sa-ti-no/po-rou-na-sa-ti-no. It reflects the Prakrit pronunciation of satyena as sattena.

Tib. III PB in-dra-sad-te-na/ba-ru-ṇa-sad-te-na/.

Uigur indinan satina varuna satina.

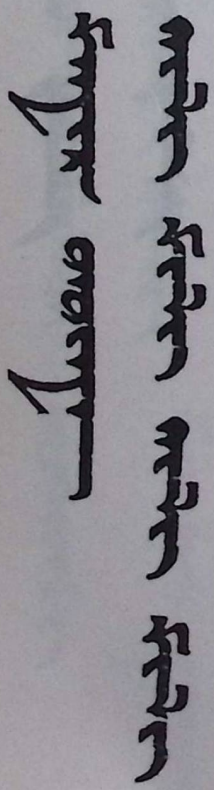




37. Ye loke satyavādinaḥ teṣāṁ satyena satyavacanena āvāhayāmi *Nob.* ye loke satyavādinaḥ santi teṣāṁ satyavādināṁ satyavacanena..., ABDE... santi (D sāṁti) tena teṣāṁ satyavacanena..., G ye loke satyavādīti teṣāṁ satyavādināṁ satyena āvāhayāmi// *Chinese* 裔盧雞隆底婆 地娜羝 鈔薩帝娜 薩底伐者泥娜阿婆 訶耶弭 i lu-chi/sa-ti-p'o-ti-no/ti-shan sa-ti-no/sa-ti-fa-chê-ni-no/a-p'o-ho-yeh-mi/. *Tib. III* ye lo-ke/satya-sa-tye-na/te-śāṁ sa-tye-na/sad-dhe-bād-tsa-ni-na/a-ba-ha-ya-mi/, N...kye/sa-tye-sa.../de.../sad-dhe-bā-di-tsi-.../a-bha-ha-ma-mi, Lh...te-śa-ma/.../satti-bad-tsa-na-ni, PB.../sa-tya-sad-te-na/te-śa-ma sad-te-na/sad-te-bad (B pad)-tsa-na-ni/a-ba-ha-ya-mi/, D ye lo-ke/sa-tye sa-tye-na/de-śaṁ sa-tye-na/sad-dhe-bā-di-tsa-ni-na/a-bha-ha-ma-mi/.

Uigur yu loke satina vādira tisan satina yacatina ayahayami (for va in yacatina and in the next word, the xylograph has to be re-read).

38. mahādevi hili-mili hili-mili (according to the Chinese version, and its Tib. III translation).



Nob. mahādevīṁ/tadyathā/hili hili/hili mili hili mili/, ABDE -devi (A -devīṁ, B -devī)/all mss omit tadyathā/hili hili/, hili-hili mili, G mahādevīṁ/ tadyanthā/hili[2] sili[2] (the reading of G needs to be checked from the original ms).

Chinese 莫訶提鼻 呬哩蜜哩 呬哩蜜哩 mo-ho-t'i-pi/hsi-ri-mi-ri/hsi-ri-mi-ri/.

Tib. III mahā-de-bi/hi-li-mi-li/hi-li-mi-li/, Lh -de-be, N omits the second hi-li-mi-li, PB mahā-de-be/hi-li-hi-mi/hi-li-mi-li/, D mahā-de-bi/hi-li-mi-li.

Uigur mandir tadyata hili mili hili mili (the original xylograph should be consulted for the first two words).

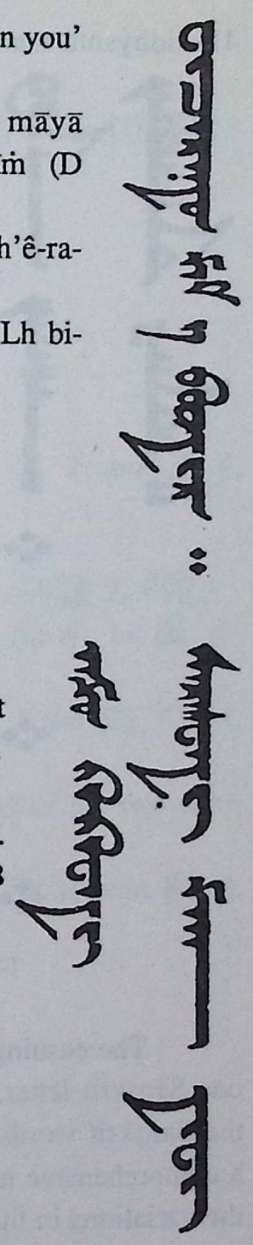
39. vicaratu amuka-buddhiḥ (from the Chinese). 'May my mind roam in you' (the officiant speaks his name in place of amuka 'so-and-so').

Nob. vicaratu mama, A vicalantu mama mantriṇo māyā sarvasatvānām/, BDE vicalantu mama mantratoyāni sarvasatvānāṁ (D -satvāṁ)/, G vicaratu mama sarvasatvānāṁ ca/.

Chinese 毗 折 喇 覩 我 某 甲 勃 地 p'i-ch'ê-ra-tu/wo-mou-chia p'o-ti/.

Tib. III bi-tsa-ra-to/bdag-gi miṅ brjod/ma-ma bud-dhe/(so D), Lh bi-tsid-do/.../bud-dhi, PB bi(B pi)-tsi-ra-to/...

Uigur vicarantu mam a buttir:



40. namo bhagavati mahādevi Sarasvati (from Chinese)

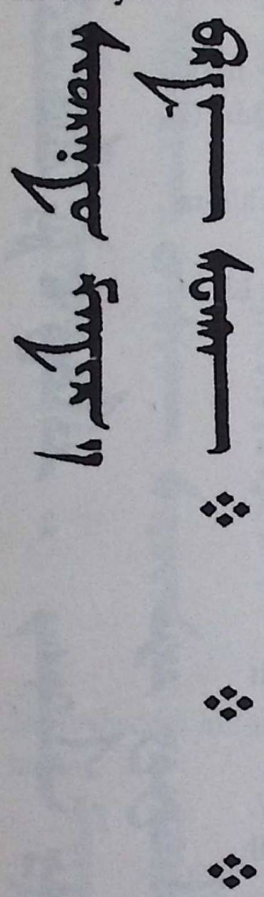
Nob. namo bhagavatyai mahādevyai Sarasvatyai, ABDE omit mahādevyai. The dative forms represent a later redaction of the text.

Chinese 南 謨 薄 伽 伐 底 莫 訶 提 鼻 薩 囉 酸 底 nan-mo po-ch'ieh-fa-ti/mo-ho-ti-p'i/sa-ro-suan-ti/.

Tib. III na-mo bha-ga-ba-ti/mahā-de-be/sa-ra-sva-tya/ (so D, PB ...sa-ra-sa-ta).

Uigur namo kagavati sarasvati maka divi.

41. sidhyantu mantrapadā me svāhā/



Nob. ABDEG...padāḥ (omit me).

Chinese 悉 伺 覩 曼 怛 囉 鉢 陀 彌 莎 訶 hsi-tien-tu/man-tan-ro-po-t'o mi so-ho//

Tib. III sid-dhyan-tu/mantra-pa-dā-ni svāhā//, ND -pa-di for pa-dā-ni, PB si-dhyan-tu/...

Uigur sidrantu mantir-a prta svaha:: :: ::

In Chih-t'ung's version of the Nīlakaṇṭha-sūtra translated during AD 627–49 (K 292, Nj 318, T 1057b) the dhāraṇī ends: sidhyantu me mantrapadāni svāhā (Lokesh Chandra 1979b:11).

I-TSING'S SYSTEM OF TRANSCRIPTION FOR SANSKRIT

(as evidenced by the hymn to Sarasvatī)

The ensuing table shows that I-tsing did not always use one Chinese character for one Sanskrit letter. For a fuller assessment of I-tsing's system, the transliteration of all the Sanskrit words and dhāraṇīs in the Suvarṇaprabhāsa will have to be worked out in a comprehensive manner, with their statistical analysis. That will enable us to elucidate the variations in the use of Chinese characters for a single Sanskrit sound. In the following table, the Sanskrit sound is followed by its Chinese character and the frequency of the character:

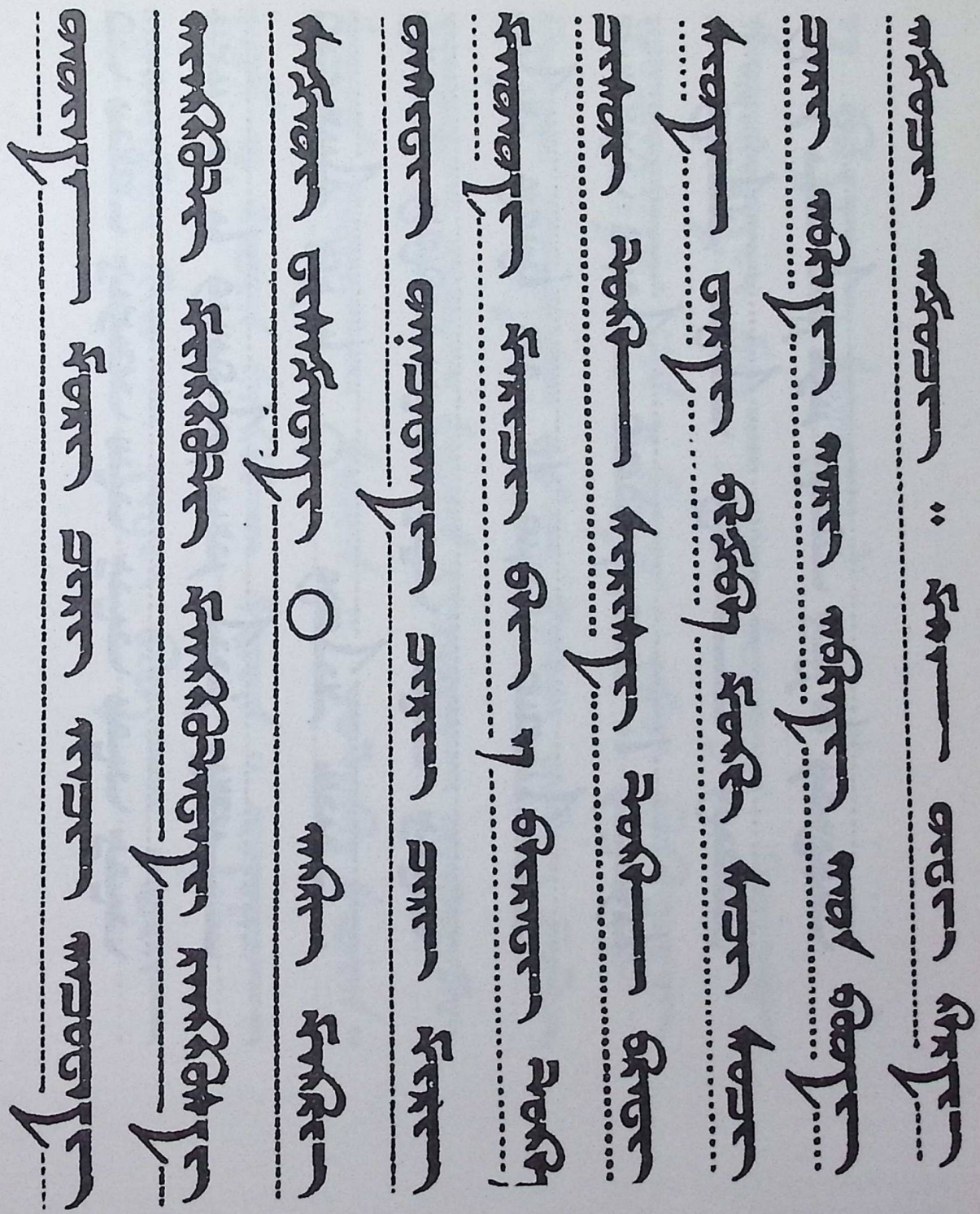
a 阿 7, 我 3 (amuka[3]), 恶 (agri), aṅ 恁
in 因 1
ka 迦 6, 甲 3 (amuka[3]), ka 羯 1 (karaṭe), ke 雞 3, khi 企 1
ga 伽 3, gu 具 3, 逝 1 (hiṅgule), gri 近 唎 3
ca 折 3, 者 2, ci 只 7, ci 質 2 (ciciri)
jye 逝 1

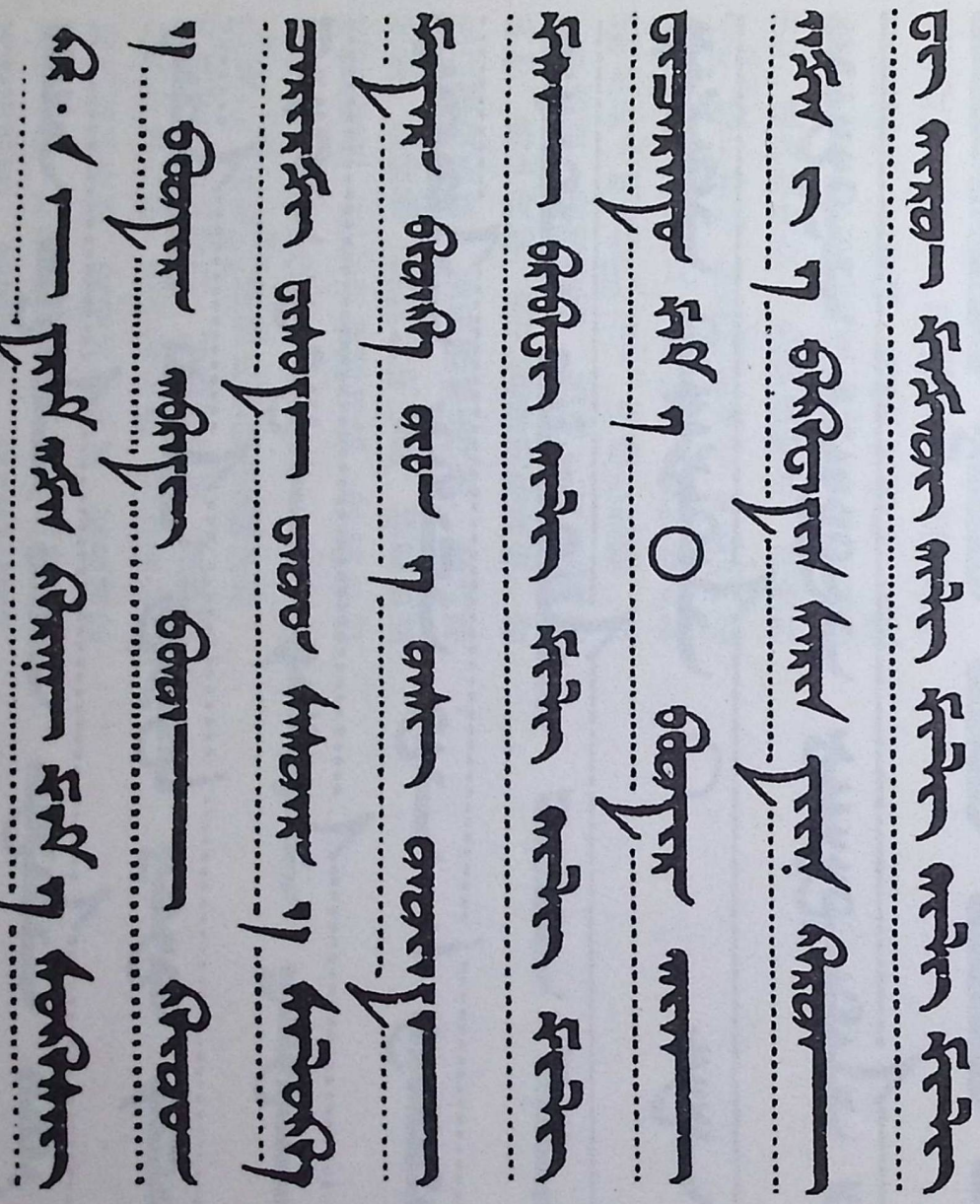
ṭa 吒 1, ṭe 滯 1
ṇa 拏 3
ta 怛 4, 哆 2, 得 1, ti 底 14, tu 覩 5, te 帝 9, 羝 1, tyam 點 2, tra 怛 囉 3
tha 地 1, thā 他 1, 也 1
da 陀 1, 曇 1, de 提 5, dya 姪 3, dra 達 囉 1, dri 達 哩 1
dha 陀 1, 馱 1, 達 1, dhi 地 8, dhe 提 1, dhyan 甸 1
na 娜 8, nan 難 1, nam 南 4, ni 泥 1
pa 鉢 1, pra 鉢 喇 1, pra 八 囉 1, pri 畢 唎 3, 鉢 唎 1
ba 伐 6, 跋 3, bi 鼻 5, bu 勃 7
bha 婆 5, (娑 is a misprint), 薄 2 (bhagavati[2])
ma 摩 1, 摩 2, 莫 6, 末 6, man 曼 2, mi 蜜 7, 弭 2, miṅ 名 2, mu 某 4, 母 2 (namuci[2]), 目 1 (mukhī), me 謎 2, 彌 1, mo 謨 1
ya 焰 1, yā 耶 2, yu 由 2, ye 裔 3
ra 囉 6, 唎 2 (apratihata, pratigṛhṇa), ri 唎 5, 哩 1, ru 嚕 1, re 喍 2, 嚧 3
la 羅 2, li 里 10, 哩 4 (hili-mili[2], normally this character stands for ri), lo 盧 4
va 伐 2, vi 毗 6, vya 婢 耶 1
śa 舍 1, 奢 1, śi 室 1, 市 1 (śivaṁ), śu 輸 3, śe 師 1, śo 數 1, śre 失 嚧 1, ślo 輸 路 1 (character for śu and this ś is the same)
ṣāṁ 鈔 1, ṣṭhe 瑟 吒 1 (lokaśreṣṭhe), 瑟 吒 1 (lokajyeṣṭhe, one of the two compounds has been transcribed as ṭe without aspiration)
sa 薩 10, saṅ 僧 1, sam 三 2, si 悉 2, s 悉 1 (śāstra), ska 塞 迦 1, svan 酸 2, svā 莎 1
ha 喝 3, hā 訶 8, han 昏 1, hi 呬 7, hiṅ 馨 1

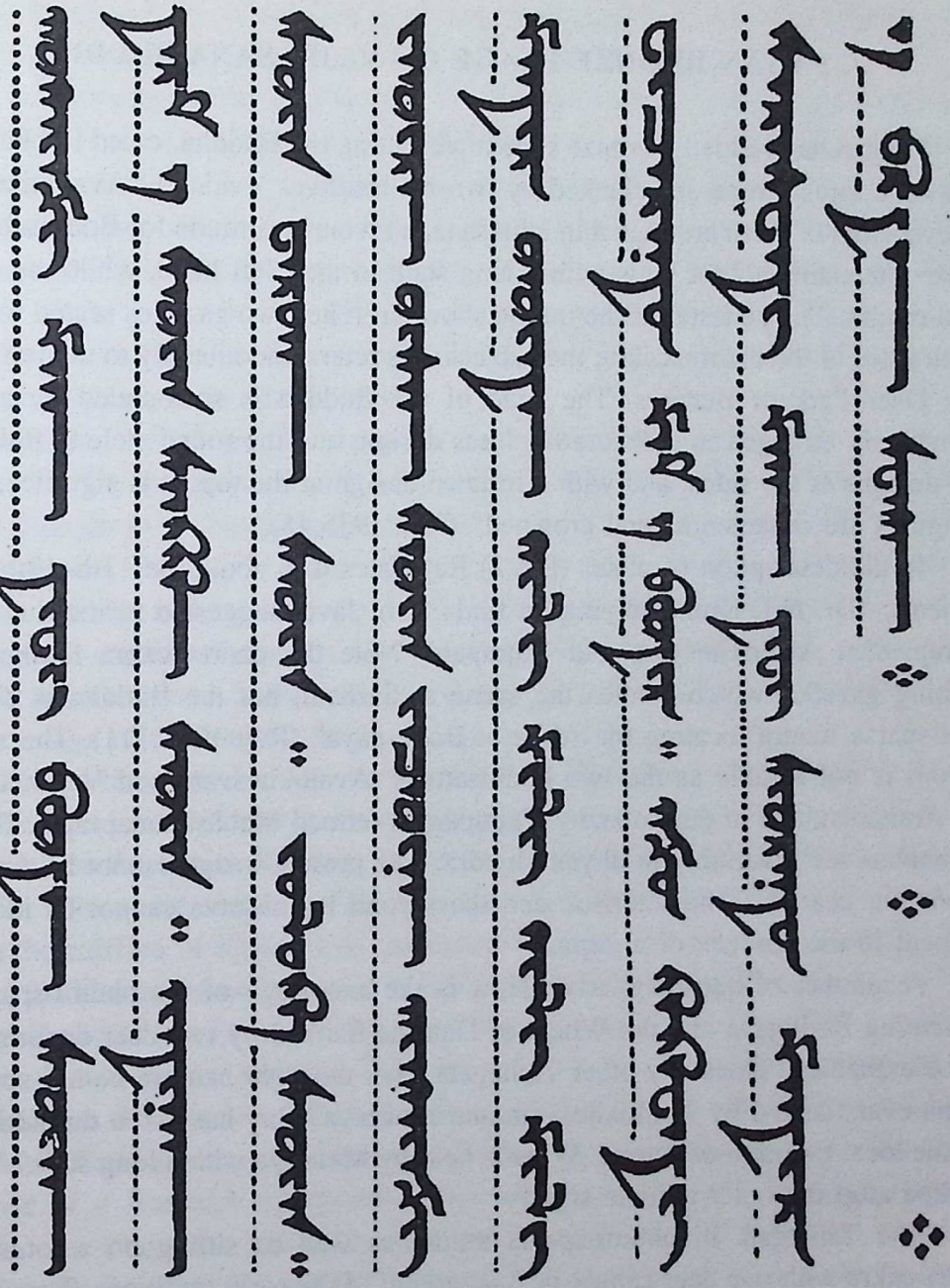
Chinese text of the invocation to Sarasvatī from T 665:16.436ab.

⑥怛姪他慕囉只囉　阿伐帝⑦貞勵　阿伐吒伐底
⑧丁⑦里下同　馨遇⑨嚩名具*嚩　名具羅伐底　惹
具師　末唎只三末底　毘三末底惡近入
唎莫近唎怛囉只　怛囉者伐　底質質哩
⑨室里蜜里　末難地　曇⑩去　末唎只　八囉
拏畢唎裔　盧迦逝瑟蹉*反丑世　盧迦　失囉瑟
⑪耻　盧迦畢唎裔　悉馱跋唎帝　毘麼目
企輕利反　輸只折唎　阿鉢唎底喝帝　阿鉢⑫唎底
喝哆勃地　南母只　南母只　莫訶提鼻鉢
⑬唎底近入　唎⑭昏火⑮恨　拏⑯上　南摩塞迦囉　我
某甲勃地　達哩奢吽　勃地　阿鉢⑰唎底
喝哆　婆上　跋覩　⑱市婆⑲謎毘輸姪覩　舍
悉怛囉輸路迦　曼怛囉畢⑳得迦　迦婢耶
地數　怛姪他　莫訶鉢唎婆鼻　吽里蜜里
吽㉑里蜜里　毘折唎覩謎勃地　我某甲勃
地輸提　薄伽伐㗚　提毘焰　薩羅酸
㉒濟㗚丁焰反*反　羯囉㉓魯㉔家滯難由囉難由㉕囉末底
吽里蜜里吽里蜜里　阿婆訶耶弭　莫訶提
鼻勃陀薩帝娜　達摩薩帝娜　僧伽薩帝娜
因達囉薩帝娜　跋嘍拏薩帝娜　裔盧難薩
底婆地娜　羝彭引薩帝娜　薩底伐者泥娜
阿婆訶耶弭　莫訶提鼻　吽㉖哩蜜*哩吽
*哩蜜*哩　毘折唎覩　我某甲勃地　南謨
薄伽伐底丁利*反　莫訶提鼻　薩囉酸底　悉句
覩　曼怛囉鉢陀彌　莎訶

Uigur text of the invocation to Sarasvatī







7. PAGAN BRONZE IMAGE OF VAJRĀSANA-BUDDHA

"Pagan has yielded a bronze stele representing the Buddha seated in bhūmisparśa-mudrā on a lotus-throne and flanked by two bodhisattvas, evidently Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. Both of them are seated in lalitāsana, a favourite attitude for Bodhisattvas. Both of these attendants hold a lotus with a long stalk in their left hand, while the right is in varada-mudrā. The pedestal of the throne shows in relief two gazelles seated face to face on both sides of the dharmacakra; the subject thus refers undoubtedly to the famous event in the Deer Park of Benares. The head of the Buddha is surrounded by an aureole schematically arranged in a decorative lotus design, and the round stele is finished with flame designs at the sides, and with a foliated design at the top. It is significant that the two figures are ornamented and crowned" (Ray 1936:45).

In the description of plates (fig. 2) Ray dates it to about the 11th–12th cent. and comments: "Dr. N.J. Krom, relying on finds from Java, suggested to me that they may also represent Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi. Note the dharmacakra flanked by two crouching gazelles which locates the scene at Sarnath, but the Buddha is depicted in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā locating the scene at Bodh-gaya" (Ray 1936:111). The suggestion of Krom is not tenable as the two bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi usually flank Amitābha, and in this capacity Vajrapāṇi is termed Mahāsthāmaprāpta. Both hands of Amitābha are invariably in dhyāna mudrā. The present image cannot be Amitābha as he does not bear this characteristic and the second bodhisattva cannot be identified as Vajrapāṇi in the absence of a vajra.

A number of questions arise: How is the anomaly—of the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā representing Bodhgaya and the Wheel of Dharma flanked by two deer denoting Sarnath —to be explained? Does any other Tathāgata have the right hand in bhūmi-sparśa? Was Buddha ever flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya? Ray has taken this identification from the local tradition of Burma. What is held by Maitreya with a long stalk? What does the stūpa atop the outer aureole signify?

The Tathāgata in bhūmi-sparśa mudrā as well as sitting on a lotus with the dharma-cakra with two deer cannot be Śākyamuni of the early traditions. Two Tathāgatas of the Vaipulya tradition are in this mudrā of touching the earth: namely, Akṣobhya and Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa. Two bronze images from Java in the Musée Guimet identified as Akṣobhya have their right hand in the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā (Bonheur 1971:132, 134). In the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (Esot. 411) Akṣobhya's right hand is in the bhūmi-sparśa mudrā. In the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala the right hand of Divya-dundubhi-

megha-nirghoṣa is in the same mudrā (Esot. 5). The Pagan bronze cannot pertain to Akṣobhya, because he is never flanked by two bodhisattvas. He can neither be Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa who is not represented independently.

The chronological incongruency in the juxtaposition of Bodhgaya and Sarnath, as represented by bodhi and dharmacakra-pravartana, shows that the image represents a transcendental Tathāgata who emerged after the turning of the Wheel of Dharma by the historic Buddha Śākyamuni. The attributes of the historic Śākyamuni were assigned to new transcendental Tathāgatas: "In another time and another place (some other Buddha-kṣetra), the 'show' could be very different yet there would still be the eight great events in the life of the Buddha, whatever his name might be" (Huntington 1985:48). The Pagan bronze represents a transcendental form.

Sādhanas 3–5 of the Sādhanamālā are devoted to Vajrāsana-bhaṭṭāraka (3) or Vajrāsana-Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka (4), on whose right is Maitreya and to his left is Lokeśvara. The Lord (*Bhagavān*) is touching the earth with his right hand while his left rests in the lap (*savyakaraṁ bhū-sparśa-mudr-ānvitam avasavyam utsaṅga-sthitaṁ*). Maitreya bodhisattva is white, two-armed, wears a jaṭā-mukuṭa, his right hand holds a chowrie, and the left sports a nāgakesara flower. On the left is Lokeśvara bodhisattva, white, chowrie in the right hand and lotus in the left. This answers precisely to the Pagan bronze, which is thus an image of the transcendental Vajrāsana-Buddha.

In the earlier tradition, Maitreya is the future Buddha. But, later on in the Vaipulya tradition he is a bodhisattva who plays several roles. In our bronze he is a bodhisattva as well as the Future Buddha. At the top of the aureole of the Pagan bronze is a caitya, with leaves and stamens. The caitya has not been noticed by Ray. A caitya is present in the coiffure of Maitreya as the Future Buddha, but only in images (Mallmann 1975:24 n. 8). The leaves and stamens (*kesara*) represent the nāgapuṣpika, which will be the tree of Bodhi of the Future Buddha Maitreya (Baruch 1946:85). The nāgakesara is a white flower with yellow stamens. The caitya amid leaves and nāgakesara stamens represents Maitreya. This is to highlight the role and function of Maitreya as the Lord of Tuṣita heaven. Pious persons wanted to be reborn in the heaven of Maitreya. We may cite the instance of a Burmese inscription which expresses the wish of King Anawrahta (Aniruddha) to attain the paradise of Maitreya: *mayāniruddha-devena kṛtam, tena Maitreya-sambodho labheyan nivṛtto*(?) *padam* "This mould has been made by me King Aniruddha, thereby may I when deceased (*nivṛtto*) attain abode (*padam*) in the Enlightenment of Maitreya" (Ray 1936:42, where the translation has to be corrected).

The cult of Maitreya was established in Buddhism from very early times. It was widespread in China as early as the fourth century. Tao-an (312–85) organised and disseminated the cult of Maitreya who was to descend to earth to restore the Dharma.

Tao-an felt that his mission was also to rejuvenate Buddhism. Tao-an appeared before an image of Maitreya at Hsiang-yang and prayed to be reborn in his Tuṣita heaven (Ch'en 1964:100).

In the fifth and sixth centuries, China was undergoing a confusing era, and the people were convinced that the last period of the Dharma was at hand. "Consequently, they waited anxiously for the coming of Maitreya to purify and restore the dharma on earth. Images of Maitreya were therefore fairly common in the Yun-kang and Lung-men sculpture. In these early statues Maitreya appears as a large and heroic figure" (Ch'en 1964:405).

In the Lung-men caves of the Northern Wei dynasty the leading deities are Śākyamuni and Maitreya (Ch'en 1964:172). General Yang Ta-yen, one of the most famous generals of Wei, set up a stone statue of Maitreya on behalf of Emperor Hsiao-wen (ibid. 173). The popularity of Maitreya during the Northern Wei "had a twofold aspect. First there was devotion to the deity as a bodhisattva, waiting in the Tushita heaven to be reborn on earth as the next Buddha. As part of this there was the earnest wish to be reborn in that heaven so that the devotee might be able to meet Maitreya face to face. Then there was belief in Maitreya as the future Buddha here on earth. As part of this there was the earnest wish to be reborn on this earth at the time when Maitreya makes his descent, so that the individual might hear the teachings direct from him and benefit from the peace, security and prosperity that he was to bring to earth. It was also hoped that this descent would occur during the reign of the Northern Wei Dynasty, so that Maitreya would make use of that dynasty to pacify and unify the world" (ibid. 178). After the seventh century the cult of Maitreya was replaced in China by that of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara.

The Pagan bronze image pertains to the transcendental Vaipulya tradition. It depicts Vajrāsana-Buddha flanked by Lokeśvara and Maitreya. The stūpa atop the aureole emphasises its context of the Maitreya cult: probably the wish of the donor to be reborn in the Tuṣita heaven of Maitreya, or an earnest prayer of a royal personage to Maitreya to descend and stabilise the Dharma on earth.

8. GILGIT FRAGMENT OF THE PRĀTIMOKṢA-SŪTRA

The Prātimokṣa-Sūtra forms an important text of the Vinaya. Unfortunately its Sanskrit text exists only in fragments. Louis Finot (JA 1913:465–558) published the Sanskrit text of the Prātimokṣa of the Sarvāstivādins. Anukul Chandra Banerjee has published the fragmentary text of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (*Prātimokṣa-sūtram*, Calcutta, 1954) from among the Gilgit manuscripts. It is based on one Gilgit manuscript, which is serial number 3 in the list of Prof. RaghuVira's collection. In the *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts* (facsimile edition, part I, ed. RaghuVira and Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1959) has been discovered another manuscript of the Prātimokṣa whose serial number is 2. This ms. is being published here in transcription. Inspite of its fragmentary character, it substantially supplies the hitherto missing portions of the Mūlasarvāstivādin text, for instance in the pāyantikā, pratideśanīyā, and śaikṣā dharmas, all these parts having been lost in ms. no. 3 utilised by Banerjee. Minor wordings which have been reconstructed from the Tibetan by Banerjee are also corrected by the present text.

The following Prātimokṣa rules are found in the present Gilgit manuscript fragment:

Pārājikā dharmāḥ	2, 3, 4
Saṃghāvaśeṣā dharmāḥ	1, 2
Pāyantikā dharmāḥ	33–57, 63–69, 57–59, 69–82 (uddāna up to 90)
Pratideśanīyā dharmāḥ	1–4
Śaikṣā dharmāḥ	1–43

In the above, pāyantikā 57 occurs twice: in plates 7, 8 and 10, 9 (RaghuVira). Pāyantikā 69 abruptly ends in the middle of a word on line 4 of plate 10 and continues on line 7 of plate 9. These faults may be due to a dṛṣṭipluti in the original codex from which our manuscript was copied. The possibility of a second dṛṣṭipluti on the part of our scribe can also not be ruled out because of the complexity of the transposition and duplication.

<RaghuVira 1[1], Banerjee p. 8, Finot p. 477>

Pār. 2 [Yaḥ[2] punar bhikṣur grāmagatam araṇyagataṃ vā pareṣām adattaṃ

[1]The figures after RaghuVira refer to the serial cliché numbers in the Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (facsimile edition, part I, New Delhi, 1959).

[2]Portions within [ ] are reconstructions.

steyasaṃkh]**<line 1>***yātam ādad*[ī]*ta yadrūpeṇādattādānena rājā vainaṃ gṛhītvā rājamātro vā ha*[nyād vā badhnīyād vā pravāsayed vā evaṃ cainaṃ vadet, tvaṃ bhoḥ puruṣa] **<line 2>** *bālo 'si mūḍho 'si steyo 'sīty evaṃrūpaṃ bhikṣur adattaṃ ādadāvaḥ ayam api bhikṣuḥ pārājayiko bhava*[ty asaṃvāsyaḥ].

Pār. 3 **<line 3>** [yaḥ punar bhikṣur manuṣyam vā manuṣya]*vigrahaṃ vā svahastaṃ saṃcintya jīvitād vyaparopayec chastraṃ vainaṃ ādhārayec chastrādhārakaṃ vāsya paryeṣe*[ta maraṇāya vainaṃ samādāpayen] **<line 4>** [maraṇava] *rṇṇaṃ vāsyānusaṃvarṇayed evaṃ cainaṃ vaded dhaṃ bhoḥ puruṣa kiṃ te anena pāpakenāśucinā durjīvi* [tena mṛtaṃ te bho puruṣa jīvitād varam **<line 5>** iti cintā]*numataiś cittasaṃkalpair anekaparyāyeṇa maraṇāya vainaṃ samādāpayen maraṇavarṇṇaṃ vāsyā*[nusaṃvarṇayet sa ca tena kālaṃ kuryād] **<line 6>** [a]*yam api bhikṣuḥ pārājiko bhavaty asaṃvāsya*[ḥ] ||

Pār. 4 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anabhijānann aparijānann asaṃtam asaṃvi*[dyamānam...] **<line 7>** [viśeṣādhi]*gamaṃ jñānaṃ vā darśanaṃ vā sparśavihāratāṃ vā pratijānīyād idaṃ jānāmīdaṃ paśyāmīti sa* [pareṇa samayena]

<RaghuVira 2, Banerjee p. 8, Finot p. 478>

<line 1> [samanuyujyamāno vā asamanuyujyamā]*no vā āpanno viśuddhi prekṣyevaṃ vaded ajānaty (?) evāham āyuṣmanto 'vocaṃ jānāmīty apaśyann evā* [...] **<line 2>** [ayam a]*pi bhikṣuḥ pārājiko bhavaty asaṃvāsya*[ḥ] ||

uddiṣṭā me ayuṣmantaś catvāraḥ pārājikā dharmā yesāṃ bhikṣur a[nyatamānyatamam āpattim adhyāpatya na labhate **<line 3>** bhikṣubhiḥ] *sardhaṃ saṃvāsaṃ bhogaṃ vā yathāpūrvaṃ tathāpaścāt pārājiko bhavaty asaṃvāsya*[ḥ]. ||

tatrāham ā[yuṣmantaḥ paripṛcchāmi...] **<line 4>** [dvir a]*pi trir api paripṛcchāmi kaccitsthātra pariśuddhāḥ pariśuddhā atrāyuṣmanto yasmāt tūṣṇīm evam e*[tad dhārayāmi].

Samgh. 4—13 **<line 5>**... *caryā saṃcarittaṃ kuṭikā mahallakaḥ amūlaka leśika saṃghabhedas tasyānuvartti kuladūṣaka daurva*[casya...]

<line 6> [ime khalv āyuṣmantas trayodaśa saṃghā]*vaśeṣā dharmā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeṣam āgacchanti.*

Samgh. 1 *saṃcintya śukkravisṛṣṭi*[r anya]*tra svapnā*[ntarāt saṃghāvaśeṣaḥ].

Samgh.2 **<line 7>** [yaḥ punar bhikṣur avalaviparinatena] *cittena mātṛgrāmeṇa sārdhaṃ kāyasaṃsargaṃ samāpadyeta hastagrahaṇaṃ vā bā*[hu..]

<RaghuVira 3, Banerjee p. 22, Finot p. 509>

Pāy. 33. **<line 1>** *pāyantikā.* || *dvau trīn vā pātrapūrān pratigṛhya bahir ārāmaṃ gatvā santo bhikṣavaḥ saṃvibhaktavyā ātmanā ca paribhoktavyaṃ ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ*||

[3]The punctuation marks., ||, ||o||, ||=||=|| are all from the original manuscript.

Pāy.34 *yaḥ puna*<**line 2**>[r bhikṣu]*r bhuktavān pravāritaḥ akṛtaniriktaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ khāded bhuṃjīta vā pāyantikā*.||

Pāy.35 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānad bhikṣuṃ bhuktavantaṃ pravārim akṛta*<**line 3**>[atiri]*ktena khādanīyabhojanīyenātyarthaṃ pravārayed idam āyuṣman khāda idaṃ bhuṅkṣva ity āsādanaprekṣī kaścid eṣa bhikṣur āsādito bhaviṣya*<**line 4**>*ty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā* ||

Pāy.36 *gaṇabhojanād anyatra samayāt pāyantikā*|| *tatrāyaṃ samayaḥ: glānasamayaḥ karmasamayo 'dhvasama*<**line 5**>*yo nāvādhirohaṇaṃ mahāsamājaḥ śramaṇabhaktam ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ*||

Pāy. 37 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur akāle khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ khāded bhuṃjīta vā*<**line 6**>*pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 38 *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ sannihitaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ khāded bhuṃjīta vā pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 39 *yaḥ* [punar bhikṣur a]*dattaṃ mukhābhyavahāryam āhāram ā*<**line 7**> *hared anyatrodakadantakāṣṭhāt pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 40 *yāni tāni bhagavatā bhikṣūṇāṃ praṇītabhoja*[nāny ākhyātāni tadyathā kṣīraṃ dadhi] *navanītaṃ matsyo māṃsa-*

<RaghuVira 4, Banerjee p. 23, Finot p. 54>

<**line 1**>*vallūrā*.|| *yaḥ punar bhikṣur imāny evaṃrūpāṇi praṇītabhojanāny ātmārtham aglānaḥ parakulebhyo vijñā*[pya khāded bhuṃjīta vā pāyantikā] ||o||

Pāy. 41–50 uddānaṃ *saprāṇa*<**line 2**>*bhojane sthānaṃ niṣadyācela senayā. dvirātraudyūṣikāṃ gacchet prahārodgūra duṣṭhulāḥ* ||o||

Pāy. 41 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jāna*[n sa]*prāṇakam udakaṃ paribhuṃjīta pāya*<**line 3**>[nti]*kā*||

Pāy. 42 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānan sabhojane kule anupraskandyāsane niṣadyāṃ kalpayet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 43 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānan sabhojane kule raha*<**line 4**>[si] *praticchanne 'titiṣṭhet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 44 *yaḥ punaḥ bhikṣur acelakāya vā acelikāyai vā parivrājakāya vā pari* <**line 5**>[vrāji]*kāyai vāstamāstaṃ* (?) *khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ dadyāt pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 45 *yaḥ punaḥ bhikṣur udyuktāṃ senāṃ da*<**line 6**>[rśa]*nāyopasaṃkrāmet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 46 *syāt khalu bhikṣoḥ tadrūpaḥ pratyaya udyuktāṃ senāṃ darśanāyopasaṃkramitum*<**line 7**>[dvi]*rātraparamaṃ tena bhikṣuṇā tasyāṃ senāyāṃ vipravastavyaṃ tata uttari vipravaset pāyantikā*.||=||=||

<RaghuVira 5, Banerjee p. 24, Finot p. 512>

Pāy. 47 **<line 1>***dvirātram api ced bhikṣus tasyāṃ senāyāṃ vipravasann udyūṣikāṃ vā gacche*[d] *dhvajāgraṃ vā balāgraṃ vā senāvyūham anīkasaṃdarśanaṃ vā pratyanubhavet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 48 *yaḥ pu***<line 2>***nar bhikṣur abhiṣaktaḥ kupitaś caṇḍībhūto nāttamanā bhikṣoḥ prahāraṃ dadyāt pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 49 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur abhiṣaktaḥ kupitaś caṇḍībhūto nāttamanā bhikṣoḥ prahāra***<line 3>***m udgūrayed antatas talaśaktikā*.||

Pāy. 50 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānan bhikṣor duṣṭhulām āpattiṃ praticchādayet pāyantikā*. ||o||

Pāy. 51–60 uddānaṃ *sparśo jyotiś chando 'nupa***<line 4>***saṃpādaneṇa dharmavādī ca. śramaṇoddeśo daurvarṇṇyaṃ ratna paridāhasamayaś ca*.||o||

Pāy. 51 *punar bhikṣur bhikṣum evaṃ vaded ehy āyuṣman kulāny upasaṃ***<line 5>** *kramiṣyāvaḥ tatra te dāpayiṣyāmi praṇītaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ yāvad āpta sa tasyādāpayitvā tataḥ paścād eva vaded gaccha tvam ā***<line 6>***yuṣman na ce*[t] *tvayā sārdhaṃ sparśo bhavati kathāyāṃ vā niṣadyāyāṃ vā api tv ekākina eva me sparśo bhavati kathāyāṃ vā niṣadyāyāṃ vā ity udyojanaprekṣī***<line 7>***kaścid eṣa bhikṣur udyojito bhaviṣyatīty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 52 *yaḥ pu*[nar bhikṣur ātmārtham aglāno vitapana]*prekṣī jyotiḥ samavadadhyāt sa-*

<RaghuVira 6, Banerjee p. 24, Finot p. 513>

<line 1> *mavadhāpayed vā pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 53 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur dhārmmike saṃghakaraṇīye bhikṣoś chandaṃ datvā* [paścād abhiṣaktaḥ kupitaś] *caṇḍībhūto nāttamanāḥ kṣepadha***<line 2>***rmam āpadyeta āhara bhikṣo cchandaṃ na te dadāmīti pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 54 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anupasaṃpannena pudgalena sārdhaṃ dvirātrād ūrdhvaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ prakalpaye***<line 3>***t pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 55 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur evaṃ vadet tathāhaṃ bhagavato dharmaṃ deśitam ājānāmi yathā ye āntarāyikā dharmā uktā bhagavatā tenāprati***<line 4 >***sevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti. sa bhikṣur bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyo mā tvam āyuṣmann evaṃ vocas tathāhaṃ bhagavato dhaṃ* (=dharmaṃ) *deśitam ājānā***<line 5>***mi yathā ye āntarāyikā dharmā uktā bhagavatā te ca pratisevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti mā bhagavantam abhyācakṣu na sādhu bhavati bhagavato***<line 6>** *'bhyākhyānaṃ na ca punar bhagavān evam āha. anekaparyāyeṇāyuṣmann āntarāyikā dharmmāḥ santa āntarāyikā evoktā bhagavatā te ca prati***<line 7>**[sevya]*mānā alam antarāyāyeti*|| *niḥsṛja tvam āyuṣmann idam evaṃrūpaṃ pāpakaṃ dṛṣṭigatam evam cet sa bhikṣur bhikṣubhir*

ucyamānas tad vastu pratiniḥ-

<RaghuVira 8, Banerjee p. 26, Finot p. 514>

<line 1>*sṛjed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛje*[d] *dvir api tṛr api samanuyoktavyaḥ samanuśāsitavyas tasya vastunaḥ pratiniḥsargāya dvir api tṛr api samanuyu***<line 2>***jyamānaḥ samanuśiṣyamāṇas tad vastu pratiniḥsṛjed idevaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛjet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 56 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānaṃs tathāvādinaṃ pudgalam a***<line 3>***kṛtānudharmāṇam apratiniḥsṛṣṭe tasmin pāpake dṛṣṭigate ālapet saṃlapet saṃvaset saṃbhuṃjīta tena vā sārdhaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ kalpayet pā***<line 4>***yantikā*.||

Pāy. 57 *śramaṇoddeśaś cāpy evaṃ vadet tathāhaṃ bhagavato dharmaṃ deśitam ājānāmi yathā ye āntarāyikāḥ kāmā uktā bhagavatā tena pra***<line 5>***tisevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti. sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyo mā tvam āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇoddeśa evaṃ vocas tathāhaṃ bha***<line 6>***gavato dharmaṃ deśitam ājānāmi yathā ye āntarāyikāḥ kāmā uktā bhagavatā te ca pratisevyamānā nālam antarāyāyeti. mā bhagavantam abhyācakṣu na* **<line 7>** *sādhu bhavati bhagavato 'bhyākhyānaṃ na ca punar bhagavān evam āha. anekaparyāyeṇa ya* [....]*yikāḥ kāmāḥ santa āntarāyi-*

<RaghuVira 7, Banerjee p. 25, Finot p. 515>

<line 1>*kā evoktā bhagavatā te ca pratisevyamānā alam antarāyāyeti niḥsṛja tvam āyuṣmaṃ cchrama*[ṇoddeśa...] *pāpakaṃ dṛṣṭigatam evaṃ cet sa***<line 2>***śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir ucyamānas tad vastu pratiniḥsṛjed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛje*[d] *dvir api tṛr api samanuyoktavyaḥ samanuśāsi***<line 3>***tavyas tasya vastunaḥ pratiniḥsargāya dvir api tṛr api samanuyujyamānaḥ samanuśiṣyamāṇas tad vastu pratiniḥsṛjed ity evaṃ ku***<line 4>***śalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛjet sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyaḥ adyāgreṇa te āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇoddeśa nāsau bhagavāṃs ta***<line 5>***thāgato 'rhat samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ śāstā vyapadeṣṭavyo nāpy anyatamānyatamo vijño gurusthānīyaḥ sabrahmacārī pṛṣṭhataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ samanu***<line 6>***baddhavyo yad apy anye śramaṇoddeśā labhante kaścid asya bhikṣor muhūrtam apy asparśo bhaviṣyatīty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 63 *aṃgulipra***<line 7>***todanāt pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 64 *udakaharṣaṇāt pāyantikā*||

Pāy. 65 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur mātṛgrāmeṇa sārdhaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ kalpayet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 66 *yaḥ punar bhikṣu*

<RaghuVira 10, Banerjee p. 27, Finot p. 518>

[.....]**<line 1>***bhīṣayed bhīṣāpayed vā anantato hāsyapreksy api pāyantikā*.||

Pāy.67 *yaḥ punaḥ bhikṣur bhikṣor vā bhikṣuṇyā vā śikṣamāṇāyā vā śrāmaṇerakasya vā śrāmaṇerikā***<line 2>**[yā vā] *pātraṃ vā cīvaraṃ vā śikyaṃ vā saritaṃ vā kāyabandhanaṃ vā anyatamānyatamaṃ vā śrāmaṇakaṃ jīvitapariṣkāram upanidadhyād upanidhāpayed vā***<line 3>***nyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā*||

Pāy. 68 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣoś cīvaraṃ dattvā tataḥ paścād apratyuddhārya paribhuṃjīta pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 69 *yaḥ punar bhi***<line 4>***kṣur dviṣṭo dveṣād apratītaḥ śuddhaṃ bhikṣum anāpannam amūla* [continued on folio 9, line 7]

Pāy. 57 *sevyamānā alam antarāyāyeti niḥsṛja tvam āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇod deśa idam evaṃ***<line 5>***rūpaṃ pāpakaṃ dṛṣṭigatam evaṃ cet sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir ucyamānas tad vastu pratiniḥsṛjed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛje*[d] *dvi***<line 6>***r api tṛr api samanuyoktavyaḥ samanuśāsitavyas tasya vastunaḥ pratiniḥsargāya dvir api tṛr api samanuyujyamānaḥ samanuśiṣyamāṇas tad va***<line 7>***stu pratiniḥsṛjed ity evaṃ kuśalaṃ no cet pratiniḥsṛjet sa śramaṇoddeśo bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyaḥ adyāgreṇa te āyuṣmaṃ cchramaṇoddeśa nāsau*

<RaghuVira 9, Banerjee p. 26, Finot p. 516>

<line 1>*bhagavāṃs tathāgato 'rhat samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ śāstā vyapadeṣṭavyau nāpy anyatamānyatamo vijño gurusthānīyaḥ sabrahmacārī pṛṣṭhataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ samanubaddhavyo yad apy anye śra***<line 2>***maṇoddeśā labhante bhikṣubhiḥ sārdhaṃ dvirātraparamaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ sāpi te 'dyāgreṇa nāsti care pareṇa mohapuruṣa naśya tvaṃ*|| *yaḥ punar bhikṣur jānaṃs tathānāśitaṃ śra***<line 3>***maṇoddeśam upasthāpayed upalāḍayet tena vā sārdhaṃ sahāgāraśayyāṃ kalpayet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 58 *na ca cīvarapratilambhād bhikṣuṇā trayāṇāṃ* **<line 4>** *durvarṇṇīkaraṇānām anyatamānyatamād durvarṇṇīkaraṇaṃ nīlaṃ vā kardamaṃ vā kaṣāyaṃ vā. anādāya ced bhikṣus trayāṇāṃ durvarṇṇīkaka*(?)*raṇānā***<line 5>**[m anya]*tamānyatamaḥ durvarṇṇīkaraṇaṃ nīlaṃ vā kardamaṃ vā kaṣāyaṃ vā navaṃ cīvaraṃ paribhu-ṃjīta pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 59 *yaḥ punar bhikṣu ratnaṃ vā***<line 6>**[ratna]*saṃmataṃ vā svahastam udgṛhṇīyād udgrāhayed vā anyatrādhyārāmagatād vā adhyāvāsagatād vā pāyantikā*.|| *adhyārāmagatena bhikṣu***<line 7>**[....] *adhyāvāsa*

Pāy. 69 (contd.) *lakena saṃghāvaśeṣeṇa dharmeṇānudhvaṃsayet pāyantikā*.||

Pāy. 70 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur apuruṣayā striyā sārdham adhvānamārgaṃ pratipadyeta*

<RaghuVira 11, Banerjee p. 27, Finot p. 519>

<line 1> *tātato grāmāntaram api pāyantikā.* ||o||

Pāy. 71–80 uddānaṃ|| *steyonaviṃśati khanet pravāraṇā śikṣitavyaṃ. kalahānāṃ tūṣṇīṃ viprakkrāmed anādarāt surāpānam akā***<line 2>***le ca.*||o||

Pāy. 71 *yaḥ punar bhikṣu steyasārthena sārdham adhvamārgaṃ pratipadyetāntato grāmāntaram api pāyantikā.*||

Pāy. 72 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur ūnaviṃśativarṣaṃ pudgalam bhikṣu***<line 3>***bhāvāyopasaṃpādayet pāyantikā.*|| *sa ca pudgalo 'nupasaṃpannas te ca bhikṣavo garhyā ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ.*||

Pāy. 73 *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ svahastaṃ pṛthi***<line 4>***vīṃt khanet khānayed vā pāyantikā.*||

Pāy. 74 *cāturmāsikī bhikṣuṇā pravāraṇā svīkartavyā anyatra samayāt pāyantikā.*|| *tatrāyaṃ samayaḥ pratyeka***<line 5>***pratyekapravāraṇā punaḥ punaḥ pravāraṇā atyarthapravāraṇā nityapravāraṇā ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ.*||

Pāy. 75 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣubhir ucyamā***<line 6>***no syāt te āyuṣmaṃ cchikṣāyāṃ śikṣitavyaṃ sa evaṃ vaden nāhaṃ yuṣmākaṃ bālānāṃ mūḍhānām avyaktānām akuśalānāṃ vacanenāsyāṃ śikṣāyāṃ śikṣiṣye* [yāvan nāha]**<line 7>***m anyān bhikṣūn prakṣyāmi sūtradharān vinayadharān mātṛkādharān iti pāyantikā.*|| *ājñātu-kāmena bhikṣuṇā tasyāṃ ca śikṣāyāṃ śikṣitavyaṃ bhi*[kṣavaḥ praṣṭavyāḥ]

<RaghuVira 12, Banerjee p. 28, Finot p. 520>

<line 1> *sūtradharā vinayadharā mātṛkādharā ayaṃ tatra samayaḥ.*||

Pāy. 76 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur bhikṣūṇāṃ kalahajātānāṃ viharatāṃ bhaṇḍanajātānāṃ vigṛhītānāṃ vi*[vādam āpannānāṃ] **<line 2>** *tūṣṇīṃ aupaśrutikayā tiṣṭhed yad ete bhikṣavo vakṣyanti tad ahaṃ śrutvā tathā tathā 'nuvyavahariṣyāmīty etad eva pratyayaṃ kṛtvā pāyantikā.*||

Pāy. 77 *yaḥ pu*[nar bhikṣuḥ saṃgha]**<line 3>***sya dharmyāyāṃ viniścayakathāyāṃ kathyamānāyāṃ tūṣṇīṃ viprakkrāmet santaṃ bhikṣum anavalokyānyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā.*||

Pāy. 78 *anādarāt pāyantikā.*||

Pāy. 79 *surāmaireya***<line 4>***madyapānāt pāyantikā.*||

Pāy. 80 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur akāle grāmaṃ praviśet santaṃ bhikṣum anavalokyānyatra tadrūpāt pratyayāt pāyantikā.*||o||

Pāy. 81–90 uddānaṃ. *sabhojane 'ruṇe dā***<line 5>***nīṃ (?) sūcīgṛhakapādakāḥ nahyān niṣadanaṃ kaṇḍū śāṭī sugatacīvaraṃ*||o||

Pāy. 81 *yaḥ punar bhikṣuḥ sabhojane kule upanimantritaḥ pūrvabhakta paścā-***<line 6>***dbhaktaṃ kuleṣu cāritram āpadyeta santam gṛhiṇam anavalokyānyatra tadrūpāt*

pratyayāt pāyantikā.||

Pāy. 82 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur anirgatāyāṃ rajanyām anu*<line 7>*dgate 'ruṇe anirhṛteṣu ratneṣu vā ratnasaṃmateṣu vā rājñaḥ kṣatriyasya mūrdhābhiṣiktasyaindrakīlaṃ vā indrakīlasāmantakaṃ vā samabhiḥ-*

<RaghuVira 13, Banerjee p. 30, Finot p. 524>

[pa]<line 1>*riśuddhā atrāyuṣmanto yasmāt tūṣṇīṃ evam etad dhārayāmi*.||o||

Pratid. 1–4 *uddānaṃ*|| *grāmam antargṛhaṃ caiva śaikṣāṇy āraṇyakena ca. prātideśyāni coktāni buddhena hita*<line 2>*vādinā*.||o||

ime khalv āyuṣmantaś catvāraḥ pratideśanīyā dharmā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśam āgacchanti

Pratid. 1 *yaḥ punar bhikṣur ajñātikāyā bhikṣuṇyā*<line 3>*rathyāgatāyā grāmaṃ piṇḍāya caraṃtyā aṃtikāt svahastam khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ pratigṛhya khāded bhuñjīta vā. tena bhikṣuṇā bahir ārāmaṃ ga*<line 4>*tvā bhikṣūṇām antike pratideśayitavyam. garhyam asmāyuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpanno sātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ taṃ dharmaṃ pratideśayāmy ayaṃ dharmaḥ* <line 5> *pratideśanīyaḥ*||

Pratid. 2 *bhikṣavaḥ khalu saṃbahulāḥ kuleṣūpanimantritā bhuṃja tatra ced bhikṣuṇī vyapadiśati sthitā syād iha khādyakaṃ de*<line 6>*hi iha odanaṃ dehi iha sūpikaṃ dehi iha bhūyo dehīti. sā bhikṣuṇī tair bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīyā āgamaya tāva*[t] *tvaṃ bhagini muhūrttaṃ tūṣṇī yā*<line 7>*vad ime bhikṣavo bhuṃjate ekabhikṣor api ce*[n] *na* (?) *pratibhāyantāṃ bhikṣuṇīm evaṃ vaktuṃ sarvais tair bhikṣubhir idaṃ syād vacanīya (?) bahir ārāmaṃ gatvā bhikṣūṇām aṃ-*

<RaghuVira 14, Banerjee p. 30, Finot p. 525>

<line 1>*tike pratideśayitavyaṃ. garhyaṃ vayam āyuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpannā āsātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ dharmaṃ pratideśayāmo 'yam api dharmaḥ pratideśanīyaḥ*

Pratid. 3 *yāni tāni saṃ*<line 2>*ghasya śaikṣāṇi kulāni bhavanti śikṣāsaṃvṛtisaṃmatāni*.|| *yaḥ punar bhikṣus tadrūpeṣu saṃghasya śaikṣeṣu kuleṣu śikṣāsaṃvṛtisaṃmateṣu pūrvam apravāritaḥ*<line 3>*san upasaṃkramya svahastaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ pratigṛhya khāded bhuṃjīta vā tena bhikṣuṇā bahir ārāmaṃ gatvā bhikṣūṇām antike pratideśa*<line 4>*yitavyaṃ. garhyam asmy āyuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpanno 'sātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ taṃ dharmmaṃ pratideśayāmy ayam api dharmaḥ pratideśanīyaḥ*

Pratid.4 *yāni tāni*<line 5>*saṃghasyāraṇyakāni śayanāsanāni bhavati sāśaṃkasaṃmatāni sabhayasaṃmatāni sapratibhayabhairavasaṃmatāni*.|| *yaḥ punar bhikṣu* <line 6>*s tadrūpeṣu saṃghasyāraṇyakeṣu śayanāsaneṣu sāśaṃkasaṃmateṣu sabhayasaṃmateṣu sapratibhayabhairavasaṃmateṣu. sarvam apratisaṃvidite*<line 7>*vane bahir ārāmasya khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ pratigṛhyānte ārāmasya khāded bhuṃjīta vā tena*

bhikṣuṇā bhikṣūṇām aṃtike pratideśayitavyaṃ garhyam asmy ā-

<RaghuVira 15, Banerjee p. 31, Finot p. 526>

<line 1>*yuṣmantaḥ sthānam āpanno 'sātmyaṃ pratideśanīyaṃ taṃ dharmaṃ pratideṣayāmy ayam api dharmmaḥ pratideśanīyaḥ.*||

uddiṣṭā me āyuṣmantaś catvāraḥ pratide[śanīyā dharmā]**<line 2>***s tatrāham āyuṣmantaḥ paripṛcchāmi kaccitsthātra pariśuddhāḥ dvir api trir api paripṛcchāmi kaccitsthātra pariśuddhāḥ pariśuddhā atrāyuṣmanto* [yasmāt tūṣṇī]**<line 3>***m evam etad dhārayāmi.* ||o||

Śaikṣ. 1–30 uddānaṃ. *nivāsanena sapta syus trayaś copari cīvare. samvṛtod guṇṭhikollaṃghikayā kāyena* [....] **<line 4>** ||o||

ime khalv āyuṣmantaḥ saṃbahulāḥ śaikṣā dharmā anvardhamāsaṃ prātimokṣasūtroddeśam āgacchanti.||

Śaikṣ. 1 *parimaṇḍalaṃ nivāsanaṃ ni***<line 5>***vāsayiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 2–7 *nātyutkṛṣṭaṃ nātyapakṛṣṭaṃ na hastiśuṇḍakaṃ na tālavṛndakaṃ na kulmāṣapiṇḍakaṃ na nāgaśīrṣakaṃ* **<line 6>** *nivāsanaṃ nivāsayiśyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 8 *parimaṇḍalaṃ cīvaraṃ prāvariṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 9–10 *nātyutkṛṣṭam nātyapakṛṣṭaṃ cīvaraṃ***<line 7>***prāvariṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 11–15 *susaṃvṛtāḥ supraticchannā alpaśabdā anutkṣiptacakṣuṣo yugamātradarśino 'ntargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti*

<RaghuVira 16, Banerjee p. 32, Finot p. 530>

<line 1> *śikṣā karaṇīyā*||

Śaikṣ. 16–20 *nodguṇṭhikā notkṛṣṭikayā notsaktikayā na vyastikayā na paryastikayā antar-gṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 21–25 *nollaṃghika***<line 2>***yā nojjaṃghikayā notkuṭukikayā na nikuṭotkuṭukikayā na khaṃbhākṛtā antargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 26–30 *na kāyapracālakaṃ na bāhu***<line 3>***pracālakaṃ na śirṣapracālakaṃ nāṃsotḍhau(?)kikayā na hastasaṃlagnikayā antargṛhaṃ gamiṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||o||

uddānaṃ. *ku***<line 4>***ryān na viniṣatsyāmīty aṣṭau cāpi pratigrahe. paṃca catus sapta paṃca satkṛtyādi tu bhojane.* ||o||

Śaikṣ. 31 *nānanujñātā antargṛhe āsane niṣatsyā***<line 5>** *ma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 32–39 *nāpratyavekṣyāsanaṃ sarvakāyaṃ samavadhāya na pāde pādam ādhāya na gulphe gulpham ādhāya na* [sakthani sakthi ā]**<line 6>***dhāya na saṃkṣipya*

pādau na vikṣipya pādau na viḍaṃgikayā antargṛha āsane niṣatsyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.||

Śaikṣ. 40 *satkṛtya piṇḍapātaṃ prati*[grahīṣyāma]**<line 7>***iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*||

Śaikṣ. 41–43 *na samatittikaṃ samasūpikaṃ sāvadānaṃ pātrasaṃjñinam piṇḍapātaṃ pratigrahīṣyāma iti śikṣā karaṇīyā.*|| [.....]

9. LEGEND OF KṚṢṆA: HELLENISTIC ECHOES

A vast corpus of legend has gathered around the person of Kṛṣṇa, crystallising forgotten personalities into His picturesque figure of *līlā-puruṣottama*. It is no easy task to separate the multiple strata that have gone into its formation from time to time. Various strands merge together in the Puranic traditions of Kṛṣṇa into an indivisible harmony of One Supreme. We shall have to bear this in mind to understand that parts of the Kṛṣṇa cycle betray nuances of the Graeco-Bactrian world which played a unique role in the radiation of Hellenistic elements to the Indian mainland. The work of Heinrich von Stietencron on the sun-cult of India, has led me to investigate the relationship of the Kṛṣṇa-Kaṁsa sequence to the north-west of India. The Purāṇas inform us that Sāmba, a son of Kṛṣṇa, was afflicted by leprosy. He could be cured only by worshipping the Sun-God. There were no brahmins in India well-versed in Sun-worship. The Sun-God advised Sāmba to invite Maga priests from Śākadvīpa. Sāmba brought with him 18 Maga families from Śākadvīpa to India. He constructed a temple at the Mitravana grove on the banks of the Candrabhāgā river (modern Chenab) and consecrated an image of the Sun. The 18 Maga families settled down here, in the township of Sāmbapura, named after its founder Sāmba. This aspect of the life of the son of Kṛṣṇa assumes importance when we find some sidelights pointing to cultural interflow between Mathurā and the Hellenised kingdoms in the north-western or udīcya region. This is an area wherein Balkh and Bamian, Multan and Mathurā have seen a constant interflow of ideas and forms, trade and power. Arnold J. Toynbee (1961:vi) points out that "The region between Oxus and Jumna has been the theatre of decisive events in mankind's history. It is perpetually demanding the historian's attention. For years it has been a lode-stone to me. In the early centuries of the Christian Era it was bestridden by the Kushan Empire."

Kaṁsa the king of Mathurā was killed by Kṛṣṇa. He was an incarnation of an asura called Kālanemi. He is widely held to be the son of Ugrasena, but another legend has it that he was born to the wife of Ugrasena by a gandharva (Mani 1975:382a). Thus the parentage of Kaṁsa had not been beyond doubt in the Indian tradition. In view of the introduction of Sun-worship and Maga priests from Śākadvīpa by Sāmba, it may be interesting to point out that the Jātakas 4.79 and the Petavatthu commentary 111 refer to Kaṁsa as the king of Kaṁsabhoga, whose capital was Asitañjana (Malalasekera 1937: 1.467). Kaṁsabhoga was a division of Uttarāpatha or north-west of India. Kaṁsa was killed by Vāsudeva, one of the Andhakaveṇhu-(dāsa)-puttā or the ten sons of Devagabbhā and Upasāgara, brought up by the maid of Devagabbhā and the maid's husband

Andhakaveṇhu. When Vāsudeva had cut off the head of both king Kaṁsa and his brother the viceroy Upakaṁsa, the populace begged Vāsudeva and his brothers to be their guardians. Thereupon they assumed the sovereignty of Asitañjana (ibid. 1.108–09). What was the exact location of Asitañjana? We know from the Manorathapūraṇī commentary of the Aṅgut-tara-nikāya 1.207 that it was the birthplace of the merchant-brothers Tapassu and Bhallika. Bhallika means 'a resident of Bhallaka, that is the kingdom of Balkh/ Bactria'. Thus Asitañjana was the metropolitan city of Bactria. It was at Asitañjana that the two merchants had constructed a stūpa on Buddha's hair and nail-pairings. Hsüan-tsang places the two hair-relic stūpas 50 *li* north-west from the city of Balkh. The Pali version of the Kṛṣṇa legend points to the Bactrian origin of Kaṁsa, and Pali seems to preserve an earlier version of Puranic legends. For comparative study we have reproduced it at the end of this paper from Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. The evolution from the Pali version to that of the Purāṇas indicates a period when there were close contacts between Bactria and Mathurā.

Kṛṣṇa is famous for his hallīṣaka(-saka) dance. According to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on Harivaṁśa it is rāsa-goṣṭhī (quoted in Śabda-kalpadruma 5.525). It consists of singing and dancing by one male and 7, 8, or 10 female performers. It is a circular dance performed by women under the direction of a man. No etymology is given in Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit–English Dictionary* or in Sanskrit lexica. This word may be cognate to Hellas 'Greece', and the dance form may be traced back to Hellenic models. The dress of the Rāsa dancers and the folk-dancers of Greece bear close resemblance. Hallīsaka (with the dental sibilant) also recalls to us the ancient city of Eleusis, famous as the site of the Eleusinian mysteries, with its Callichoron well ("of beautiful dances") mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. To the west of Eleusis lay the Rharian plain where Demeter sowed the first seeds of corn. Kṛṣṇa as the Gopāla also represents agrarian traditions. Hallīsaka can go back to the Eleusinian mysteries or to the cult of the Thracian Nature-God Dionysus (alias Bacchus) "which gave a dominant role to women, and it provided a vent for the irrational passions of the subconscious depths of the psyche (Toynbee 1978:278)." A Bacchanalian group has been discovered from Mathurā wherein the drapery of the yakṣīs is Greek (Tarn 1951:252 n. 9). The Dionysiac mysteries were founded by Orpheus who was a priest of Dionysus. He was a seer, and a marvellous musician. His superhuman skill in music and song was connected with religious functions. Orpheus was killed in a Bacchic orgy. "His head with his lyre, still singing, floated to Lesbos, where an oracle of Orpheus was established. The character of Orpheus, particularly his lyre-playing and song, make him an Apolline figure, a missionary of the Hellenic spirit" (EBr. 1965:16.1116b). The divine lyre of Orpheus recalls the soul-stirring flute of Kṛṣṇa. Whether it is a parallelism or influence needs further study.

Kṛṣṇa says in the Bhagavad Gītā 9.19: *sad-asac-cāham* 'I am both good and evil'. So also the Orpheic tenets hold that man is "a creature of mixed origin, containing a divine principle (Dionysos) and an evil one (the Titans)." Orpheus was torn to pieces by women possessed by Dionysian frenzy (Rose 1921:12.328a). So also Kṛṣṇa was cursed to death by Gāndhārī. The association of Kṛṣṇa with Yavanas is apparent in his killing of the powerful asura Kāla*Yavana* (Mani 1975:425 n. 13). The depth and extent of Indian contacts with the Hellenistic world need extensive investigation. An amphitheatre with pronounced Graeco-Roman characteristics has been excavated at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. An apsidal temple has been exhumed at Sonkh near Mathurā on the site of a modern nāga temple: does nāga stand for a foreigner, a Greek?

A comparison of the Pali version with the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas indicates the composite character of the Kṛṣṇa legend and its diaphanous Hellenistic strains carry us away beyond memory. The intricacies of līlā-puruṣottama Kṛṣṇa reduce us to silence in the tumult of the lost.

EXCURSUS ON STIETENCRON

MAGA: Stietencron 1966:279 says: "In some Puranic passages, three particularly famous places of Sūrya worship are mentioned. One of them was the sun-temple of Koṇārka (Konarak), the idol of which was called Muṇḍīra or Muṇḍīrasvāmin. The second was Kālapriya on the banks of the Yamunā river, and the famous sanctuary Mūlasthāna, i.e. modern Multan, was the third." The name Muṇḍīra is attested in the name of the village Munirka, in South Delhi. It is close to the present village of Mehrauli or Mihirapalli 'the village of Mihira or Sun.' There may have been a number of Sun temples around the Yamuna river. Yamuna is the daughter of the the Sun (Yamunā-janaka 'father of Yamunā'=Sun-God).

Stietencron 1966:280 says: "The Sūrya temple Mūlasthāna whose name became the name of the ancient town, driving into oblivion the older designation Kaśyapapura, was famous at the latest in the beginning of the 7th century AD. But it seems to me, that it did not yet exist when the Sāmbapurāṇa was composed, as the name Mūlasthāna does not occur in the text." Stietencron is right in surmising that Mūlasthāna means the Sun temple. The central attraction of the town was its Sun temple. By semantic extension, Mūlasthāna came to mean '(The City of the) Temple'. Mūlasthāna primarily means a temple. In Tamil, this word occurs as *mūla-t-tānam* 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple' (*Tamil Lexicon*). *Tiru-mūlattānam* refers to the sacred shrine of Tiru-vārūr (*Tamil Lexicon* p. 1913). In Sri Lanka too mūla=ārāma 'monastery' (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 3.22, 24). In the inscription of Śri Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764 = AD 842 from Indonesia *kamūlan* refers to the sanctuary constructed by the Śailendra monarch. The author of the

Sāmba-purāṇa must have known the town as Kaśyapapura and mūlasthāna as a denotation for a temple. He must have found it redundant to nickname the city as Mūlasthāna in lieu of its appropriate name Kaśyapapura. The transition of mūlasthāna 'the temple' to Mūlasthāna 'the city of the temple' must have been from popular parlance. It seems to have been brought into widespread use by foreigners. The word Kāśyapāḥ (plural) denotes "a class of semidivine genii connected with or regulating the course of the sun, AV.15.1.23, TĀr.18, PārGṛ.2.9.13". Kaśyapa is an ancient sage who was the author of several hymns of the Ṛgveda, husband of Aditi and twelve other daughters of Dakṣa, MBh.1.2598, Mn.9.129; by Aditi he was the father of the Ādityas [cf. Kāśyapeya] TS., ŚBr. and of Vivasvat, R. (MW). The toponym Kaśyapapura clearly indicates the ancient connection of the town with Āditya 'Sun'. The town should have had a temple dedicated to Āditya long before Sāmba constructed here Maga's first temple to the Sun.

BHOJAKA: Stietencron 1966:280 says: "The other group of sun-priests with foreign religious traditions arrived much later in India than the Maga did. They called themselves Bhojaka which does not mean "the one who feeds the deity", as later Indian etymologies would have it, but is to be deduced from a Middle-Iranian form **bōžak*, healer, saviour (compare arm. *bužakan,* healing, rescuing; *bužak*, cure, liberation; mp. *božišn*, idem.).... But the Bhojaka claimed their descent from Zarathustra and remained faithful to the Avestan holy scriptures."

The Bhojaka were both healers and saviours and they observed scrupulous cleanliness according to prescriptions of the Vidēvdād. The hygiene and medical skill of people from the north-west was well-known since early antiquity. The Tibetan histories of Āyurveda say: Jīvaka was born as the son of king Bimbisāra and a trader's wife. Grown up, he saw a group of *white-clad* men and he asked his father: 'Who are they?' He said: 'They are called doctors and they protect people from diseases.' Jīvaka was filled with the wish to become a doctor. He asked his father for permission to study under Ātreya the famous doctor of Taxila. King Bimbisāra sent him to Taxila with a letter to its king (Rechung 1973:12). The white clothes are an indication that the doctors wore the dress of Zoroastrian priests. That Zoroastrian doctors travelled as far as Bihar in Eastern India and as early as the period of Bimbisāra is noteworthy.

The Buddhist cult of Bhaiṣajyaguru is another point of contact with the **bōžak,* and it is of an early date. Bhaiṣajyaguru is the Buddha of Healing. He cures physical illness and dispels spiritual darkness. His sūtra was translated into Chinese five times. The earliest translation by Śrīmitra dates to AD 317–22. In his paradise dwell innumerable bodhisattvas chief among whom are Sūrya-vairocana and Candra-vairocana. They are also known as Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha. Bhaiṣajyaguru has Twelve Great Yakṣa Generals *(dvādaśa mahāyakṣa-senāpatayaḥ,* Dutt 1939:1.29) Bhaiṣajyaguru de-

veloped in an age when an Iranian term like *bešaz* 'healing' was correctly understood as *bhaiṣajya* 'medicine, healing' (Mackenzie 1971:18). The two bodhisattvas Sūryaprabha and Candraprabha are the counterparts of the Iranian Rašnu (Skt. Rājña) and Sraoša (Skt. Srauṣa), companions of Mithra. The Twelve Generals are the Twelve Ādityas or solar aspects.

PALI VERSION OF THE KṚṢṆA LEGEND

(reproduced from Malalasekera 1960:1.108–109)

Andhakaveṇhu-(dāsa)-puttā. Ten brothers, sons of Devagabbhā and Upasāgara.

As it had been foretold at Devagabbhā's birth that one of her sons would destroy the lineage of Kaṁsa, each time a son was born to her, fearing lest he be put to death, she sent him secretly to her serving woman, Nandagopā; the latter had married Andhakaveṇhu and, by good fortune, daughters were born to her at the same time as sons to Devagabbhā; these daughters she sent to Devagabbhā in exchange for the latter's sons.

The ten sons were named Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Suriyadeva, Aggideva, Varuṇadeva, Ajjuna, Pajjuna, Ghatapaṇḍita and Aṅkura.[1] They had also a sister, Añjanadevī. When they grew up they became highway robbers, seizing even a present sent to their uncle, King Kaṁsa. Thus they became notorious as the Andakaveṇhudāsaputtā. The king, having learnt of their true descent, devised various plans for their destruction. Two famous wrestlers, Cānura and Muṭṭhika, were engaged to have a public wrestling match with them. The brothers accepted the challenge and looted several shops for clothes, perfumes, etc., to be used for the occasion. Baladeva killed both the wrestlers. In his death-throes Muṭṭhika uttered a prayer to be born as a yakkha; his wish was fulfilled and he was born as such in the Kāḷamattiya forest. When the king's men attempted to seize the brothers, Vāsudeva threw a wheel which cut off the heads of both the king and his brother the viceroy, Upakaṁsa.

The populace, terrified, begged the brothers to be their guardians. Thereupon they assumed the sovereignty of Asitañjana. From there they set out to conquer the whole of Jambudīpa, starting with Ayojjhā (whose king, Kāḷasena, they took prisoner) and Dvāravatī, which they captured with the help of Kaṇhadīpāyana.

They made Dvāravatī their capital and divided their kingdom into ten shares, forgetting their sister, Añjanadevī. When they discovered their mistake, Aṅkura gave her his share and took to trade.[2]

In course of time the brothers had many sons and daughters, the average human age at that time being 20,000 years. Later their sons annoyed the sage Kaṇhadīpāyana by dressing up a lad as a woman and asking him what child she would bring forth. "A knot of acacia wood," he answered, "with which will be destroyed the line of Vāsudeva." They laughed at the sage and kicked him. On the seventh day the lad voided from his belly a knot of acacia wood which they burnt, casting the ashes into the river. From those ashes, which stuck near the city gate, an *Eraka*-plant sprang up. One day, while disporting themselves in the water, the kings, with their families and followers, started a sham quarrel and plucked leaves from the *Eraka*-plant to use as clubs. The leaves turned into weapons in their hands, and they were all killed except

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Cowell sees in this story the kernel of a nature-myth (Jātaka, trans. 4.51n.): cf. with this the Kṛṣṇa legend in the Harivaṁśa; see also Wilson's *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Hall's edn.) 5.147f.; and the article on Kṛṣṇa in Hopkins' *Epic Mythology*, pp. 214 f.

Aṅkura's later history is found in PvA. 111 ff.

Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Añjanadevī, and their chaplain, all of whom fled in a chariot. Thus were the words of the sage fulfilled.

In their flight they reached the Kāḷamattiya forest in which Muṭṭhika had been born as a yakkha. When Muṭṭhika saw Baladeva he assumed the shape of a wrestler and challenged him to a fight. Baladeva accepted the challenge and "was gobbled up like a radish-bulb."

Vāsudeva proceeded on his way with the others and at night lay in a bush for shelter. A huntsman, mistaking him for a pig, speared him; when Vāsudeva heard that the huntsman's name was Jarā (Old Age) he reconciled himself to death. Thus they all perished except Añjanadevī (J. 4.79f) of whose later history nothing is mentioned.

In the *Kumbha Jātaka* (J. 4.18) it is suggested that the Andhakaveṇhus were destroyed as a result of indulging in drink. This story was evidently well-known to tradition as it is so often referred to (e.g., in the Saṅkicca Jāt. 5.267 and in Vv.58).

Andhakaveṇhu—Husband of Nandagopā, serving-woman of Devagabbhā.

The ten sons of Devagabbhā by Upasāgara were brought up as the children of Nandagopā and Andhakaveṇhu and later became known as Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā (J. 4.79–81).

AndhakaVeṇhu is AndhakaVṛṣṇi in Sanskrit . According to *A Pali Dictionary* (Copenhagen 1924–48:255) *Andhaka-Viṇhayo was replaced by Andhaka-Veṇhuyo. Veṇhu is Viṣṇu. Hence the singular AndhakaVeṇhu.

10. THE SUTRA ROUTE: THE BEYOND WITHIN

The lines and curves, the ideas and images of the Lotus Sutra are the nuances and metaphors of the mind of President Daisaku Ikeda. They are the roots of his grand vision of humanity. To cite his crystalline presentation: "The Lotus Sutra explains the egalitarian impartiality of the Buddhist Law by comparing it with the rain, which falls alike on all parts of the earth, though each individual plant puts forth leaves, flowers and fruit according to its own distinctive characteristics".

The Lotus Sutra was carried by healthy, young and serene mendicants along the Sutra Route with its sandy silences, its awe-inspiring landscape of thirst and hunger. It was a path of tireless, subtle and dogged effort to reach the profound. It was an open route of open ideas leading to an open society wherein multiplicity became enrichment, wherein variations were manifestations of an essence. On this rigorous route several nationalities, languages and cultures met in the aroma of Buddhist harmony. Life transcends all structures. We live through mutation of the human order. Interiorisation of diverse elements became the glorious vitality of Buddhism. A tolerant attitude evolved. President Ikeda clarifies: "Mahayana inherited the tolerant attitude of the Buddha and therefore...facilitated the accommodation of Buddhism among the deities of the many lands into which it moved...The Christian fear of non-Christian religions forced the church to take steps against what it called paganism and thereby to become—albeit unwillingly—the creator of a vast array of occult and mystical phenomena that Christians are taught to hate and fear as the work of the devil. By taking other religions' gods into its fold, Buddhism has generated much less occultism".

President Ikeda commissioned a research team to survey Buddhist sites along the Silk Route "full of dreams and romance." The joint Japan–USSR excavations of the temple at Dalverzintepa once ruled by king Kaniṣka of the Kushan dynasty have revealed the ebb and flow of civilisation.

The Sutra and its sandy route culminated in the "concept of the union of the individual and the universal lives". President Ikeda says: "Reaching the state where this universal consciousness is activated is what is meant by the attainment of Buddhahood". The Lotus Sutra provides a convergence approach for the coming changes, without depersonalisation of human beings. In the coming century there can be only the common denominator humankind, where the values of the inner man rather than the outer man are primary.

It was a route of thought, the way of cultural exchange, the Sutra Route and not only the Silk Route. Ideas, impirium and emporia; intellectuals, generals and traders; monks, marshals and merchants; cassocks, armour and silk were all pilgrims on this route bringing together many races in companionship. Fabrics, fruits, vegetables, and technologies enriched life. This spirit of an 'open society' was the bridge of dreams floating under an open sky. The same spring blossoms in the poem of President Ikeda, presented to the President of Germany:

O, the United States of Europe of which Victor Hugo dreamed.
This is a sure step toward
The evolution of global citizenship;
A pioneering experiment, if you will,
In dismantling the broders that serve
Only to keep people apart.

Nowhere is there a place to stop, so only everywhere will do.

Silk across the sands: Roman ladies of rank, draped in see-through muslin cottons of India and in shining silks and brocades of China, were the eyeful rage of Imperial Rome. Silk was imported from China, where its production began as early as the New Stone Age. The oracle bone inscriptions of the Yin dynasty contain Chinese characters for mulberry, silkworm, thread and woven fabric. The consort of Emperor Huang Ti (2640 BC) made sericulture fashionable by herself cultivating mulberry trees, raising worms and reeling silk. The Nihongi states that this fabulous fabric was introduced in Japan around AD 300. The Roman empire at Rome and later at Constantinople realised the potentialities of silk. Emperor Justinian had two Iranian monks, who were living in China, smuggle silkworms to Constantinople in the hollows of their bamboo canes in about AD 550. In the 19th century steeped in Classical antiquity, it was but natural that a German geographer called the ancient way from Hsian to Rome: Seidenstrassen or the Silk Route. This Eurocentric nomenclature emphasised the commercial aspects of the route. After all, the Greek word *sērikos* for 'silk' is derived from *sēres* 'Chinese', that is the Chinese fabric. As children, we saw the Chinese cycling around the streets of Lahore and peddling silk. China and silk were interlinked in our minds. To my father, Prof. Raghu Vira, however, the Chinese were a symbol of the Confucian Classics, great artists and architects, painters and sculptors of exquisite Buddhist icons in the flat and in the round, bearers of the profound thought of Buddhism, a vast segment of the world's cultural heritage, and a people who had preserved thousands of Buddhist sutras whose Sanskrit originals had been lost in India, the land of their origin. The Chinese paintings in our home and the Shanghai and Taisho editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka covering a

whole wall of the residence left a deep impression on my growing mind. In later years when I took up the study of Central Asia, silk and sutras came to mind again as two characteristics of the Chinese and of the Sutra Route.

To the Chinese, it was the way to the Western World (Jap. siyu) of India. Across the vast stretches of desert, in the void of the self, they heard the echoing of "I am the Truth." Travelling and traveller became one, one with the eternal. The waterless deserts were the void of the self. The traveller trod not with his feet, but with his heart on wings. Courage tore the terror of the terrain, and despair turned to hope in the supreme quest of a beyond without shores. The drop departed from its native home found a shell and became a pearl. The desert and oasis became an embodiment of Buddhist teaching, according to Takayasu Higuchi. The desert symbolises hell and the oasis paradise, or in the broader perimeters of Buddhist philosophy "everything flows and nothing is permanent." I-ching/Gijo speaks of the hardships and perils that had to be braved to reach India: "No doubt, it is great merit and fortune to visit the Western Country (India) in search of the Dharma but at the same time it is an extremely difficult and perilous undertaking.... ...Many days have I passed without food, even without a drop of water. I was always worried and no spirit was left in me.... If, however, a monk happened to reach India after such perilous journey, he would find no Chinese monastery there. There was no fixed place to settle down. We had to move from place to place like a blade of grass swept by the wind." The monk Hsüan-k'uei, who could not come to India as he suffered from illness, wrote: "My heart goes to the sacred land of Buddhist temples. I dream to move in the land of the Buddha. Will that auspicious day ever come, when with the help of a cup or bowl only, I shall be able to cross and reach India? Shall I be able to witness the magnificient flow of Dharma in India?" (Guhōkōsōden, T 2066, Lahiri 1986:74).

Heavenly horses: Though the route has been named by the Europeans, it was not opened by them as a communication system for silk. At the end of the second century BC, the Han emperor Wu-ti sent Chang Ch'ien to Hsi-yu, the Western World. His return to Ch'ang-an in 126 BC was the opening of a regular road, as the Chinese realised the importance of other cultures. Xenophobia and the concept of Barbarians underwent change. Nomadic tribes traded silk with Central and Western Asia. The main purpose of the journey of Chang Ch'ien was defence: to find the whereabouts of the Hu barbarians who had been a major menace to Han-period China. The thorough-bred 'heavenly horse' (*tien ma* 天馬) was imported from Dawuan to improve breed of horses during the Han dynasty. Chang Ch'ien was amazed to see in Bactria staves or walking sticks made of bamboo of Kiung and cloth of Shu, both from Sechuan. The Bactrians had purchased them in India. This subsequently led the Chinese to the discovery of Yün-nan. An ancient

trade route ran from Sechuan through Yün-nan into NE India, thence to NW India and then to Iranian lands. Silk–horse barter was a feature of Western Han times. The Han Emperor Wu-ti twice despatched troops under the command of General Li Guangli to obtain fine horses across the Tienshan mountains from the West. The new breed reinforced the military capability of China to such an extent as to eliminate the Huns and to expand their power as far as Korea. The Imperial Mausoleum of Western Han in Yangjinwan has thousands of clay figures of war horses. Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, the first Indian teacher in China in the first century AD, stayed at the Po-ma ssu or White Horse Monastery. The word 'white' can refer here to the colour of the horse or the horse of the 'white' people. The ethnicon of Kucha was 白 'white' and *śvetadvīpa* 'white land' refers to an area beyond NW India. The white horse is at the base of the modern economic miracle of Japan. At the end of the Second World War, General MacArthur rode the sacred white horse of the Emperor of Japan to seal the newly won victory, and offered the equivalent of Marshall Aid to Japan. The Japanese responded: "No aid, only trade. We will work hard and grow rich." The white horse became the heavenly horse that led Japan to unprecedented economic heights.

Music, milk, paper, rice, fruits: In 138 BC Chang Ch'ien, the envoy of the Chinese Emperor, took back musical instruments and Mahātukhāra melodies from India to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an. The son-in-law of the Emperor Wu-ti wrote 28 new tunes based on this melody which were played as military music. Along with Buddhism, the Tokharians of the route introduced milk to China. The Chinese ideograph *lo* 酪, pronounced *lak* in ancient times, which meant various kinds of fermented milk products, was a loan from Indo-European (Latin *lactic*). The peach and pear reached India in the reign of Kaniṣka and hence they were known as *cīnānī* 'Chinese Princess' and *cīnā-rājaputra* 'Chinese Prince.' Paper had been manufactured out of silk in Han times, but with the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled *Ku-chin tzu-ku* where the silk radical 糸 of the character *chih* 紙 for silk is replaced by 帛 with the cotton radical 巾, after the invention by Ts'ai Lun. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from India to China in the second century BC. The Japanese word *uruchi* is derived from the Sankrit *vrīhi*. It seems to have arrived via NW India where Greek and Roman influences were dominant. Rice is *oruza* in Greek and Latin (*oryza*), both derivatives of *vrīhi*. The knowledge of rice came to Greece from the expedition of Alexander and the mention of *oruza* by Theophrastus (c. 320–300 BC) dates almost from the lifetime of Alexander who died in 323 BC. The Japanese is so close to the Greek form that its origin can be connected with a variant of *vrīhi* that was prevalent in NW India, from which the Greek and Japanese forms are

derived. The golden peach was introduced into China in the reign of Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang (AD 629–49) from Sogdiana. The peach and the apricot were introduced to Rome in the first century AD through Iran, via Armenia, Greece and Rome. In AD 647 the king of Gandhara in NW India sent the 'Buddha-land vegetable' to the Chinese court (T'ang shu 221b7).

Greco-Roman elements: The three Tathāgatas of the past, present and future, in China and Japan are: Dīpaṅkara (Jōkō Nyorai), Śākyamuni, and Maitreya (Miroku). Hsüan-tsang localises the cult of Dīpaṅkara the Tathāgata of the past at Nagarahāra (modern Jalalabad in Afghanistan). His names, translated into Chinese by various pairs of characters meaning "Constant Light", "Universal Light", "Blazing Torch", show proximity to the Iranian light cult. The sitting posture of Maitreya, with his feet hanging down the seat in European fashion, are a feature of NW India, where Iranians, Greeks, Romans, Scythians, Kushans, and Tokharians jostled with the Indians.

The continued political presence of the Achaemenians, Parthians, Seleucids, Indo-Greeks, and Kushans had a far-reaching impact on the cultural hegemony of North-west India. It saw the osmosis of Iranian and Hellenistic ideas into Buddhism. The king-cult or emperor-worship was prevalent in Iran, Greece and Rome. The deification of kings was a solemn act of legislation in Greece even before Alexander crossed over into Asia. It was transplanted into Rome. Images of deified kings were installed in temples in live physical dimensions or in heights of multiples thereof to express greater loyalty. The loyalty of the provinces to Rome was gauged by the veneration which they felt for the person of the Emperor, whom they were prepared to treat as a god. The practice of offering divine honours to Augustus began in the East soon after Actium and in the course of his reign penetrated to all parts of the Empire.

The ninchūzō 人中像 have been a puzzle to Japanese, Chinese and European scholars (for instance, Yoshimura Rei, Roshana Hōkai Ninchūzō no kenkyū, *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 203.125–39). They were personalities (人) in (中) statues (像). These were life-size sculptures, made to the breadth of the donor's finger (*aṅgula*). There are several instances in the Buddhist world. The proportions of a Tibetan Buddha are those of the Prince of Shalu (Zhva.lu) or the image of an Avalokiteśvara has the same size as Sontsengampo, the first emperor of Tibet. These portrait-statues of the royalty were an expression of sanctified power. The Sanskrit word *pratimā* means a portrait-statue done to (*prati*) the measures (*mā*) of the donor. The Daibutsu, larger than life-size, were an extension of this principle: the colossal Maitreya statue at Darel seen by Fa-hsien, the two images at Bamiyan, the 27 metre high standing Maitreya at the Binglingsi caves are royal enterprises. They remind of the colossi in the Greco-Roman world. The colossus of

Apollo astride the entrance of the harbour of Rhodes was the most celebrated in Greek antiquity, 120 feet high, made by Chares in 250 BC. Colossal statues of deities and emperors were erected all over the Roman empire to impress the might of Rome on the people. Zenodorus was summoned by Nero to Rome and there he made a statue 106 feet high to represent the emperor but dedicated to the Sun. In the eighth century, Rocana/ Roshana of Nara, symbolised impirium. Emperor Shomu ordered, in AD 743, the construction of the gigantic statue (daibutsu) of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery, in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared awareness: it was a 'Grand National Temple.' Ninchūzō/ portrait-statues or daibutsu/colossi in China and Japan go back to NW Indian prototypes which were cognate to Roman concepts of imperial power expressed as cult images.

The portents of sweating, weeping, shaking, light-emitting images from the Chin (AD 265–420) to the Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou (AD 550–81) dynasties are sensitive not to individual worshippers but to the body politic. Their forerunners were the state cults of Greece and Rome. The Roman historian Livy records sympathetic sweating while Hannibal was in Italy at a critical stage of the Second Punic War. Livy and St. Augustine cite that Apollo of Cumae lamented publicly when the Greeks were worsted by the Romans in three successive wars of the second century BC. Just as the safety of ancient Troy depended on the statue of Pallas, the Buddhist images in China were also palladia. It is an indication that the Greco-Romanised peoples of NW India were active intermediaries not only in the trading of silk, but also in the transmission of the sutras. The role of the Greco-Roman world in the conditioning and in the transferring of Buddhism across the Sutra Route, deserves a close study.

Jade beauties to flying devīs: The Chinese were fascinated by jade beauties and by the music and dances of the Central Asian peoples. The Chou (1027–256 BC) got music of the Western Barbarians and played it on special occasions to vaunt their political might. The first three masters of Buddhist psalmody (bombai) in China were Kuchean, Scythian and Sogdian. In AD 384 Lü Kuang brought music from Kucha as triumphal booty.

The Mogao Caves at Tun-huang and the Yulin Caves have extensive representation of flying goddesses, some of whom hold musical instruments. Beginning with Northern Wei (386–534) they come down to the Yüan dynasty (1271–1368). They emerge from the Pool of Seven Jewels in the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī. They dwell in heaven and refrain from taking meat and wine, but collect the sweet nectar of different flowers and scatter blossoms from the sky to make the world fragrant. With no robes

above the waist, they fly in the air in their flowing scarves. The flying celestials at Tun-huang with long silk scarves trailing out gave rise to the 'Scarf Dance.' Their hand and body postures are strongly reminiscent of the Indian style of dancing.

In 568 Emperor Wu-ti of the Northern Wei married a Turk princess of the A-she-na family. The princess brought in her train the musicians of Kucha. Since then we find the music of Kucha, Kashgar, Bukhara and Samarkand in Northern Chou.

The concupiscent statues of goddesses at Nav Bahar in Bactria established the equation "ideal beauty = Buddhist image" in the East Iranian world. Even when Buddhism had faded away, early Persian poetry continued to cultivate abstract mental forms poignantly recalling ideas of the grace of Buddhist statues. Ayyūqī writes of his beautiful heroine that "she was...a Buddhist statue in a temple full of offerings." Further on, we find the crescendo in stanzas 2138–42 where she is addressed as *Bot* (Buddhist statue), then *lo'bat* (statuette), and finally as *nowbahar*, the Buddhist monastery which was well-known for its graceful statues in Iranian literature upto the time of Yaqub in the 13th century. No wonder that the metaphor of the *Bot* 'Buddhist statue' is constant in early Persian poetry.

The Annals of the Sui and T'ang dynasties record Iranian dances and musical instruments. Prosperity flowed into the T'ang capital Ch'ang-an, an international centre of politics, trade and culture, as it was the easternmost terminus of the trans-national Silk Route. Chinese poets speak of citizens of Ch'ang-an enjoying wine served by Barbarian women in the taverns. Some of the finest murals at Tun-huang are of dancing goddesses in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements. These dancing angels are Indian for they wear no raiments above the waist. Tun-huang Caves show three types of female dresses: the flowing drapery of Chinese ladies, the tight wear of Central Asian beauties and the sensuous elegance of the bare bodies of Indian belles who bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.

The path of sutras: This route is first and foremost the pathway of texts and translators, of sutras and schools of thought, of the triumphs of Buddhism as the mental and material culture of East Asia. The development of Buddhist temple architecture, new stylistic features in Chinese that arose from translations of Buddhist texts, the Buddhist plurality of inhabited worlds as opposed to the Chinese earth-centred world view, and various elements of cultural transmission, opened up Sinocentrism to wider horizons. The several people inhabiting the route participated in the cultural exchange for a millenium. The earliest and most celebrated of the masters was the Parthian An Shih-kao 安世高 who organised the first translation team, after his arrival at Loyang in AD 148. An Hsüan 安玄 (AD 181), Than-ti 曇諦 (AD 254), An Fa-hsien 安法賢, An Fa-chin 安法欽

(AD 281–306) are other Parthians who translated Sanskrit works. From Gandhara came Jñānagupta 闍那崛多 who translated the Kannon chapter of the Lotus Sutra (AD 561–78).

Kubha or Kabul, the capital of modern Afghanistan, sent the largest number of scholars whose Chinese translations are found in the Tripiṭaka/Daizōkyō. In AD 383 Gautama Saṅghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆 arrived at Loyang. Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉 was another teacher of Kabul who was a great master of Vinaya. He was a teacher of Kumārajīva at Kucha and he came to China in AD 406. Saṅghabhūti 僧伽跋澄 (or 橙) from Kabul translated three works in AD 381–85. In AD 404 Puṇyatara 弗若多羅 of Kabul translated the Sarvāstivada-vinaya, together with Kumārajīva. Budhayaśas 佛陀耶舍 (AD 403–13), Dharmayaśas 曇摩耶舍 (AD 407–15), Buddhajīva 佛陀什 (AD 423), Dharmamitra 曇摩蜜多 (AD 424), Guṇavarman 求那跋摩 (AD 431), Buddhatrāta 佛陀多羅, Buddhapāla 佛陀波利 (AD 676), Prājña 般若 (785–810) were from Kabul who took part in the translation of vinaya, vaipulya and other texts. The Chinese monk Chih-yen went to Kabul to obtain Sanskrit texts. He was a companion of Fa-hsien on his journey to India. The brāhmaṇa Wu-t'ao of Lampāka (Lamghan in Afghanistan) translated a dhāraṇī of Amoghapāśa in AD 700.

From Udyāna or Swat, Vimokṣasena 毗目智仙 came to China in AD 541. He was a descendant of the Śākya family of Kapilavastu. Narendrayaśas 那連提黎耶舍 (AD 557–68), Vinītaruci 毗尼多流支 (AD 582), Meghaśikha 彌伽釋迦 (AD 705), Dānapāla 施護 (AD 980) were from Udyāna. Dānapāla translated 111 works, which are found in the Tripiṭaka.

Dharmanandin 曇摩難提 (AD 384) and Mitraśānta 彌陀山 (AD 705) were monks from Tukhara. I-tsing saw a Tukhara monastery in Eastern India, which had "been built long before by the people of that country for the accommodation of the Buddhist monks from Tukhara. The monastery was very rich and had an abundant supply of all necessities and comforts of life. No other monastery could surpass it in this respect."

The Yüeh-chih 月支 were the earliest non-Indian translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 came to Loyang in AD 164 and worked till AD 186, and has left 12 translations including the longer Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Nj 25) and Akṣobhya-vyūha (Nj 28). He is the third translator of sutras after Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa. He was followed by a Yüeh-chih householder Ch'ien 支謙 in AD 220 who taught the heir apparent of the Wu dynasty. The Tripiṭaka has 49 works by him, which include the Prajñāpāramitā of 10,000 verses, the longer Sukhāvatī-vyūha and Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa. The greatest of Yüeh-chih masters is Dharmarakṣa 竺曇摩羅察 (or 剎) whose family had lived at Tun-huang. He was born around AD 230 at Tun-huang. He came to Loyang in AD 266. He translated several sutras of the Vaipulya 方等 class

for the first time. Ninety of his works survive in the Tripiṭaka. He was called the 'Bodhisattva from Tun-huang', and he contributed the most in the conversion of China to Buddhism, and made Ch'ang-an the foremost Buddhist centre in China. A tireless itinerant preacher and ingenious translator, he integrated Buddhism in the intellectual and spiritual life and gave China its classics of Mahayana. He translated the Lotus Sutra for the first time, which later became the most venerated and fundamental scripture. He got Sanskrit manuscripts from Kashmir, Kucha, Khotan. His collaborators included two Kucheans, a Yüeh-chih, a Khotanese, a Sogdian, and Indians. Various nationalities on the Sutra Route climaxed in his person. In AD 373 a Yüeh-chih householder Shih-lun 支施崙 translated four works.

The first Kuchean 白 monk who translated sutras at the White Horse Monastery in AD 257 was Yen 白延. In AD 307–12 came Śrīmitra 帛尸梨蜜多羅 who translated the Mahāmāyūrī. Towering over all is Kumārajīva whose translation of the Lotus Sutra is a marvel of transcreation. He translated a number of Prajñāpāramitās. Sanskrit manuscripts used to come to China from Kucha, for instance, the Avaivartika-cakra-sutra was brought to Dharmarakṣa by a Kuchean envoy. Sujīva, a member of the royal house of Kucha, came to China in AD 568 and introduced the seven keys of Indian music: sādhārita, kaiśika, ṣaḍja-grāma, ṣaḍja, ṣāḍava, pañcama, and vṛṣabha.

The Sogdian K'ang Chü 康巨 translated a sutra at Loyang in AD 187. In the next decade, came another compatriot K'ang Meng-hsiang 康孟詳 who translated at Loyang six works, including a life of the Buddha, in AD 194–99. Half-a-century later K'ang Sang-k'ai 康僧鎧 /Saṅghavarman translated some works at the White Horse Monastery in Loyang in AD 252. K'ang Seng-hui 康僧會, the eldest son of the prime minister of Sogdiana, came to the capital of the Wu kingdom in AD 241. In 251 he began his work of translation. In AD 396 K'ang Tao-ho 康道和 translated a sutra, which is lost. I-tsing gives a bio-sketch of Saṅghavarman of Sogdiana who came to China around AD 656. He was ordered by Emperor Kao-tsung to go on a pilgrimage to India. In Chinese texts Sogdiana is a part of Northern India, Uttarāpatha in Sanskrit, or its Chinese translation 'Northern Route' which extended from NW India upto Sogdiana. This usage was common in India and China. Northern India in Chinese texts refers to NW India and regions beyond, in fact to the dominions of the erstwhile Kushan empire or Kušanšahr.

While the Sogdians and their language has disappeared, European expeditions have discovered fragments of Sogdian texts near Tun-huang and in the Turfan depression. They reflect Chinese Buddhist literature from which they are predominantly translated. Majority of the translations date from the T'ang dynasty's domination in Central Asia (about AD 650–750).

I-tsing speaks of the nobility and purity of the monk Ch'ang-min in the following

words: "He sacrificed his life for the good of others. He was pure like a mirror, he was priceless like the jade of Khotan." Khotan was famed in China for its jade and sutras. In the eloquent panegyric of Visa Saṁgrāma (P 2787) Khotan is called *Ratna-janapada,* 'the Land of Jade.' Chu Shih-hsing, the first Chinese to leave his country in quest of sutras, chose to journey to Khotan, famous for Sanskrit originals. He undertook this arduous journey in AD 260 and succeeded to locate the Sanskrit text of the Prajñāpāramitā in 25,000 verses. He had a copy made at Khotan. In 282 he sent his Khotanese disciple Puṇyadhana together with the Sanskrit manuscript to China. Written on birch bark leaves 皮葉 it was preserved in a Chinese monastery till the sixth century. In 291 the Khotanese Mokṣala 無叉羅 and the Indian layman Chu Shu-lan 竺叔蘭, started its translation. It was given the title Fang Kuang Ching 放光經 'the sutra of the emission of light'. True to its name, it was to play a dominant role in the formation of Buddhist thought in East Asia. In AD 296 the Khotanese Gītamitra arrived at Ch'ang-an with a copy of the same scripture. In AD 401 the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien spent three months at Khotan and speaks of the flourishing community of Mahayana. In the beginning of the fifth century Chih Fa-ling found the text of a shorter recension of the Avataṁsaka sutras at Khotan. It was translated by Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 in AD 422. In AD 689–91, the Khotanese monk Devaprajñā 提雲般若 translated six works. Śikṣānanda of Khotan rendered several works, of which 16 are found in the Tripiṭaka. Emperor Wu Tsö-t'ien (684–705) sent a special envoy to Khotan for the Sanskrit text of the Avataṁsaka and took part in its translation along with Śikṣānanda for five years (AD 695–99). In AD 721 Chih-yen, a son of the king of Khotan, translated four works. Khotan was in the forefront of the transmission of Sanskrit sutras to China. A bilingual Sanskrit–Khotanese conversation roll, the only one of its kind, was discovered at Tun-huang. The conversation has the following sentences:

"Have you equipment for the road or not?
I do not like equipment for the road. A horse or two and I shall go.
Have you books or not?
I have some.
What is the book?
Sūtra, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Vajrayana.
Among these what book (i.e. title) is there?"

This conversational piece is a clear indication of the frequent transmission of Sanskrit sutras from Khotan to China.

The standard Chinese expression for travelling monks means that they went primarily "to obtain the doctrine" 求法. The oldest Sanskrit manuscript of the Lotus Sutra in existence today, the so-called Kashgar manuscript, is a manuscript from Khotan

and it has a colophon in the Khotanese language giving the names of donors and benefactor relations. History lives. We also know that Hyecho, a famous Korean monk of Silla returned from India via Ansi near Tun-huang in AD 723.

Khotan established its hegemony over the Southern Central Asian states in the first century AD by breaking the power of Yarkand (So-chü 莎車) and extended its authority upto Kashgar. Yarkand is mentioned in the Kāśikā commentary on the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini. It had brilliant academic traditions. Kumārajīva was initiated into Mahayana by Sūryasoma, the royal prince of Yarkand. Kumārajīva confessed that when he studied the Hinayana texts he considered stone to be wonderful and had not recognised gold.

Tao-an, the great master of "Fundamental Non-being" (pen-wu 本無), was fully conversant with the concepts of emptiness versus phenomenal existence, or the relation between 'Absolute Truth' and 'Worldly Truth' as expounded in the Prajñāpāra-mitā. It reminds us of the convergence of the spiritual and the secular, or better their symbiosis, in the ideas of President Ikeda-san. They are the live hues of sensibility of the dawning century of an open society. Tao-an used to explain the entire text of Mokṣala's *Fang-kuang ching* twice a year at Ch'ang-an. To enable him to complete and correct his understanding on many points, he obtained a Sanskrit original of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā from Turfan in AD 382. Turfan introduced systematisation of Abhidharma, till then unknown in China. The king of Turfan sent his royal priest and Abhidharma-expert Kumārabodhi to Ch'ang-an in AD 382, as a member of a tribute mission to the Chinese court. The pilgrim I-tsing mentions two monks of Turfan, Pi-an 彼岸 and Chih-an 智岸, who boarded a ship to India. They fell sick on board and died.

Mogao Caves: The Sutra Route is an age-old witness to the mingling of many ancient cultures of the Chinese, Iranians, Tokharians, Greco-Romans, and Indians. The outstanding achievements of mankind are strewn along this path which culminates at Tun-huang, with its golden sands and blue skies. The first town was established here as a midway stop of the travel route in the first century BC at the time of the Han dynasty. It has seen Chang Ch'ien the Han ambassador to befriend the tribes of the West, Hsüan-tsang the prince of pilgrims to procure sutras, Marco Polo on his return to Europe, and others too many to specify. Ancient ballads tell the sad and lonesome life of Chinese soldiers on these remote borders of the west. The prosperity and stability of the country under Emperor Wu (AD 265–90) favoured the development of international trade and cultural exchange with improved agricultural techniques and irrigation. In the middle of the third century it became a main commercial centre with a mixed Chinese and Barbarian population. We have already spoken of Dharmarakṣa the Yüeh-chih, who was pro-

ficient in Sanskrit as well as in Chinese and in several Central Asian languages, translated the Lotus Sutra and Lalitavistara the biography of the Buddha, providing material for narrative paintings conducive to the propagation of the Dharma. Around 300, war and chaos overtook the country. Removed from the political strife of the central plains of China, it became a spiritual refuge during the years of civil war. It was situated at a strategic point, where the northern and southern trade routes across Central Asia converged. Monks and merchants welcomed the respite after long and tiresome journeys. A painting was executed as early as AD 344 in the Mogao Caves. The inscription entitled 'The Restoration of the Mogao Caves', erected by Li Huairang in AD 698, states that an Indian monk named Lo-tsun excavated the first cave in AD 366. The second cave was built by the Buddhist monk Fa-liang. Both these caves have long disappeared. These grottos are the largest group of ancient excavated temples. At the time of the T'ang dynasty there were over a thousand caves and niches, of which 492 are extant from the Sixteen States period (AD 304–439) to the Yüan dynasty (AD 1271–1368). This complex of religious abodes and caravan-serais, with its flat murals and three-dimensional sculptures, represents a rich pageant of human life under the kaleidoscope of a supernatural world.

These grottos are commonly known as the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. The name does not refer to the 'Thousand Buddhas' as such, whose names are a thousand epithets of Śākyamuni as omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. It signifies a complex of 'caves with thousands (plural) of icons', where the word for Buddha is used in the Central Asian meaning of *but* 'statue' from the original connotation 'statue of a Buddha' or 'a Buddhist statue'. The Turkish expression 'Ming Oi' means a 'thousand (ming) caves (oi)'. 'Thousand' is not a number, but strength and stability. It has an eminent role both in the spiritual and the temporal worlds, or to use Roman terms, in the flamonium (Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa,* Japanese baramon) and the regnum (Sanskrit *rajan* 'king'). The English word thousand has the base *teu: tu* 'great': Sanskrit *tavas* 'strong, energetic, courageous' (from the root *tu*) and hundred. It can be seen in Old Norse *thus-hund*, and Old Frankish *thus-chunde*, as the 'great hundred'. Thousand is power, strength, might, sturdiness, durability, the enduring and lasting attribute of both the soul and the state. Thus the thousands of icons sanctify the continuity of power and purity. The security of the state was so vital and fundamental that it was apotheosised in the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands, with an eye on each palm. The thousand (*sahasra*) eyes refer to the powerful (*sahas* 'power') intelligence apparatus of the state: the effectiveness of the state is its intelligence system. Constant, thousand-fold vigilance is the continuing price of stability. The information thus obtained has to be activated by an equally potent administrative machinery. The thousand (*sahasra*) arms or hands are the

powerful (*sahas*) and all-pervading action.

The Mogao Caves with a thousand grottos and niches remind of similar complexes. Such complexes with many cave-entrances are a specific monumental type in Tibet known as Tashigomang (Bkra.śis.sgo.maṅ) 'many auspicious doors' or as kumbum (sku.ḥbum) 'myriads of icons'. They have several cave-like room-spaces, gorgeous with mural paintings. Such kumbums once dotted Tibet, to name a few: Jo.naṅ Thon.grol. chen.mo (c. 1330). Ri.bo.che (built 1449–56), Rgyaṅ.bum.mo.che and Ḥkhor.chos.sde at Gyantse (both of the 15th century), and Kumbum Jambaling in Amdo. Colossal in monumentality, they enshrine a veritable corpus of Buddhist revelations. The pilgrim who envisions them unites himself to cosmic consciouness, and becomes the light that gives life to everything. This is imperative in a world of shrinking distances, or as President Ikeda eloquently puts it: "culture is essentially universal in nature; it is the breath that enlivens the activities of human life. Joy strikes a sympathetic chord in the hearts of all people and causes harmonious reverberations. In a similar manner, culture is a fundamental human undertaking that conquers all distance to stir the hearts of people everywhere. I am always amazed to think that, in spite of the figurative shrinkage of distance caused by improved means of transportation, vast distances still separate the hearts of men. Although goods and information are exchanged widely on a daily basis, exchanges on the personal, human level among the peoples of the world remain rare." Across gaps and pauses of centuries, the messages of the many cloisters on the route, become the incoming waves of the heart of Ikeda-san. As he said in his speech at Moscow University in 1975: "we have a responsibility for creating a brilliant spiritual Silk Road to connect the minds and hearts of the people of the world."

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11. AVALOKITEŚVARA IN TUN-HUANG PAINTINGS

(in collaboration with Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, BHU, Varanasi)

Hushed and listening to the pause of time stands Tun-huang. At this Blazing (*tun*) Beacon (*huang*) is the inner vision, in the outward sight of the sacred icons. Born in the delight of illusory beauty, icons are transfigured as the inner eye fixates upon them in heart's devotion. They are the vision (*kuan*) and the hymn (*yin*) that bathes our consciousness.

Rectification of names: The present paper is a study in the rectification of names, *cheng-ming* in Chinese, as applied to the study of Kuan-yin in the paintings from Tun-huang at the British Museum. The doctrine of cheng-ming and living in accord with this rectification of names is a basic concept of Confucian philosophy. Extensive discussions on this doctrine are found in Classical China (Fung 1952: 1.54, 59–63...). Names when rectified have a practical flavour. To rectify names in a state means: "Let the ruler be a ruler, the minister be a minister, the father be a father, and the son be a son" (Chan 1967: 35). Hsün Tzu (313–238 BC) has a whole chapter XXII on *cheng-ming* (rectification of names) while Kung-sun Lung (498? BC) treats *ming-shih lun* (on names and actuality) at length.

1. We need to rectify the terminology used in Tun-huang studies. The expression Tun-huang Caves itself is imprecise. It should be appropriately termed Mogao Caves. The Tun-huang region has three groups of caves:

i. Mogao Caves
ii. Western Caves of thousands of Buddhas, on the north bank of the Tang River, about 35 kilometres west of Tun-huang.
iii. Yü-lin (Elm Grove) or Myriad Buddhas Gorge (Wan-fo-hsia) of An-hsi, on both sides of the Ta-shih river, 40 kilometres south-west of the town of An-hsi.

These three groups of caves are indicated in a list of Buddhist monks and nuns found at Tun-huang, dated AD 863, as: "meditation caves at three sites."

2. There are two other crucial expressions, which need to be re-interpreted:
Ch'ien-fo-tung, usually translated as Thousand Buddha Caves
Wan-fo-tung, usually translated as Myriad Buddha Caves.

The expression Ch'ien-fo-tung does not refer to the 'Thousand Buddhas' as such, whose names are a thousand epithets of Śākyamuni as omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. It signifies a complex of 'caves with thousands (plural) of caves or icons', where the word 佛 *Fo* or Buddha is used in the Central Asian meaning of *but* 'statue'.

There is a similar Turkish expression *ming-oi* which means a 'thousand (*ming*) caves (*oi*)'. The Kizil Caves are, for instance, a famous ming-oi. The Mogao Caves with hundreds of grottos and niches are a ming-oi. They also remind of other similar complexes with many entrances. This specific monumental type is known in Tibet as Tashigomang (Bkra.śis.sgo.maṅ) 'many auspicious doors' or as kumbum (sku.ḥbum) 'myriads (*ḥbum*) of icons (*sku*)'. They have several room-spaces, gorgeous with mural paintings. Such kumbums once dotted Tibet (p. 239).

The word *wan* (myriad) in the phrase Wan-fo-tung makes it clear that Ch'ien-fo refers to thousands of Buddhas and not to the specific 'Thousand Buddhas'.

3. The above introductory remarks are intended to show that several terms have to be re-interpreted for correct perception and precise meaning of the material, artistic, and spiritual assessment of the murals and sculptures at the three Tun-huang cave complexes. The words Kuan-yin/Avalokita-svara and their variants also come under this category of redefining their definitive denotations.

Chinese translations of Avalokita-svara: The word Avalokita-svara has been translated into Chinese in six ways:

盧樓亘

Lokakṣema (AD 147–86), in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha (Nj 25): K'o-lou-hsüan, Jap. Ko-rō-kō

闍音

Chih Ch'ien (AD 223–28), in the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa (Nj 147): K'uei-yin, Jap. Kion

觀世音

Saṅghavarman (AD 252), in the Sukhāvatī-vyūha (T 360): Kuang-shih-yin, Jap. Kanzeon

光世音

Dharmarakṣa (AD 286), in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (T 263): Kuang-shih-yin, Jap. Kōzeon

觀音

Chisha Daishi (AD 538–598) (T 1726): Kuan-yin, Jap. Kannon

觀自在

Hsüan-tsang (AD 646), in Hsi-yü-chi (Nj 1503): Kuang-tzŭ-tsai, Jap. Kanjizai

The original Sanskrit name was not clear, and this gave rise to six translations. The Sanskrit–Chinese dictionary Fan-i ming-i chi, compiled by Fa-yün in AD 1151, admits that sutras written north of the Himalayas have *svara* meaning 'sound'. Ch'ang-kuan the fourth patriarch of the Avataṁsaka school states in his commentary on the Avataṁsakavaipulya-sūtra, written during AD 784–87: "In the Sanskrit originals themselves two different names of the Bodhisattva occur. It is due to this difference in the Sanskrit originals that the Chinese translators of these same originals differ as to the names of the Bodhisattva." In Chinese translations the last element is *yin* 'sound'/svara, except in Hsüan-tsang. He states in the third chapter of his Travels/Hsi-yü-chi (AD 646) that Kuan-tzŭ-tsai = Avalokiteśvara is the correct name. He follows the later Indian interpretation, when the original word had been forgotten. The Chinese tzŭ-tsai means Īśvara, a name of Śiva. Śiva had been assimilated into Buddhism as Avalokiteśvara, who replaced him.

Mythopoiesis is a fundamental process in culture. It is a continuing relationship between 'inside' and 'outside'. There is no 'inside' without an 'outside'. Avalokita is an example of interiorisation, a vital course of cultural renewal. It starts with Aśoka when he ordered yakṣas to create 84,000 caityas in a moment: *evaṁ vistareṇa caturaśīti-kumbha-sahasraṁ paṭṭa-sahasraṁ ca yakṣāṇāṁ haste datvā visarjitam... ...ekasmin divase eka-muhūrte caturaśīti-dharmarājikā-sahasraṁ pratiṣṭhāpitam* (Aśokāvadāna p. 54, 55). By one imperial order, all the places of yakṣa worship were converted into Buddhist caityas. Thus local deities were converted to Buddhism and hence onwards assimilation of prevalent gods and goddesses became an integral part of the onward march of Buddhism.

Avalokita-svara started as an emanation of Brahmā, but in course of time several deities were assimilated reflecting his many roles and aspects. The process of assimilation can be seen in the diverse forms of Avalokita or Lokeśvara as manifestations of various aspects of Brahmā.

1. As mantradraṣṭā, brahmaghoṣa, svara (*yin*) in Avalokita-svara an acolyte of Amitābha.
2. Consort of Amitābha as White-robed Kuan-yin.
3. Brahmā in the waters. Appears on a lotus: Padmapāṇi. Water-Moon Kuan-yin.
4. Brahmā as Pitāmaha→Sugati-sandarśana, Preta-santarpita.
5. Brahmā Sahāṁpati, Lokādhipati, Lokeśa, Lokeśvara
   Interiorisation of Lokeśvara or Lokanātha in general.
6. New Lokeśvaras, for example:
7. Maheśvara/Śiva as a widely prevalent deity→Eleven-headed and Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.
8. Viṣṇu's transformation→Potala Lokeśvara.

1. Commences as *Avalokita-svara*, an acolyte of Amitābha. Origin: Brahmā, as the manifestation of svara, vāk, Logos. Text: Sukhāvatī-vyūha, cf. Lotus Sutra, ch. 24.

Brahmā to Avalokita-svara: Brahmā and Śakra occur together frequently in the Pali texts. They ask a question together in the Saṁyutta-nikāya 1.233. Both await the Buddha, leaning on the door-post. Brahmā is an attendant disciple of the Buddha, along with Śakra (Jayawardhana 1972:292). The two flank him on the left and right in the older sculptures from Mathura and Gandhara. Brahmā has the hair-do of an ascetic and Indra wears a turban. Images from Gandhara and Udyāna show Brahmā and Indra entreating the Buddha to preach. The Kaniṣka reliquary found in the great stupa at Shah-ji-ki Dheri shows Indra and Brahmā with hands folded in añjali flanking the Buddha. This tradition goes back to ancient aniconic times when we find the two great gods in adoration of an empty seat under the Bodhi tree on a railing pillar from Mathura. With the rise of transcendental tendencies in Buddhism, Śākyamuni the Man was replaced by Amitābha the new Tathāgata. When Śākyamuni became Amitābha, the names of the attendant acolytes changed: Brahmā became Avalokita-svara and Śakra became Mahāsthāma-prāpta. Avalokita sports the lotus and Mahāsthāmaprapta holds the vajra. The two represent vision and valiance, wisdom and way, prévoir and pouvoir, prajñā and upāya. Lording over the two prevalent deities, the lokeśvaras, was Amitābha, whose other name is significantly Lokeśvararāja 世自在王如來. In the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (ch. 24 st. 28), Avalokiteśvara is called *Lokeśvararāja-nāyaka* 'one whose master is Lokeśvararāja or Amitābha'.

Brahmā envisions the mantras and as the upholder of the vision enshrined in mantras he holds the four Vedas in his hands. He is the supreme symbol of brahma-ghoṣa, the revealed Word of mantras, in the new terminology he was *Avalokita* 'seer' of + *svara* 'Word, Logos'. The form Avalokita-svara is actually found in Central Asian

Sanskrit manuscripts. The Chinese Kuan-yin (*kuan* 'see' +*yin* 'sound') is a translation of Avalokita-svara. In the Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra Avalokita-svara is the great *vidyādhipati* and he is in possession of hundreds of mantras: *aneka-mantra-śat-āvakīrṇa* (EBu. 2.259b). Svara, the second member of the compound of Avalokita-svara rightly characterises him. Śakra means 'The Powerful One' from the root *śak* 'to be powerful', and so does *mahā* 'great' + *sthāma* 'power, stamina' + *prāpta* 'attained'. Indra wields the vajra and it exhilerates him to carry out warlike deeds. He is spoken of as the lord of victors in Jātakas 5.322 (*jayatāṁ pati*), and he is the embodiment of the greatest valour (Mahāvaṁsa 30.10). Mahāsthāmaprāpta continues to hold the vajra in his hand.

Prominence of Brahmā and hence of Avalokita-svara: In the Brahmajāla-sutta, Brahmā is revealed as considering himself the Supreme One, the Mighty, All-Seeing. The Ariya-pariyesaṇa-sutta (Majjhima-nikāya 1.168) attributes to him the first use of the word *Tathāgata* in addressing the Buddha (EBu. III/2.299). His learning is contrasted with that of Indra as he discourses at Uruvela (Saṁyuttanikāya 5.23, EBu. 299) and he teaches Indra the correct way to praise the Buddha. The wisdom, vision and prajñā of Brahmā or Avalokita-svara was complemented by the way, valour and upāya of Indra or Mahāsthāmaprāpta. In the new re-mythologisation, the Buddhist spiritual experience was cast in new symbols of the Amitābha triad, across cultures, across religions. Through the concept of *upāya* 'skilful means' Buddhist dharma was presented in accordance with the understanding, capacity and symbols of the hearer concerned (Pye 1978, Ling 1979:37–44). It simplified and strengthened the spread of Buddhism by assimilating local tendencies.

In the heaven of Amitābha there are two, Avalokita-svara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, almost as great and luminous as Buddha, who sit on thrones equal to his. Avalokita is the more majestic; this is due to his vow to bring all beings, without exception, into the 'happy land'. The predominance of Avalokita-svara over Mahāsthāmaprāpta can also be explained by his antecedent deity. Like Avalokita-svara, his origin Brahmā Sahāṁpati was a mightly and powerful Mahābrahmā.

The origins of Padmapāṇi Avalokita-svara from Brahmā were bound to surface. Brahmā Sahāṁpati and Brahmā Sanatkumāra play an important role in the life of the Buddha. It is to Brahmā Sahāṁpati that the Buddha speaks his first words after Enlightenment (Dīgha-nikāya 2.39, EBu. III/2.298). In the Dīgha-nikāya 3.84 Buddha is *brahma-bhūta* 'become Brahma', that is attained the highest. The Buddhists admitted the assumptions of the Vedic gods and made them consistent with their viewpoint as well as nomenclature. The early Pali texts refer to the worship of Brahmā as being in vogue (EBu. III/2.296). Several Mahābrahmās diffuse the status of the Vedic Brahmā, though his wide popularity is recast as Avalokita-svara, who substitutes him as a spiritual and

social symbol. He rises above the trammels and travails of the world, as the lotus rises above the muddy waters of the ponds. He is no longer a mere acolyte of Amitābha, but assumes an independent role in multiple manifestations as so many Lokeśvaras. The pre-eminence of Brahmā-worship was substituted by that of Avalokita, while Mahāsthāma-prāpta remained an acolyte without an independent status.

2. White-robed Kuan-yin = Pāṇḍaravāsinī (consort of Amitābha) is a peculiar Chinese development.

3. Brahmā is connected with *water*. He dwells in the waters. This divine Brahmā, called Nārāyaṇa, created all beings (Viṣṇu-purāṇa 1.4.2, Daniélou 1964:234). From the waters arose Brahmā, the Self-born (Rāmāyaṇa 2.110.3). He holds a water jug in one of his hands. Likewise, Avalokita is associated with water. Avalokita stands on a lotus which floats on a stream (Waley 1931:26). He sits on the edge of a flat rock in the waters. His right foot rests on a lotus rising from water (ibid. 470, Whitfield 2.19). Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara is seated in a lotus tank (ibid. 98, Whitfield 2.29). He sits on a variegated lotus floating on blue water (ibid. 150). The lotus-seat of Avalokita rises from a tank (ibid. 249).

The Maitrī-saṁhitā mentions the four faces and the lotus of Brahmā. Brahmā appears on a lotus. He is called Sarojin 'having a lotus' (Daniélou 1964:233, 235). As a manifestation of Brahmā the original Ārya Avalokita-svara, holds a lotus in his hands. Stein painting 234 (Waley 194, Whitfield 2.81) holds a lotus, even though he is represented alone, by himself.

4. Brahmā as Pitāmaha represented Pitṛyāna, distinguished from Devayāna. Hence the 'Guide of Souls' and Preta-santarpita Lokeśvaras.

Sugati-sandarśana Lokeśvara: Avalokita as the 'Guide of Souls' is painted on two scrolls (Waley 1931: 80, 81). Stein 46 carries a banner on a long pole over the right shoulder and censer in the left hand. Behind is the figure of a lady who is being led to the Western Paradise, represented by eight miniature pavilions on top of the picture. Another painting (Stein 47) depicts his right hand with a smoking censer, and the left hand carries a spray of pink lotus and a banner with streamers and triangular top. The cartouche has three characters 引 路 菩 'the bodhi[sattva] who shows the way'. "This is a well-known title of Kṣitigarbha, who would, however, as 'Guide of Souls' appear as a monk carrying the beggar's staff" (Waley). He is Sugati-sandarśana Lokeśvara of the Sādhanamālā (no. 42), who however, is six-armed with the right hands in varada, abhaya, rosary and the left hands with lotus, vase, tridaṇḍī. The long pole and the banner with a triangular top in the paintings can be associated with a three-forked staff or tridaṇḍī.

Preta-santarpita Lokeśvara. The Lokeśvara with a willow-spray and flask standing in the waters or not, is the Preta-santarpita Lokeśvara of the Sādhanamālā (no. 43),

who is six-armed. Tarpaṇa or pitṛ-tarpaṇa is offering water to the Manes from a vessel made of gold, silver, or other metal. The water is offered with kuśa grass, the twigs of a fig tree, as homage to the spirits of the departed ancestors (Shastri 1963:112f.). The willow-spray is for sprinkling water from the flask, while standing in the water. This is clear from inscribed paintings e.g. Stein 14/Whitfield 2.7 bears the inscription: "on behalf of the souls of my deceased parents, that they may be born again in Paradise, I reverently made this Great Holy One and with whole heart dedicated it."

5. As a transformation of Brahma Sahāṁpati, Avalokita was a Lokeśvara or Lokanātha. The Amarakośa 1.6 gives *Lokeśa* as a synonym of Brahmā. In the Saṁyuttanikāya 1.180 Mahābrahmā is *lokādhipati* 'ruler of the world', so also Brahmā in the Brahmajāla-sutta (Dīgha-nikāya I.1). As a lokeśvara or lokanātha he became the prototype for the assimilation of popular deities. Avalokita became established as a powerful deity who gave admission to new Lokeśvaras. Later on the new entrants were deemed to be his epiphanies. In the Hayagrīva-dhāraṇī, Avalokita utters the hymn to Hayagrīva. The text does not identify him as Hayagrīva. But later on he becomes Avalokiteśvara-Hayagrīva (Lokesh Chandra 1987:30). The hymn to the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was in fact a hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha, recited by Avalokita (ibid. 270) but it was misunderstood. Nīlakaṇṭha became a form of Avalokiteśvara. From confusion resulted fusion.

In China too, the incoming prevalent deities or Lokeśvaras were treated as Kuan-shih-yin or Kuan-yin. Shih 世 in the Chinese term refers to *loka* in *lokeśvara*. In Chinese Kuan-yin became a linguistic classifier which included several folk deities. The Six Kuan-yin and the Thirty-three Kuan-yin are an evolution of this process.

6. New Lokeśvaras emerged in sutras like the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, for instance:

Bhayatrāṇa Avalokita: The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (ch. 25) speaks of Avalokiteśvara who saves devotees from seven or twelve perils (Waley 1931:4). There are four scrolls in the British Museum. The number of hands and characteristics differ in all of them.

Four Avalokita: Stein scroll no. 5 (Waley 1931:8, Whitfield 1982:1.23) shows four Avalokiteśvaras on the upper half of the picture, and Samantabhadra on an elephant and Mañjuśrī on a lion occupy the lower half. The Chinese captions of the four Avalokiteśvaras do not correspond to the inscription e.g. the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara does not have eleven heads. Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra on their mounts occur in the paintings of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (see Kurata/Tamura 1987: pl. 31, 32, 34...). The four figures in the upper part of the scroll are the four great Bodhisattvas of the earth described in the 15th chapter: Jogyo (Skt. Viśiṣṭa-caritra), Muhengyo (Ananta-caritra), Jyogyo (Viśuddha-caritra) and Anryugyo (Supratiṣṭhita-caritra). They signify respectively the four noble qualities of life: true self, eternity, purity and happiness.

7. Maheśvara or Śiva as a widely prevalent deity (lok-eśvara) was Buddhised as Eleven-headed and/or Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara.

By the time of Hsüan-tsang, who completed his travels in AD 646, the form with °īśvara had crystallised. He translated the word as Kuan-tzŭ-tsai (Kuan = avalokita, tzŭ-tsai =īśvara) and opined that this is the correct form. The form ending with °svara had been forgotten and the Śivaisation of Avalokita was a well-established tradition. In the twelfth chapter of the Nayasūtra (T 243), translated by Amoghavajra (AD 705–74), Maheśvara in a Tathāgata form occupies the centre of the maṇḍala (Astley-Kristensen 1991:158, 231, illus. 13). The Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara represents the Eleven Rudras, with six and eight arms in the Tun-huang scrolls. The six-armed Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara has the following attributes (Waley 101):

r.h. moon-disk, vitarka mudrā, willow spray
l.h. sun-disk, vitarka mudrā, flask

The eight-armed form has different characteristics:

r.h. sun-disk, trident, añjali mudrā, rosary
l.h. moon-disk, trident, añjali mudrā, varada mudrā

The trident in the third pair of hands shows him to be Maheśvara, who is vanquished by Vajrapāṇi and folds his hands in the añjali mudrā as a mark of surrender (Snellgrove 1987:134–41).

The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara is also a metamorphosis of Maheśvara. His hymn is Nīlakaṇṭhaka (see T 1057 onwards). The original hands are in añjali mudrā. The trident and skull or skull-mace are also characteristic of Maheśvara. Thousand limbs are integral to the Puruṣasūktạ of the Ṛgveda 10.90. Sahasra-bāhu 'thousand-armed' occurs in Ṛgveda 8.45.26 and it is a name of Śiva in the Mahābhārata. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was invoked for the protection of the state, according to Amoghavajra's *Kin-kang-ting-yu-k'ie ts'ien-sheu ts'ien-yen kuan-tseu-tsai p'u-sa sieu king yi kuei king* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (T 1056, Nj 1383) = *Vajraśekhara-yoga-sahasrabhuja-sahasrākṣa-avalokiteśvara-bodhisattva-caryā-kalpa-sūtra (Lokesh Chandra 1987:273). In the Majjhima-nikāya 3.101 the word *sahassa* 'thousand' has been used to describe the Mahābrahmā of the thousand world-systems (EBu. III/2.298).

8. Four-armed Potala *Avalokita* (Tib. Spyan.ras.gzigs = Avalokita, without svara or īśvara):

Avalokita worshipped in his own right as equivalent to a Tathāgata.
Main function: stability of the state.
Likely origin: Viṣṇu (because of four arms as well as being associated with the state. Kings are Viṣṇu incarnate).

ICONOGRAPHIC TYPES OF KUAN-YIN IN THE TUN-HUANG PAINTINGS

Two-armed

1. r.h. lotus, l.h. flask, Waley 270.
2. r.h. lotus bud, l.h.vitarka, Waley 156, Serindia pl. LXXXVIII, Waley 156, Whitfield 2.41.
3. r.h. a lotus with Buddha, l.h. flask, with scenes of seven perils, Waley 38, Whitfield 2.25.
4. r.h. on knee, l.h. lotus, in the Amitābha triad, Waley 59, Whitfield 1.18.
5. r.h. flask, l.h. lotus bud, Waley 255.
6. r.h. pot with lotus plant, l.h. rosary. Dedicated on behalf of deceased nuns, clerks and ācāryas, Waley 46.
7. Both hands in añjali mudrā. Waley 154,155,156,157 (Serindia pl. LXXXIX, Whitfield 2.43), 264, 266, 273, 292.
8. Both hands in vitarka mudra, Waley 235, 272.
9. r.h. vitarka, l.h. flask, Waley 140, Whitfield 1.50.
10. r.h. vitarka, l.h. palm inwards at breast, Waley 258.
11. r.h. vitarka, l.h. palm inwards over knee, Waley 263.
12. r.h. vitarka, l.h. holding stole, Waley 154.
13. r.h. vitarka, l.h. horizontal below right, palm upturned, Waley 165, Thousand Buddhas pl. XXXII.
14. r.h. vitarka holding long-stemmed lotus, l.h. flask, Waley 229.
15. r.h. vitarka, l.h. maṇi (?), Waley 87.
16. r.h. vitarka, l.h. flaming jewel. Ins.: The land may enjoy peace, ...no calamities, ...grandchildren may abound, ...riches, dignity and prosperity. Waley 87, Serindia pl. LXVI, Whitfield 2.27.
17. r.h. flask, l.h. vitarka.
18. r.h. vitarka with willow branch, l.h. yellow flower. Dedicated to departed parents. Waley 6, Serindia pl. LXXXI, Thousand Buddhas pl. XV, Whitfield 1.24.
19. r.h. raised to shoulder, turned backwards, thumbs and first finger joined, l.h. vitarka, Waley 155.
20. r.h. vitarka, l.h. by side, Waley 221.
21. r.h. varada, l.h. at breast, Waley 144, Whitfield 1.51.
    Waley 150, Thousand Buddhas pl. XXXI, with ten scenes representing ten perils.
22. r.h. willow spray, l.h. flask. Waley 13 (Serindia pl. LXX, Thousand Buddhas pl. XX), Waley 25 (Thousand Buddhas pl. XXI, Whitfield 2.1), Waley 26 (Serindia pl. LXIX, Thousand Buddhas pl.XXII, Whitfield 2.7 dedicated to deceased parents, younger brother...), Waley 29 (by water, Serindia pl. LXXIX, Thousand

Buddhas pl. XXIV), Waley 36 (Serindia pl. LXIX, Whitfield 2.3), Waley 158, 177, 179 (Whitfield 2.39), Waley 216, 227, 229, 230, 247, 253, 271 (Thousand Buddhas pl. XIX), 287, 300.

23. r.h. flask, l.h. willow spray, by water, Waley 47, Whitfield 2.17.
24. r.h. willow spray, l.h. flask and spray of lotus, Waley 40, Thousand Buddhas pl. XVIII, Whitfield 1.14.
25. r.h. flask, l.h. extended downwards, Waley 35, Serindia pl. LXVIII, Whitfield 2.2.
26. r.h. raised, l.h. flask, Waley 283.
27. r.h. banner, l.h. censer, Guide of Souls, Waley 80, Whitfield 2.10.
28. r.h. censer, l.h. spray of lotus and banner, Guide of Souls, Waley 80, Serindia pl. LXXI, Whitfield 2.9

Four-armed

29. r.h. long-stemmed lotus, at side, l.h. at breast, flask (Waley 251, Nepalese style).
30. r.h. sun, vitarka, l.h. moon, mudrā (Waley 243, 244).
31. r.h. sun, willow spray, l.h. moon scenes, vase, with six perils, Waley 45, Serindia pl. LXVIII, Whitfield 1.26.

Six-armed

32. r.h. sun, vitarka, rosary, l.h. moon, vitarka, flask. Inscription: six perils. Waley 4, Thousand Buddhas pl.XXII, Whitfield 2.18.
33. r.h. sun, willow-spray, flask, l.h. moon, willow spray, rosary (Waley 230).
34. r.h. trident, vitarka, pendent, l.h. skull-mace, vitarka, varada (Waley 161).

ELEVEN-HEADED

Six-armed

35. r.h. moon, vitarka, willow spray(?), l.h. sun, vitarka, flask(?). Dedicated to deceased parents, so that their souls may be born in the Pure Land. Waley 101, 231.
36. r.h. sun, vitarka, l.h. moon, lotus bud, two hands streched out above knees. Ins.: the land may be peaceful, inhabitants at rest, village shrines may flourish. Waley 237.
37. r.h. sun, vitarka, l.h. moon, mudrā, two hands pendent with thumb and first finger tocuhing, Waley 255 (three-headed, Serindia pl. XCI), Waley 313 (eleven-headed).
38. r.h. sun, vitarka, l.h. moon, two hands over knee, Waley 278.
39. r.h. moon, vitarka, indistinct, l.h. sun, vitarka, varada. With Sūryagarbha and Candragarbha. Ins.: country might enjoy peace, benevolent rule, prosperity,

abundant harvest. He himself be fortunate, household might enjoy harmony and peace. Waley 95.

40. r.h. moon, vitarka, rosary, l.h. sun, vitarka, palm on knee, one head. Waley 96.
41. r.h. sun, vitarka, on knee, l.h. moon, obliterated, on knee, Waley 242.
42. r.h. sun, vitarka with lotus spray, on knee, l.h. moon, vitarka holding lotus spray, on knee, Waley 249.
43. r.h. sun, willow spray, noose, l.h. moon, willow spray, flask, Waley 243.
44. r.h. sun, willow spray, rosary, l.h. moon, at breast, flask, Waley 312.
45. r.h. vajra-head mace, finger suspended downwards, willow spray, l.h. staff, palm outward in mudrā, flask, Waley 243.

Eight-armed

46. r.h. sun, trident, añjali mudrā, rosary, l.h. moon, trident, añjali mudrā, varada, Waley 78.
47. r.h. moon, vitarka, cintāmaṇi, rosary, l.h. sun, vitarka, flask, rope. Ins.: on behalf of country, ...prosperous, abundant harvest. Waley 98, Serindia pl. LX, Whitfield 2.29; Waley 226, 265.

Thousand-armed

48. One head, 10 arms visible: r.h. sun, skull-headed mace, varada, abhaya, l.h. moon, trident, varada, abhaya, two hands in añjali mudrā, Waley 160, Whitfield 2.70.
49. One head, 22 arms: r.h. moon, Buddha, mirror, Indian flask, spear, trident, axe, sword, cloud, lotus, willow spray, l.h. sun, shell, palace, lotus, bowl, book, vajra, lasso, staff, trident, skull, Waley 31, Whitfield 2.6; Waley 238 one head.
50. Forty arms, heads: one, three or eleven: r.h. palace, cāmara, utpala, sun, mirror, skull-stick, axe, book, cloud, staff, vajra, bell, rosary, grapes, cintāmaṇi, staff, kuṇḍikā, abhaya, varada, dhyāna mudrā, l.h. emanated Buddha, cakra, white lotus, moon, three-pronged vajra, purple lotus, aṅkuśa, casket, spear, bow, noose, ring, willow spray, arrow, conch, sword, kalaśa, abhaya, varada, dhyāna mudrā
    Waley 54, Serindia pl. LXIII, Thousand Buddhas pl. XVII, Whitfield 18 (eleven heads)
    Waley 162, Serindia pl. XCI, Whitfield 2.71 (three heads)
    Waley 178, Serindia pl. LXV, Whitfield 2.40 (one head)
    Waley 217 (one head)
    Waley 233 (one head)
    Waley 278, Serindia pl. LXIV, Thousand Buddhas pl. XLII (eleven heads).

12. FLYING GODDESSES

The flying deities or 飛天 (*hiten* in Japanese) arise along with the concept of paradise in NW India, imbued with Iranian influences, that brought into being Amitābha and his western paradise of Sukhāvatī. Even the European word paradise was borrowed into Greek as *paradeisos* from the Old Persian *pairidāēza,* which meant 'park' from the original meaning of 'enclosure' (*pairi* 'around', Sanskrit *pari* + *diz* 'to mould, form', Sanskrit *diś*). From the park or pleasure garden of Persian kings it came to be the abode of gods and angels, or heaven. In the title Sukhāvatī-vyūha, the last word *vyūha* is paradise. The flying goddesses are illustrated mainly in scenes of Sukhāvatī. Their presence is, in fact, strange, as Sukhāvatī was devoid of women. They seem to have been taken from Abhirati the eastern paradise of Akṣobhya, which had beauties. In Akṣobhya's paradise women played a leading role and this fact distinguishes it sharply from other buddha-kṣetras. The role of women is essential in the Akṣobhya-vyūha: here Akṣobhya preaches the law to women; there is talk of jewels of women (*strī-ratna*); there is frequent allusion to feminine ornaments.

The cults of Amitābha and Akṣobhya were collateral as their paradises of the west and east were natural pairs. The first extant Chinese translations of the Sukhāvatī-vyūha and Akṣobhya-vyūha were done simultaneously by Lokakṣema in AD 179–80 (T 313). The Akṣobhya-vyūha is found only in two Chinese translations.

The flying goddesses were an evolution of the specific attitude perceptible from the earliest Prajñāpāramitās, where the notion of wisdom (prajñā) was an elaborate product of the feminist ideal.

The Chinese were fascinated by the beauties, by the music and by the dances of the Serindian peoples of Central Asia. As early as the Chou, which is 1027–256 BC, the Chinese got music of the Western Barbarians and played it on special occasions to vaunt their political might. Jade, the product of Heaven itself, travelled from Khotan to China. The ideogram *yü* 玉 for jade is a metaphor for purity, nobility and beauty. A jade woman 玉人 means a beautiful woman. This phrase refers to the charm of Iranian ladies of Khotan who must have come to the Imperial Court along with jade, with their jade-smooth skin. Along with the gentle art of seduction, the ladies of Khotan carried the fragrance of Buddhism to China. Buddhism was known in Khotan since Aśoka introduced it in the third century BC. The dancing goddesses in the murals at Tun-huang, in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements, are Indian or Serindian for they wear no raiments above the waist.

The flying goddesses carry trays of flowers and fruits (*puṣpaṁ phalam* of the Indian tradition), and offer them in homage to the Tathāgata. These offerings were novel to the Chinese accustomed to animal sacrifices, and to living sacrifices: the god of the Yellow River was propitiated by the sacrifice of drowning a young girl in bridal attire. The flying goddesses, on the other hand, emerge from the Pool of Seven Jewels in the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī. They dwell in heaven and refrain from taking meat and wine, but collect the sweet nectar of different flowers and scatter blossoms from the sky to make the world fragrant.

With no robes above the waist, the flying goddesses were again in contradiction the Confucian order. A scriptural authentification was found in the 'chapter on parables' of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva in AD 416–17: "When the four groups of disciples, the bhikṣuṇīs, upāsikās, ...gandharvas and others in the assembly saw that Śāriputra was given the prediction of anuttarā samyak-sambodhi by the Buddha, they were overjoyed and danced with delight. They all took off their upper garments and offered them to the Buddha." This is the basis of flying devīs with their bosoms exposed. It also bears testimony to the fact that Buddhist art had at that time broken the custom of meticulous dressing observed in Confucian society.

The flying goddesses can be divided into three main categories:

i. With no specific attributes;
ii. Those playing musical instruments;
iii. Those with materials for worship, like flowers and fruits.

The first are flying in the heavens. The representation of flying goddesses, playing musical instruments begins with Northern Wei (386–534) and comes down to the Yüan-dynasty (1271– 368). They are to be correlated to the Vaṁśā, Vīṇā, Mukundā and Murajā in Sanskrit. Those holding the flute are Vaṁśā and those playing the lute are Vīṇā. There are also goddesses who play Chinese musical instruments. The Puṣpā, Dhūpā, Dīpā, Gandhā, Naivedyā are the five goddesses of the five rites *(pañcopacāra)*. The goddesses with flowers are Puṣpā and those with offerings of fruits are Naivedyā.

The goddesses Mālyā, Lāsyā, Gītā, Nṛtyā can be seen in the dancing scenes of Sukhāvatī, besides others flying in the air with flowing scarves. Their hand and body postures are strongly reminiscent of the Indian style of dancing.

The goddesses need to be compared with texts, classified and named. Their nomenclature needs to be worked out. It is a part of the rectification of names.

13. ROLE OF THE LOTUS SUTRA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

[Introductory remarks by Mrs. Tara Chandrika, before the following address to the SGI Youth Delegation at New Delhi, on 20 August 1991:

We offer the lotus to the Soka Gakkai International as an emblem of their fundamental text, the Lotus Sutra. The lotus reminds of the cultural and economic miracle of Japan. The lotus is Lakshmi, the Goddess of Wealth, Kichijo-ten in Japanese, Kamalā in Sanskrit, the culmination of affluence. It is also a symbol of purity that transcends the defilements of the world. Arising from the mud and slush of the pond, lotus flowers irradiate white lustre. They are an inspiration for humankind to rise above the material and become Beings of Light, Bodhisattvas. As the rays of the sun blossom it, the lotus opens during the day; and as darkness descends it closes at night. So is humanity enlightened by the light of Bodhi. When the divine substance is to put forth the universe, the cosmic waters grow a thousand-petalled golden lotus, radiant as the sun. As the first creative principle, it betokens incorruptible nature. The lotus, as the seat of deities, is inborn transcendant nature. This ultimate truth is embodied in the Lotus Sutra. The Sutra blooms in the "Lotus of the Heart" as a reflection of the light of heaven. As the Saṁyutta-nikāya says: "Just as a lotus born in the water, full-grown in the water, rises to the surface and is not wetted by the water, even so the Tathāgata, born in the world, full-grown in the world, surpasses the world, and is unaffected by the world." In the lotus of the heart, in the innermost, is the inward man, indefinitely dimensioned, the playground of the Spirit, Peace and Bliss, uttermost and everlasting. In Sino-Japanese, the lotus represents the spirit of the perfect man. Its finest enunciation is the Lotus Sutra.]

As humanity regains its fragrance of humanhood in the nooks and crannies of the coming century, away from the lifeless darkening of consumerism, and away from the bibliotherapy of communism, it seeks a new language in conceptual forests, in liquid space, in naturalistic syntax, in fragments of ideas, in the architecture of pure form, a form that dissolves in the mindscape of an emerging socioscape. The depth of the layering has to transcend post-modernism, in the feeling air of the clouds and fir-tops, in dreams and visions, in zero and mind, in junctions and bends, in the hieroglyphics of the ever-evolving. Ideas breed action, and absolute ideas breed absolute action, as they did in the Lotus Sutra nationalist Tanaka Chigaku.

A few words about the Lotus Sutra. It is the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text entitled Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. It was done into Chinese by the renowned Kumārajīva who is called Kumarajū in Japanese. Kumarajū is one of the most outstanding stylists of Chinese prose. He is the only Indian whose Chinese diction has been hailed over the centuries by Chinese men of letters.

Kumārajīva translated the Lotus Sutra at Ch'ang-an under the patronage of the ruling family of Yao. Emperor Yao Hsing was highly impressed by Kumārajīva who was honest, loyal, humane, resourceful, hard-working, self-sacrificing and brilliant. The Emperor felt that the extraordinary brilliance of Kumārajīva must be transmitted to

offspring. He assigned ten girls to live with him. Kumārajīva adapted himself to the circumstances and complied with the wishes of the Emperor. During his preaching he warned the listeners to take only the lotus that grew out of the mud and to leave the mud alone. The sons and grandsons of Kumārajīva failed to live up to the high hopes of this eugenic experiment.

Kumārajīva was born in Kucha of brāhmaṇa father Kumārāyaṇa by name and a Kuchean princess named Jīvā. The language of Kucha was Tocharian B, which shows a close affinity to European languages like Latin. The Tocharian verb has similarities to Italic and Celtic. The language was written in Brāhmī script and the people were highly Indianised in their culture. They bear the ethnonym *po* 'white' in Chinese. It indicates their affinity to the Europeans. Kumārajīva was Indian and European by circumstance of birth. His Chinese version of the Lotus Sutra thus represents the cultural strands of Sanskrit, Tocharian and Chinese that symbolise the three major mindscapes of his times: Indian, European and Chinese.

The Lotus Sutra is at once a great work of literature and a profound religious classic, containing the core and culmination of Buddha's ageless teaching of compassion. For more than fourteen hundred years, since its introduction into Japan early in the sixth century, the Lotus Sutra has been a rich source of themes for the country's artists. Generations of priests, nuns, and lay believers confident in the Sutra's promise of spiritual reward for those who revere it and pay it homage have made opulent transcriptions of it, fashioned lavishly ornamented caskets for its preservation, and commissioned votive art depicting its narratives and religious teachings. The range of artistic expression inspired by the Lotus Sutra is astonishing.

The Lotus Sutra became the central scripture of Japanese Buddhism in the thirteenth century, when Nichiren Daishonin said that only faith in the Lotus Sutra can save the country from chaos. He wrote a treatise in 1260 entitled Risshō Ankoku-ron. It means: establish Dharma and save the country. The Sutra is a lost ray of light to the world. Nichiren Daishonin wrote in 1275: "the enlightened perceive in each of the letters of the Sutra the golden body of the sublime truth, of the dharmakāya."

The Devadatta chapter of the Lotus Sutra relates a story about the Buddha in a previous life. He renounced his kingdom and served a sage by providing him with firewood, water and herbs to obtain the Lotus teachings. From this arose a poem of priest Gyogi (668–749), which reads:

Hokekyō o	For collecting firewood,
Waga eshi koto wa	Gathering herbs,
Takigi kori	And carrying water,
Na tsuke misu kumi	My reward is

Tsukaete zo eshi. The Lotus Sutra.

This poem is a world of meaning issuing from specific frameworks of interpretation in the tradition of the Lotus that is so significant in Japanese thought. The world (nature) and words (culture) are dynamic phenomena in the light of similitude, reflection, identity and communication. Resolution of opposition between nature and culture will be the episteme of the quality of life in the century to come and this is richly mirrored in the Japanese interpretative modes of the Lotus.

The Lotus Sutra was preached by the Buddha amidst wondrous signs on the Vulture Peak at Rājagṛiha in modern Bihar. The heavens rain flowers. The earth trembles. The crowds, human and divine, wait in great expectation for the sermon. The Buddha emits a light that illumines the universe. The portents are followed by the Sutra. Śāriputra dances with joy on hearing the wondrous message of the Sutra. The Sutra is raised to an object of worship to be revered *per se*, and the preaching promised in the first chapter is never delivered. It is empty, open at the centre. It is pure content, which invites filling in of interpretation. In the words of Shioiri Ryōdō: "Both the structure and the meaning of the text imply that the essential quality of the Lotus Sutra is that, having absorbed widely, it can be applied infinitely—it would seem—to a great many aspects of culture." It is not encumbered with dogmas or *ex cathedra* doctrines, and hence it ensures that the world is not reduced to a bibliocracy, a government of *the* book. In the anthology Shokukokinshu, a poem reflects these vast and open vistas:

Na o danimo How can we make
Zikanu minori o Promises to keep
Tamotsu made The teaching
Ikade ka chigiri o Whose name
Musubi okiken. We have not heard.

The Louts Sutra leaves open spaces, with no promises. History and mystery, power and poetry, didactics and aesthetics have been intertwined in the long history of the Lotus Sutra in Japanese culture. The meaning is drawn out from the stories, language of the text, as well as from its structure. The interpretative apparatus is ever formative. It is unique in its implicit creativity, in praising what is never preached, and what does not transform into a sermon. It can be fleshed out as a persuasive idea, sung as a poem, and so on...all in an ever-branching stream of the new.

* *

The contemporary contraposition of "technology and cultural identity" has fatal contradictions that have roots in the obsolete controversies of the nineteenth century. It is artificial and anti-natural in the Buddhist tradition. Everything is directly or indirectly

related to everything else. This radical relativity is basic to the Buddhist concept of pratītya-samutpāda. It is not only constitutive of the whole, but it also flashes forth, ever new and vital, in every spark of the real. Exclusivity is a sure sign of the denial of onward march. In the ever-evolving maṇḍala, the human and the cosmic are one. The circumference is the centre grown up, the circle is the circumference filled, and the centre acts as the seed of the other.

The cultural forms that evolved in Japanese Buddhism had seven characteristics which are of equal significance and in their inseparability form a perfect whole. The seven characteristics are: asymmetry, simplicity, austere sublimity, naturalness, profound subtlety, freedom from attachment, and tranquility. When they permeate every aspect of human expression, they become alive and vital, vivid and refined in unique cultural forms, that bring about the union of man with the 'flower-heart' (*hana no kokoro*) and 'the universal heart'. The modern gadgetry of three-in-one derives from the 'Principle of Three' in Ikebana, namely, heaven, earth and man. Man is a channel for the spiritual as well as the earthly: the three form the unbroken three-in-one. They converge into endeavour in its twin aspects: the metaphysical and the practical, the trans-rational and the logical, the prajñā and vijñāna aspects of Buddhism. The 'Principle of Three' was expressed in flowers by Buddhist monks in Japan to reflect the profound meaning of Karuṇā or Compassion for all life and cosmic law of growth. Hereby flower-heart, man's heart and the universal heart were the deep expression of life. The 'artless art' was the environment, touched by the breath of the spirit, its creativity.

Prince Shotoku (574–622) is the first author of Japan. He wrote a commentary on the Lotus Sutra entitled *Hokke Gisho*, which exists to this day in his own handwriting: a national treasure. Ever since, the Lotus Sutra has been the spirit of vigorous cultivation of reality. Meditation on the Lotus Sutra or Hokke zammai maintains:

All sins are just frost and dew
So wisdom's sun can disperse them.

The Lotus Sutra has shed minds and horizons like rose petals in the history of Japan. These deep influences, which have worked with power through the centuries, will touch with light the being of the world. The Lotus Sutra vibrates to the hidden impulses that govern the breath of the universe. It is the awareness of a life beyond forms and ideas, wherein the individual subconscious merges into the Ineffable. Sensuality and symbolism, metaphysical filigree of jewels, caresses and cerebrality, earth and sky were celebrated in proportion and serenity, in portraiture and cryptograms.

Japan is the miracle of our century, and the miracle of Japan is the Hokekyo, the Lotus Sutra. Belief in this scripture has been widespread since the time of Prince Shotoku who desired to establish a united nation for all sentient beings as taught in the Sutra. In

741 Emperor Shomu had each province build a seven-storied pagoda to preserve ten copies of the Sutra. Devotion to the Sutra is often mentioned in the Nara and Heian periods. The apprehension of degeneration from contemporary political and social changes has resulted in the *mappo* concept of the Period of Degeneration to be followed by a regeneration by the Lotus Sutra whose "miraculous effects spread and fill the depths" in the words of Master Chingen of the eleventh century, who wrote the miraculous tales of the Lotus Sutra entitled Hokkekyō-kenki.

According to the Lotus Sutra, when the social, political and moral deterioration and collapse are complete, Maitreya the Buddha of the Future will appear on earth and the Age of Bliss will begin. Alive in poetry and allegories, it is one of the three Sutras for the protection of the world. Japan has had a nationwide practice of sutra mounds as time capsules of hope and bliss. In Mahayana, emptiness/śūnyatā is the basis of existence of matter: in Japanese *shinkū myōu* "true emptiness is wonderful existence." Emptiness means selflessness. Emptiness is to vitalise things, and emptiness of matter is to regain the self that was lost through attachment to things. Chih-i, the great commentator on the Lotus Sutra, defines the unifying truth of the Lotus Sutra as a synthesis of the microcosm (one mind) and the macrocosm, of ideals and reality. It is the middle path that unifies transcendance and transience.

The essence (honji) and hypostasis (suijaku) have been intertwined in the Lotus Sutra. Its structural analysis integrates essence and expression in a way that it becomes a blueprint for the world of real time. Japan has felt itself to be a reincarnated essence of the Sutra, where political application has to be commensurate with the universality of its teaching. The text of the Sutra has 69,380 Chinese characters. They have been represented by 69,380 statues on a pilgrimage path in Kyushu. The Sutra and mountain become the envisioned landscape of intertextuality: "reading the scripture, one discovered the mountain; walking the mountain became the equivalent of reading the scripture." The environment influenced the mind, and the mind was influenced by the environment: both share a structural intimacy.

The Nichiren scholar, Masaharu Anesaki, says that the Lotus must not be read simply with the eyes or understood just by the mind, but must be "read by the body", for it is the living embodiment of the whole truth.

As humanity leaves the burning house of many illusions, it realises the harmonisation of the many vehicles. In the words of the Lotus poet Akazome'emon:

Moyuru kaji no	Just as we emerged
Ie o idete zo	From the flaming house of fire,
Satorinuru	We realized that
Mitsu no kuruma wa	The three carts

Hitotsu narikeri.	Are one.

The message of the Lotus Sutra in the words of Saigyo (1118–90) is:

Natsu kusa no	Even the white dew
Hitoba ni sugaru	Clinging to every blade
Shiratsuya mo	Of summer grass
Hana no ue ni wa	Does not accumulate
Tamarazarikeri.	On this flower.

The word 'flower' means the flower of the Lotus Sutra and dew is the metaphor for conditioned things that come to be, to pass away.

In the true spirit of the Lotus Sutra, President Daisaku Ikeda fires the present with a positive and idealistic image: "culture is essentially universal in nature; it is the breath that enlivens the activities of human life. Joy strikes a sympathetic chord in the hearts of all peoples and causes harmonious reverberation.....Culture is a fundamental human undertaking that conquers all distance to stir the hearts of people everywhere. In contrast to military power, which threatens humanity and tries to exert control from without, culture arises within the human mind as a liberating force. In the final analysis, military power is based on destruction whereas culture is based on the concept of creativity."

Man has to approach daringly the boundary between the known and the unknown, which is never sharply defined nor permanent. The concept of another time and the imaginative creation of another world existing in this other time, is essential for human triumph over the imperfect present. In President Ikeda's image, man emerges as a microcosmos (a world in miniature) and as a microtheos (a god in miniature). His crystallised expectations are the dynamics of the centrality of Man in the search for light in the darkest night. Man can *revalue* or convert, alter or complete that which *is*. Roots and vision are the *sine qua non* for answering the call of the unborn tomorrows.

The new humanity which will flower in the coming century has to be imbued with the mind of the Lotus Sutra that all beings possess the essence of the Tathāgata and that their true self-nature is pure and bright. As Saigyo says:

Fukaki ne no	Had I not been told
Soko ni komoreru	Never would I have known
Hana ari to	That hidden deep
Ii hirakazuba	Within the root
Shirade yamamashi.	Lies a flower.

14. INDIA AND SRI LANKA

India and Sri Lanka both possess millenarian cultures and it is in the highest domains of life that they have shared a common expression. When we delve into the centuries we find literary treasures of Sri Lanka whose medium of expression has been the same as ours, for instance the Sārārtha-saṅgraha written by king Buddhadāsa in the fourth century in Sanskrit. Great kings like Parākramabāhu II traversed vast fields of Sanskrit literature as can be evidenced from his Visuddhi-magga-sannya. Poetic embellishment also shows literary affinity with us: the oldest extant Simhala text on rhetorics belonging to the ninth century, has its parallels in the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin. In the Mahāvaṁsa, Vijayabāhu II is said not to have departed from the political precepts of Manu. The Simhala poet Kumāradasa of the sixth century attained the peaks of Sanskrit poesy in his Jānakī-haraṇa, an epic reflecting the culture and civilisation of the Island of Pearls or Ratnadvīpa. In the medical domain the Sārārtha-saṅgraha presupposes famous Indian precursors like Suśruta and Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya. Its erudite author was the famous monarch Buddhadāsa. The shining of the Divine in the human soul by insistent and consistent invocation by mantras has found efflorescence in Sri Lanka. The only ancient Simhala grammar, the Sidatsangara, written during the twelfth century has the same pattern as Pāṇini. The multifarious aspirations and their varying enrichments partake of an identical character and a communion of expression in our countries. It is in the realm of truth and beauty that the friendship of our countries has borne the fairest flowers. The Indo-Sri Lanka Friendship Association has been trying to foster these ageless cultural relations.

Today we feel deeply honoured by the presence of Your Excellencies and that too at a great juncture in the history of our country. The presence of Your Excellencies recalls to our minds another monumental moment in history when one of the greatest emperors Dharmāśoka sent to Sri Lanka his most beloved son Mahendra and his daughter Saṅghamitrā with the sacred Bodhi tree to unite the two countries by Buddhism. Buddhism has inspired our literatures and arts to which we owe some of the most sublime and inspired works of man. In Your Excellency Madame Bandaranaike we see an emanation of the noble Saṅghamitrā trying to disentangle the discords which mar the sure, permanent and comforting links of Asian humanity. Your efforts would be positive, distinguished as they are by the sanctity of goodwill and illumined by wisdom in the adamantine halls of the political cosmos. Our beloved Prime Minister, like a bodhisattva, incarnates karuṇā or the altruistic forces of humanism, a benevolent compassion and a

compassionate benevolence. With the coming together of two great leaders, sparks of humanity that sleep in the conscience of nations will shine and shed their light on war-torn humanity. We hope that even the fleeting terms of concord will find encouragement in a milieu which is open and ventilated.

May this humble image of the Buddha, the Enlightened One, which we have had the honour of presenting to Your Excellencies, shed its sublime light, ineffable peace and transcendant serenity into the disjointed soul of Asia and humanity at large.

Last year 1964 we, the Indo–Sri Lanka Friendship Association, had the pleasure of welcoming Your Excellency in the sacred Ceylon Buddhist Pilgrims Rest. You had graced our country at a critical moment in an effort to find terms of concord between two great nations of Asia. It was a symbol of the deep affection of your people and of Your Excellency towards the holy land of the Enlightened One, our puṇyabhūmi, our sacred land. Our beloved countries have shared an interflow of the spirit, a plunging into the infinite possibilities lying in the depths of man's superconscious. The present visit of Your Excellency renews, strengthens and deepens the unique relations between our countries. It transfers their ageless personality into the present—so that the undying vitality of the ageless is carried over into the present, so that what has been may continue to live in what is yet to be, in an ever-progressing process of refinement. The man of tomorrow has to reach an equipoise in the vortex of life itself, taking into full account the elements of our material and spiritual being.

The intimate relations of India and Sri Lanka are evident in the very vital matter of linguistic expression. It is indisputable that the Simhala language stands in line with Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and others. Simhala has even preserved interesting words which are lost or have become obsolete in modern Indian languages. While Sanskrit *aśva* is nearly forgotten in modern Indian tadbhavas, Simhala has *as* in the literary language and in several compounds like *as-govva* 'horse-keeper', *as-hala* 'stable'. The Simhala language is important for understanding the evolution of modern Indian languages in their time-context—for in it we are able to follow the development through more than two thousand years, first in inscriptions and then in literary works. It affords time-points to locate the histories of words. On the other hand, in the 13th century Pāṇini's monumental grammar inspired the Sidat-sangarava (Siddhānta-saṅgraha) which laid the foundations of modern Simhala and standardised it. The Sanskrit alaṅkāra or stylistics has its echoes in the poetry of Simhala. In fact, one of the earliest works of Simhala literature is on alaṅkāra—the Siyabas-Lakara attributed to King Sena I who reigned in the ninth century.

The famous lyric of Kālidāsa, the Meghadūta, or Cloud Messenger, has brought

in a whole genre of Sandeśa literature in Simhala wherein a person living at a certain place sends a bird with a message to another person at a faraway place. The route followed by the bird and the message conveyed reminisce of the great poet. If this king of poets can watch from the Poets' Paradise, he has reasons to be envious of Shri Rahula Thera, who composed the two most celebrated sandeśas of the Maina and of the Dove which summit the climax of Simhala literature in the 15th century. This century also saw the birth of the standard synonymic lexicon entitled Piyum-Mal (Garland of Lotus Flowers) which points to luxuriant growth of Simhala literature. It reminds me of the new epoch ushered in by the introduction of Simhala in national life, from the beginning of January 1964. It is a unique step in the linguistic rejuvenation of resurgent Asia.

One of the most outstanding monuments of Simhala antiquity, the Sigiriya Rock, is a place of wonder and delight to all those who are interested in the fine arts, but for Indians it is of special interest. King Kassapa, who transformed it into the most impregnable fortress in ancient Sri Lanka, identified himself with Kubera, the God of Riches who was then held in high veneration. The abode of Kubera is on Mount Kailāsa. On Sigiriya and its environs King Kassapa tried to create the verisimilitude of this Mount, especially after the lyrical Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. The gallery is a 500 feet long concavity which has been constructed to accord with the passage of the cloud in the Meghadūta, where the cloud is told to proceed northwards on its flight to Kailāsa through an aperture in the Krauñca mounain.

The high polish of the Mirror Hall of Sigiriya is dazzling white inspite of 1500 years of weathering. It is the mirror of the damsels of heaven of the poet Kālidāsa. The artistic treatment of the world-famed damsels, depicting them waist above clouds, together with their location in the Sigiriya Rock, portrays the lightning and clouds in the region of cloud-land above which rises the peak of Kailāsa where Lord Kubera resides. Actually, this part of the rock is girdled by clouds in December and early January. The Princesses of Lightning or Vijju-kumārī are fair and the Cloud Damsels or megha-latā are dark. These marvellous paintings precede and complement their immortal counterparts at Ajanta. The entire complex of Sigiriya set in the context of King Kassapa's divinity, conjures up a vista of romance and phantasy created in men's mind by the immortal poem of Kālidāsa.

When Sigiriya passed out of eventful history, Anuradhapura came into its own. It has been dominant in the temporal expanse of Sri Lanka. It was here that Dutthagamani, the national hero reigned. It was here again that the Buddhist works were committed to writing in Āḷuvihāra or the Caves of Illumination. It is in the heart of this city that we have the venerable Bo tree with a recorded history of over two and a quarter thousand years. It is the branch of the Bodh Gaya tree under which Lord Buddha, the Enlightened

One became illumined. It was taken to Sri Lanka by Saṅghamitrā, the daughter of Aśoka the Great, and is an object of adoration of the millions of Asians. Today, by a happy coincidence of history, it is again, a great and illustrious Daughter of Ceylon, who brings back a sapling of the venerable Bodhi tree to the metropolitan of the country of its origin. In this ageless symbol, ancient moorings have found a new utterance and in our arid hearts surges the imperishable rhythm of the human quest for peace. Once again we welcome you, Your Excellency, the pilgrim of that great quest.

Welcome address in honour of the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike, in the presence of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in January 1963.

Second welcome address to Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike in 1964.

15. FRENCH RESEARCH ON THE INTERRELATION OF INDIA, SERINDIA AND CHINA

Immensity of space separates India and France, but the depth of inner space makes us pilgrim beings in the majestic syllables of time. This relationship is deep-rooted in the inexhaustible history of words and ideas. While in India live the roots of Sanskritic culture, Greco-Latin heritage is integral to France. The great economic expansion, scientific and technical development—that arose with the resuscitation of Greek studies—gave rise to the concept of 'progress'; and the 'Moderns' in France (1670–1770) compared the age of Louis XIV to that of Augustus in the Classical tradition. In 1661, the cult of Louis XIV as Le Roi Soleil/ The Sun King was initiated as a national cult. Since the age of 15 till 30 Louis participated in court performances, and danced the heroic roles of Greek gods and Roman warriors, in costumes *à la Romaine*. Madame Docier translated Homer into French as the "ultimate source of wisdom" in this century. The 18th century was a period of Classicism, with a desire for order and stability as represented by Rome. By the end of the century the passion for a new Classical land and a new Classical language, i.e. for India and for Sanskrit, was growing. The French had succeeded in establishing their first Indian factory at Surat in 1668 and secured Pondicherry in 1673. Pondicherry became the headquarters of the French East India Company. In 1674 they got Chandranagar, a few miles above Calcutta. In September 1746, the French captured Madras. The Peace of Paris brought the Seven Years' War to a close in 1763 and it marked the fall of the French as a political power in India. The French intellectual Raymond Schwab has traced the growing interest in ancient Indian culture to the French penetration in India (*La Renaissance Orientale,* Paris, 1950). He notes that in 1798 Napoleon carried a copy of the Vedas with him on his expedition to Egypt. It was a part of the *Zeitgeist* of the close of the 18th century with the rise of Greece as the childhood of Europe. Europe lived by the Classical Age to have something to outlive. As Patrice de la Tour du Pin says:

I bring you some water lost in your memory—
Follow me to the spring and find its secret.

In 1761 Voltaire received the alleged translation of the Yajurveda from an official returning from Pondicherry and presented it to the Royal Library. It was published in 1778 and recognised in 1782 to be a falsification by a missionary.

The Classical style and splendour of the court of Louis XIV, fortified by the victories of Napoleon, had made France the cultural and academic centre of Europe. Paris became an attraction for German minds seeking to know Sanskrit. Friedrich Schlegel, for

whom India was a synonym for the wholeness of human existence and who dominated artistic and intellectual development in the 19th century, had gone to Paris in 1802 and stayed there till 1807. He learnt Sanskrit from Alexander Hamilton in 1803–04 and studied at the Royal Library, Paris, which had about 200 Indian manuscripts. In 1808 he published his major work *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier,* which aroused enthusiasm all over Europe. The founder of the new science of comparative philology and Indo-European Franz Bopp went to Paris in 1812 to study Sanskrit from Chézy. In 1814 August Wilhelm von Schlegel, like his elder brother, began his Sanskrit studies under A.L. Chézy, the first professor of Sanskrit in France. The German tradition of Sanskrit studies owes its origin directly to French scholarship. The foundations of Vedic research were also laid by French scholarship. Eugene Burnouf inspired his German pupil Rudolph Roth to originate Vedic studies, who published the first European work on Vedic exegesis in 1846. Max Müller too was a pupil of Burnouf, who stimulated him to publish the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, which appeared in the years 1849–75.

Voltaire (1694–1778), the unrivalled French writer and philosopher, was impressed by the 'sublime ideas' of the Indians about the Supreme Being. His enthusiasm for Asian civilisation and Eastern wisdom was shared by Sir William Jones. Jones followed the standards set up by the French philosopher, and he read him assiduously. Voltaire admired the political organisation of China and her ethics based on Reason. He found in China a great civilisation which owed nothing to the Greco-Roman or Christian tradition. The Chinese managed their affairs of state more rationally and without Christianity. The German philosopher Leibnitz too had established the Berlin Academy to open up interchange of civilisation between Europe and China. The more the Europeans investigated China the more they found India to be its roots, in fact the Greece of Asia, the birthplace of philosophical ideas and the overwhelming influence in art and poetry.

The *chinoiserie* of the 18th century led to revealing the fabulous bonds of China with India. In their study of China, French scholars started to unravel Central Asia and India. Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat published a history of Khotan in 1820 and his French translation of the travels of Fa-hian through Central Asia, Afghanistan and India appeared posthumously in 1836. By his labours, it became evident that Chinese sources were fundamental to the understanding of Indian history. In fact the Indian pronunciation of this first great Chinese pilgrim derives from Abel-Rémusat's transcription, like that of his illustrious successor Hiouen-thsang. The travels and biography of the latter were again translated by a French scholar, Stanislas Julien in 1853–58. The biography of Hiouen-thsang after his return to China as summarised by Julien 132 years ago is still our main guide. Indian scholars rarely have access to this French work and are thus deprived of

detailed knowledge of the academic achievements of Hiouen-thsang after his return home. Julien was again the first to point out that Sanskrit literature had been translated into Chinese on a gigantic scale for a thousand years. In his Sinico-Sanskrit concordance of Buddhist works, published in 1849, he gave the Sanskrit titles of Chinese Sutras from a Chinese catalogue of 1306. Thus he injected a new dimension into Indic studies.

Names of Indian savants and sages, deities and divine beings, titles of works and toponymns abound in Chinese chronicles, hagiographies, canonical texts and other historical treatises. Complete Sanskrit texts of hymns are also extant in Chinese transcriptions. These hymns have sunk their roots deep into the lipping adoration of the Chinese. To decipher Sanskrit from them, Julien wrote *Méthode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres chinois* in 1861. Even after the passing of 130 years it remains our only guide, though in dire need of updating and enlarging.

While Oxford scholarship, led by William Jones, was unwilling to recognise the existence of pre-Sassanian literature, it is to the credit of the French scholar Anquetil du Perron (1754–71) to explore Avesta. At the tender age of twenty years he enlisted as a common soldier of the French East India Company, with a "devotion to science truly Gallic" to wrest the secrets of Zoroastrian doctrines from the original sources themselves. In 1771 he was able to offer to the world his three epoch-making volumes of *Zend-Avesta,* which have rendered great service to science. Hence have been drawn many important results, literary and linguistic, philosophical and ethnological, historical and cultural. His Pahlavi–Persian vocabulary enabled his illustrious compatriot Sylvestre de Sacy to decipher and publish the Pahlavi inscriptions of the Sassanians in 1793. In 1798 St. Barthélemy pointed out the affinity of Avesta with Sanskrit, and Avesta texts came to be studied by Sanskrit scholars, like Eugene Burnouf. He introduced the new method of comparative interpretation of Avesta with the employment of Sanskrit. The Iranian tribes occupied vast portions of the Eurasian steppe, and their incredible mobility had contributed to the Sanskritisation of the languages of Europe. The Alan tribes travelled as west as France and forced their way through Spain. The major rivers of Eastern Europe are named from the Iranian word *danu* 'river' whence the Don, the Dnieper (from **danu apara* 'river to the rear'), Dniester (from **danu nazdya* 'river in the front') and Danube through Celtic *Danuvius*. The French interpretation of Avesta and Pahlavi was central to the understanding of the Indo-European world.

While British historians like James Mill were denigrating India, a French woman writer C. Bader highlighted the high position of women in the Sanskrit epics (*Women in Ancient India*, 1867). In fact it is the first book on womanhood in Classical India.

The dynamic interflow of culture and its implications for the movement of ideas and goods between India, Serindia, China, Iran and the Western world has become an

integral part of the history of mankind by the dedicated researches of Charles Masson, Alfred Foucher and others, followed by the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan from 1923 onwards. The French excavations at Mundigak have brought to light the links of Afghanistan, Iran and India in the fourth and third millenia BC. They reveal the gradual urbanisation of thriving village settlements. The excavations in Begram in 1937 uncovered vast accumulation of objects from all parts of the world. It is ancient Kāpiśa the summer capital of the Kushans. Kēphisos or Kāphisos is the name of rivers or streams all over Greece. Can it be the original of the word Kāpiśa, which overlooks the Panjir River? Within a few miles of Begram are the sites of Paitava and Shotorak, the latter being the dwelling place of Chinese hostages captured by Kaniṣka. This Udīcya region or Uttarāpatha was destined to exercise a lasting influence on the art, thought and ritual of Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan. The golden mirage of towers that Hadda was when visited by the Chinese pilgrims in the 5th and 7th centuries, devastated by invasions lay desolate and ruined until Charles Masson revealed its rich numismatic treasures that showed continuing contacts with the West for four centuries. The stucco sculptures of Hadda have a haunting freshness and expressiveness in their flowering spiritual realism. Hadda lives in India as the caste appellation Handa. The French scholars opened up the most dramatic panorama of Asian art by their rediscovery of Bamiyan and the restoration of its statuary and wall-paintings. In the hills overlooking the Ghorband Valley, the French Archaeological Mission made a sensational discovery—the monastery of Fondukistan. It represents the final but most delicate flowering of Buddhist art and its transformation into a Central Asian style. This land with its immemorial history still keeps as a well-guarded secret its role in the Indo-Europeanisation of Eurasia in the fifth and sixth millenia BC.

Along with the British, German and Japanese, the French have been pioneers in discovering and exploring the lost cities of the Silk Road and in conserving their art treasures and their legacy of manuscripts. The great trans-Asian highway linked Imperial Rome and distant China with precious cargos of silk, gold, ivory, exotic animals and rare plants, revolutionary ideas and new paradigms of knowledge. Paul Pelliot, with his two companions Vaillant and Nouette, travelled in June 1906 via Moscow and Tashkent, to Kucha, Tumshuq and Tun-huang 'the Blazing Beacon'. He discovered that Tumshuq was a Buddhist monastic city, while idly prodding the ground with a riding crop. He discovered Buddhist documents at Kucha in an unknown language, which was subsequently deciphered by Sylvain Lévi and named Kuchean. It shows close affinity with European centum languages: Ku. *kante, känte* '100'/Latin *centum,* Ku. *puwar* 'fire'/Greek *pyr,* Ku. *oxo* 'ox', Ku. *nyu* 'new'. Kumārajīva the greatest non-Chinese stylist of Chinese prose was from Kucha. His translation of the Lotus Sutra or Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra has

been and is the scripture of East Asia for the last 15 centuries. At the grottos of Tun-huang Pelliot went through 16,000 manuscripts crouched in a tiny space, working by the light of a candle or in his own words: "a philologist travelling at the speed of a racing car." He selected all the rolls that were of any importance for their contents or for their antiquity authenticated by dated colophons. The Pelliot Collection at Paris is a repository of historical data that will be under investigation for another century. Local legends in Central Asia claim that three hundred towns lie buried beneath the desert with great treasures protected by demons. The number 300 reminds of the Tri-ratna of Buddhism. The Buddhist past of Serindia obliterated by the onslaught of Islam and abandoned to the all-devouring sand is being brought to light by a devoted band of scholars in Paris. The hand-written notes of Pelliot have been translated into Chinese at the Tun-huang Institute: such is their importance. The photographs of the chapel interiors taken by the Pelliot Mission have formed the principal basis for the international study of Tun-huang art. Tun-huang was the occidental bastion of China, the gateway to the Indo-Iranian and Roman worlds. It was the sentinel of a trail whence China gave the pear and peach to India, orange, rose, peony and chrysanthemum to the West. The first ever moveable printing types were found by Pelliot at Tun-huang and are dated by him to about 1300. This discovery is so momentous that even *Webster's New International Dictionary* records it under the entry 'Type'. Paul Pelliot's *Notes on Marco Polo* are a mine of information on historical geography and on the etymologies of place-names which reveal lost dimensions. For instance Bokhara, with its modern Turkman form Buhara, is derived from Sanskrit *vihāra* through its Sogdian, Uighur and Mongolian form *buqar*, a city whose skyline was dominated by the spires of Buddhist monasteries and hence this name. The city retained its sanctity and importance even after Islamisation. It was here that the first of the seven Sunni Imams, known as Imam Bukhari (810–70), was born in the 9th century. His collection of 7,000 hadith constitute the *Sahih* or true compilation which is regarded as the most authentic book of traditions by the Sunnis, held sacred only next to the Quran. What a dissembling coincidence that the Imam of Delhi is Imam Bukhari.

Edouard Chavannes brought to light five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhgaya, the only ones in India. They were erected in the 10th and 11th centuries to pay Imperial homage of China to the holy places of India in moving language. Unswallowed by devastating centuries, they are with us still: alas! cenotaphs to the splendid creativity of a millennium smothered by fundamentalism. Chavannes translated into French the lives and voyages of over sixty Chinese pilgrims to India written by I-tsing. His translation of the voyage of Song-yun to Udyāna and Gandhāra (518–22) and of the itinerary of Wu-k'ong (751–90) are primary sources for Indian history. For wider dissemination they deserve to be translated into English. The four volumes of his *Cinq cents contes et*

apologues, running to over 1600 pages, are a treasury of Indian story literature, extracted from the Chinese Tripiṭaka. It is a *sine qua non* for the history of our literature and for our folklore. Like several other French classics on Indology and allied disciplines, it needs to be done into English.

The curiosity of Sylvain Lévi made him follow India wherever her civilisation had gone. The encounter of India with Greece, the imperium of Indian thought in East Asia, in Central Asia and in Insular or SE Asia, offered to the youth of Sylvain Lévi a domain little exploited. As the epoch of his youth was also the infancy of Sinology, he took up Chinese to be followed by many other languages of Buddhism. He was the last Indianist to know the whole of Indianism. Lévi endeared Indonesia to India by his small but epoch-making *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*. Here he spoke with passion and precision of the flourishing of Indian civilization in Bali: "While the whole of Indonesia turned gradually to the Moslem faith, Bali alone kept faithful to 'Mother India' and became a repository of ancient Indian lore". Later Sylvain Lévi taught Chinese and Tibetan at Santiniketan. Indian scholarship of Chinese, Tibetan and Indonesian directly owes to his inspiration. With moving emotion, Lévi discovered in Japan a stele at Nikkō with a long Sanskrit text, in characters that recalled those of inscriptions in Nepal. Sanskrit was his great love. Lévi discovered a *dig-varṇana* in the Saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna translated into Chinese in 539 which tallied with the Kashmiri version of the Rāmāyaṇa. The evolution of the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa had now to be understood anew. When my father Prof. RaghuVira had sessions at his residence in Paris, he anxiously enquired about the future of Indian languages as vectors of the new natural sciences. My father's life-long dedication to the development of scientific terminology for modern Indian languages was an outcome of these encounters with this savant of wide vision and tender passion for India that not only was, but for India that was also to be. No wonder that the first Ambassador of France to independent India was his son.

French belongs to the Italic group of Indo-European (IE) languages. Italic languages preserve their Sanskritic tradition in a more pristine form in crucial words and overarching institutions. The Italic word for god from Latin *deus*/ Skt. *devas* reflects an early Sanskrit tradition: French *dieu*, Italian, Spanish *dio*. Though Greek colonists in Southern Italy had introduced the alphabet in the 8th century BC their words for god or king representing the divine and terrestrial orders did not become part of popular speech. Latin *deus*, French *dieu* is in contrast to the other European language-groups:

i. Germanic *gott*, English, Dutch *god*, Swedish *gud;*
ii. Greek *theos;*
iii. Slavic *bog*, Russian, Polish *bog*, Czech *buh*.

The Latin *deus* is cognate to Sanskrit *deva*, from the notion of 'bright, shining'. Germanic

gott means 'invoked one' from Sanskrit *hū* 'to invoke the gods'. The etymology of Greek *theos* is disputed. Slavic *bog* is based on the notion of 'one who dispenses, gracious' (Sanskrit *bhaga*[*vān*]). These variations point to varying chronological sequences in a long drawn out process of Indo-Europeanisation of what now constitute the IE family of languages. The Italic group is unique in conserving the Sanskrit *rājan* 'king' in contrast to other groups of IE. It is found only in the Italic languages: Latin *rex*, French *roi*, Spanish *rey*, Romanian *rege*. English *king*, Gothic *kuni*, Dutch *koning*, German *könig* were originally 'descendant of one of noble birth'. Greek *basileus* 'king' is pre-Greek (Mycenaean *pa-si-re-tu*). The Dorian kings believed themselves to be descendants of Egyptians and Phoenicians. Kekrops, the legendary founder of Athens is said to be an Egyptian. They must have insisted on not changing the native word for 'king', when Indo-European grammatical structure and basic lexicon was combined with a non-IE vocabulary of sophistication. The eminent French comparativist Georges Dumezil has suggested a tripartite conceptual framework of early IE society, which echoes the varṇa system of India. He has recovered its residue from IE mythology. He points out the deep nexus of State and spirituality as an embodiment of values, both in Indic and Italic. The Ṛgveda speaks of *brahma ca kṣatraṁ ca*. These two living palladia can also be seen in the Roman concept of the state. The word *brahman* occurs as *flamen* in Latin, and *rājan* as *rex*. The parallel of rex/flamen with rājan/brahman is a fascinating element of ancient Aryan vestiges of the bipartite conception of sovereignty. At the height of its power the Roman rex or sovereign Numa split the essence of the regnum and of the flamonium. The two existed in a symbiosis, for values had to be inherent in the functioning of the State.

There are astounding similarities between the obligations of the brāhmaṇa and the flamen.

The flamen may not touch or even name a dog (Plutarch, Roman Questions 111). The brāhmaṇa may not read the Vedas when he hears a dog bark (Manu 4.115) nor eat food that has touched a dog, or has come from people who breed dogs (Manu 208, 216).

The brāhmaṇī, wife of the brāhmaṇa, and the flaminice, wife of the flamen, are as important as their husbands in a religious context.

White is the colour of both brāhmaṇa and flamen. It becomes even more significant when we recall that red is the colour of the Indian rājanya and also the mark of the Roman rex.

The Italic languages arose out of Roman expansion. Latin replaced the earlier linguistic complexity of Italy, which was inhabited by the native non-IE Etruscans, Lemnians and others. It was Indo-Europeanised some time after 3000 BC and IE was superimposed on the prevalent substratum languages. The widely spoken Etruscan is known to us through its 10,000 inscriptions, besides stray elements and place names of

Etruscan that surive in Latin. In course of time, vernaculars spoken in the Roman empire emerged as Italic languages: Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Romanian, etc.

The Greco-Roman linguistic evolution leads us to certain perceptions:

i. IE is a linguistic family and not an ethnic entity.
ii. The present-day IE languages are not monogenetic but polygenetic with a number of non-IE linguistic strata embedded.
iii. Every IE language has: (a) IE grammar and basic lexicon, with (b) element/ traces of substratum vocabulary and institutions.
iv. From time to time thrust languages penetrated large areas by conquest or by trade, and gave a common vocabulary to groups of European languages.
v. A word can have an obvious meaning only in the language of origin and it makes no *prima facie* sense in the derivative language. Majority of the etymons of IE have meaning in derivations inspired by Sanskrit.

The intra-relationship of the groups of the IE family of languages, the historic strata that go into the layering of any language or group of languages, a common Pan-European lexicon arising out of a thrust language or languages, and the principle of obvious meaning in the language of origin, compels us to reconsider the monogenetic approach to the home of the Aryans, or to their migrations.

In conclusion, France fills many a vacuum in the perception of our cultural patterns. The lost links are reintegrated in evocative primers of function. The logic of ever-expanding historical sub-texts needs new psychoactive outlines. To us time is the patience of gods, to the French an adventure into exuberant frontiers. To French colleagues may I say: You have a toiling, thinking mind and I a heart of silence. Echo that mind into the silence of my word. (11 April 1990).

16. ĀYURVEDA IN ASIA

Excavations at ancient Indian sites of the third millennium BC have brought to light several therapeutic substances like the *śilājatu*, a remedy for diabetes, rheumatism etc. Bones of the octopus have been exhumed from earthenware vessels. Leaves of the *nīm* tree (*Azadirachta indica*), horns of the red deer, and a skull on which cranial surgery had been performed—all point to the high antiquity of the medical sciences in India. In the Vedic period, which has been dated from 5000 BC to 2000 BC, medicine was already an established profession. Ṛgveda 9.112 speaks of the healing of fractures and 10.97 is dedicated to healing herbs. The Aśvins were the famed physicians and wonder-working surgeons. They were adepts in treating blindness, paralysis, and rejuvenation. They replaced the lost leg of a soldier by an iron one. The Atharvaveda is considered to be the source of all āyurveda or the classical medicine of India. It speaks of the use of an unidentified plant *kuṣṭha* to combat *takman* or malarial fever. It speaks of prosthetic limbs, artificial eyes and newly set dentures! During the life-time of the Buddha lived Jīvaka the 'thrice-crowned king' of physician-surgeons. He was an expert in paediatrics and even excelled in brain surgery. He successfully performed intricate abdominal operations. He was a disciple of the renowned Ātreya of Taxila, a pioneer in India's history of the medical sciences. During his reign, Emperor Aśoka provided hospitals throughout his dominions and even beyond "in the lands on its frontiers .....and as far as Sri Lanka, and of the Greek king named Antiochus and of those kings who are neighbours of that Antiochus.... Medicinal herbs whether useful to man or to beast, have been brought and planted wherever they did not grow...." Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador to the court of the Mauryan Emperor (3rd century BC) speaks of the high level of India's attainments in obstetrics, preventive medicine and dietetics.

The oldest available medical textbook is the Saṁhitā of Caraka, who according to tradition, was the royal physician to Kaniṣka. His work is divided into eight parts: duties of a doctor and diet, the eight chief diseases, general pathology, anatomy and embryology, diagnosis and prognosis, special therapy, and general therapy. His work enjoyed renown far and wide: it was translated into Persian at an early date, and into Arabic in the eighth century AD.

Suśruta is famous for his contributions to surgery. The Mahābhārata represents him as the son of Viśvāmitra. The treatise of Suśruta, *inter alia* deals with pathology, anatomy, embryology, therapeutics and toxicology. Almost all the important operations are mentioned by him. He has described 121 surgical instruments. Like Caraka, he won

fame beyond his motherland India: in the 9th century he was renowned in Cambodia in the east and Arabia in the west.

Bhela was another eminent medical scientist whose Saṁhitā refers to Suśruta. Nāvanītaka is available in the oldest known medical manuscript of Sanskrit written on birch bark. It was discovered from Kashgar. Palaeographically it belongs to the 4th century AD. The age of the manuscript itself has a unique importance for tracing the evolution of the medical science in India.

The Bhojaprabandha gives an account of the cranial operation performed by the Aśvinīs on King Bhoja who reigned from 1010–56 AD. Of special interest is the fact that it was performed under anaesthesia (mohacūrṇa मोहचूर्ण) to cure him of cholesteatoma which is a brightly shining pearly tumour like the *śaphara* शफर to which it is aptly compared. It also mentions the *sañjīvanī* drug to revive the patient from anaesthesia to consciousness. Medical science has yet to discover such a drug.

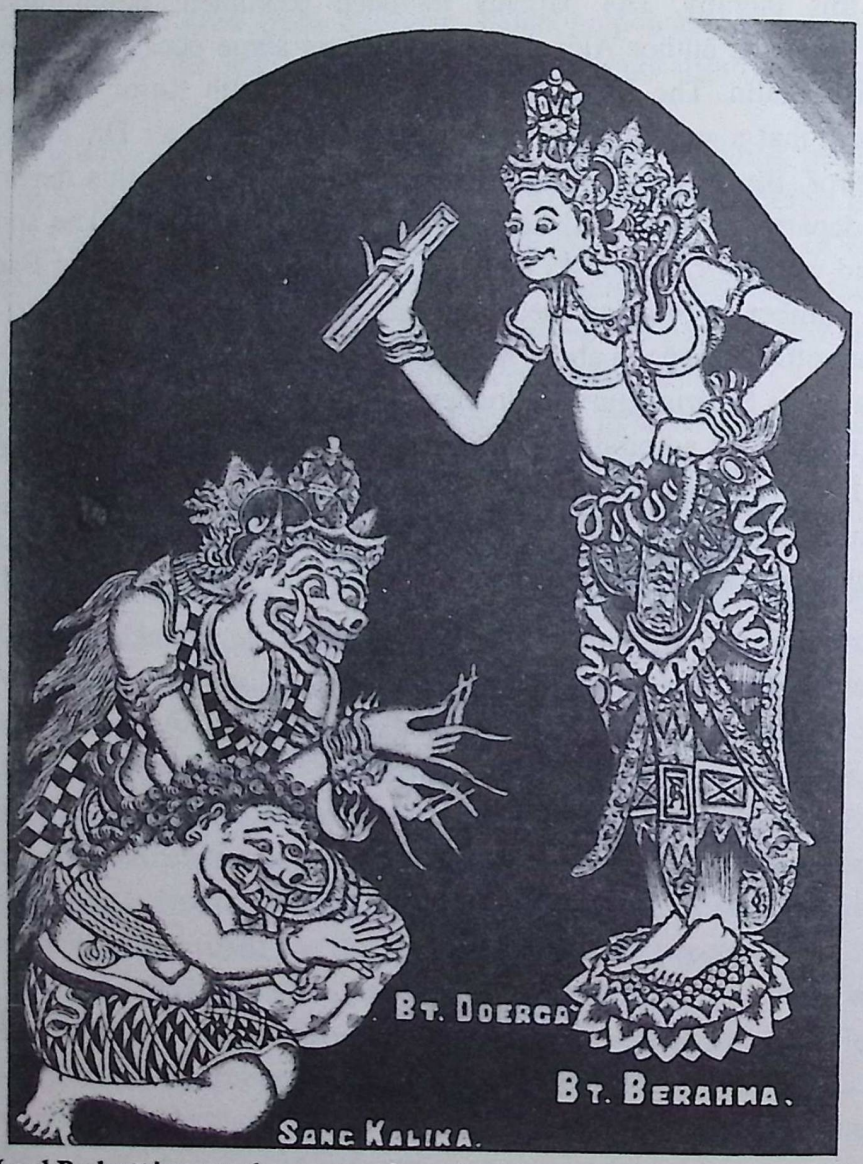
Indian medicine travelled to the capital of the Caliphate, where Hindu physicians were in charge of the Imperial Hospital. The great Harun al Rashid (786–808) was cured of a severe illness by the Hindu physician Mankh. This enhanced the reputation of Hindu medicine throughout the Saracen empire. Mankh translated a Sanskrit work on materia medica into Arabic. The treatise of Śanaq (or Cāṇakya) on toxicology was done into Arabic. The Moslem scholars of the Caliphate read the standard Sanskrit texts of Caraka, Suśruta and Vāgbhaṭa. They got their knowledge of the internal administration of iron, oxides of arsenic, mercury and other metals from the Hindus. From the Saracens, the Hindu discoveries were assimilated by Europe. The contributions of the Saracens to the European Renaissance, in their turn owe to a considerable extent to the Hindu achievements in medicine and mathematics. Greece had, even earlier, borrowed the use of several medicinal plants from India. In modern times Hindu medicine has given the plant *Rauwolfia* which is widely used for the treatment of blood pressure.

More than two thousand years ago, Indian culture and civilisation reached Indonesia. Inter alia, Indian medicine also found a congenial soil in this complex of islands. To this very day, Bali has preserved a rich āyurvedic theory and practice. Over 250 medical texts are known in palmleaf manuscripts, e.g. Usada (Sanskrit *auṣadha* औषध), Trināḍī (त्रिनाडी).

The medicine of Tibet too, is based on that of India. Several Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan, including the 'Four Tantras' (Rgyud bzi..) whose original Sanskrit it now lost. Tibetan fastnesses, untouched by war, preserved the rich heritage of Indian medicine till the Chinese occupation. The Chakpori Medical College at Lhasa was the oldest institution of its kind. From Tibet, Indian medicine travelled to the Khalkhas, Inner Mongols and the distant Buryats of NE Siberia. Here I may recall a meeting with

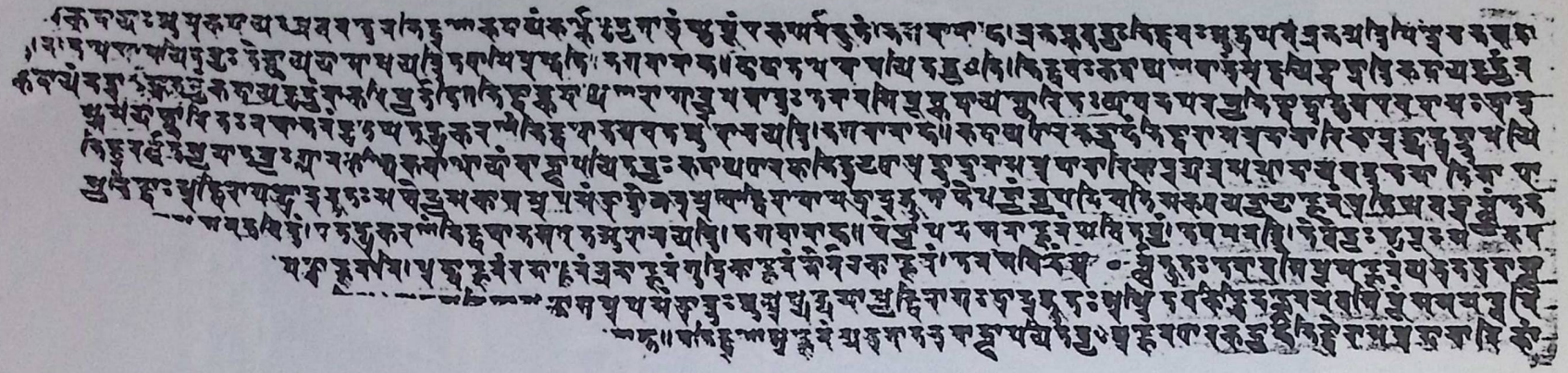
Dr. P. Cyrill von Korvin-Krasinski who has specialised in Siberian medicine. When I met him in Germany, he related how he had the privilege of having W. Badmajev as his guru in Mongolian āyurveda in Warsaw. He was the son of the learned Siberian Doctor N.N. Badmaev who was well-known in Leningrad for his āyurvedic practice and his great success in this therapy. His patients included prominent communist leaders like Bukharin, Rykov, the author Alexei Tolstoy and on some occasions he was even summoned to visit Stalin. The People's Commissar of Health Kaminsky had such a high opinion of him that a special department was established under Dr. Feodorov at Leningrad. Even Prof. Ilin of the Military Medical Academy was in this department. During a purge the department was abolished and the persons liquidated. The son of Badmajev fled to Poland where Dr. Krasinski met him. Dr. Krasinski related that Badmajev Jr. had given him a number of Siberian medical preparations. I requested him to show me one. He brought a bottle and spoke about its efficacy and was very sad that now he would not have it again as his Siberian guru Badmajev was no more alive. I requested Dr. Krasinski to show me a bit of his admirable drug. And lo! it was the ubiquitous *hiṅgvaṣṭaka cūrṇa* हिंग्वष्टक चूर्ण. I reverted to Dr. Krasinski: "It is found in every Indian household. You can get it, certainly you can have it again". Now Dr. Krasinski was insistent on a visit to India to study at the very fountain-head of the medicine of Tibet, Mongolia and Siberia.

Exhibtion on the occasion of the Third World Conference on Medical Education held at the Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi on 20–25 November, 1966.



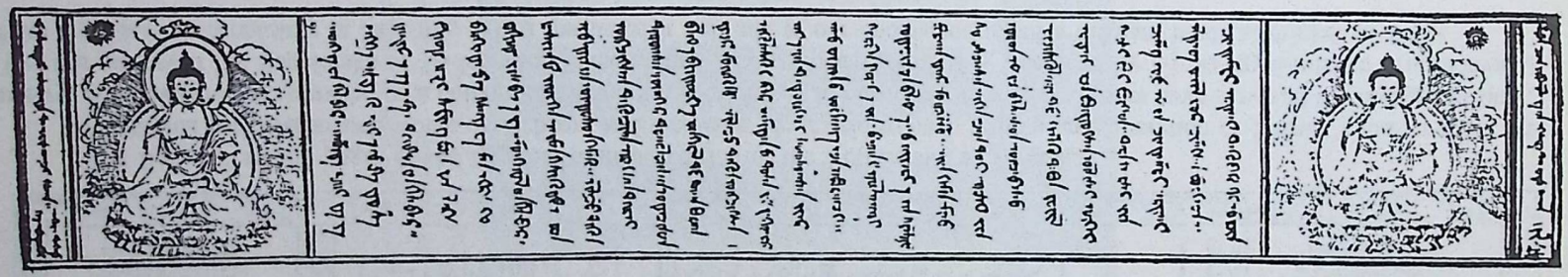
Lord Brahmā imparts the secrets of *pangiwa* or psychosomatic medicine to Durgā and Kālika. Lord Brahmā holds a lontar or palm-leaf manuscript in his hand. The painting is according to the Balinese tradition of Indonesia.

A painting from the Bali Island in Indonesia depicting the *pañca-mahābhūta* or the five gross elements which form the body.



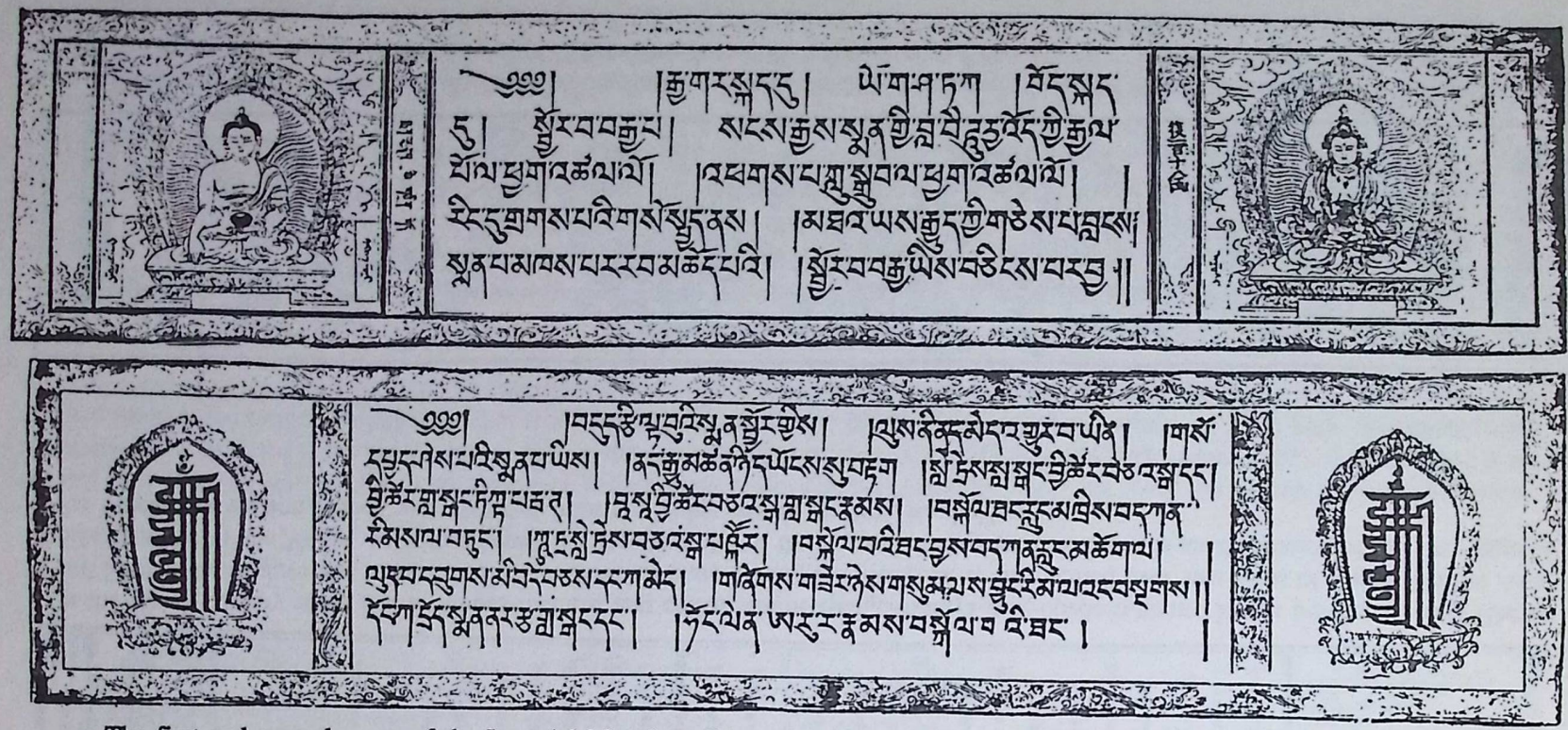
In 1931, some boys watching flocks about two miles west of Gilgit Cantonment, cleared a piece of timber sticking out on the top of a small stone-covered mound. Excavations brought to light from this stūpa a great mass of ancient manuscripts written on birch bark. Palaeographically these manuscripts can be dated to the sixth century. Among them are passages of medical significance. As these manuscripts can be assigned to a definite century they serve as sure guides to the dating of India's medical development. Besides, their age itself lends them a rare significance.

The verso and recto of the first two leaves of a palm-leaf manuscript of *Usada Pangiwa*. Usada is the Balinese variant of the Sanskrit word *auṣadha* 'medicine'. In Bali, manuscripts are written on palm-leaf whence their name lontar (*lon* leaf + *tar*=Skt. *tāla* palm).



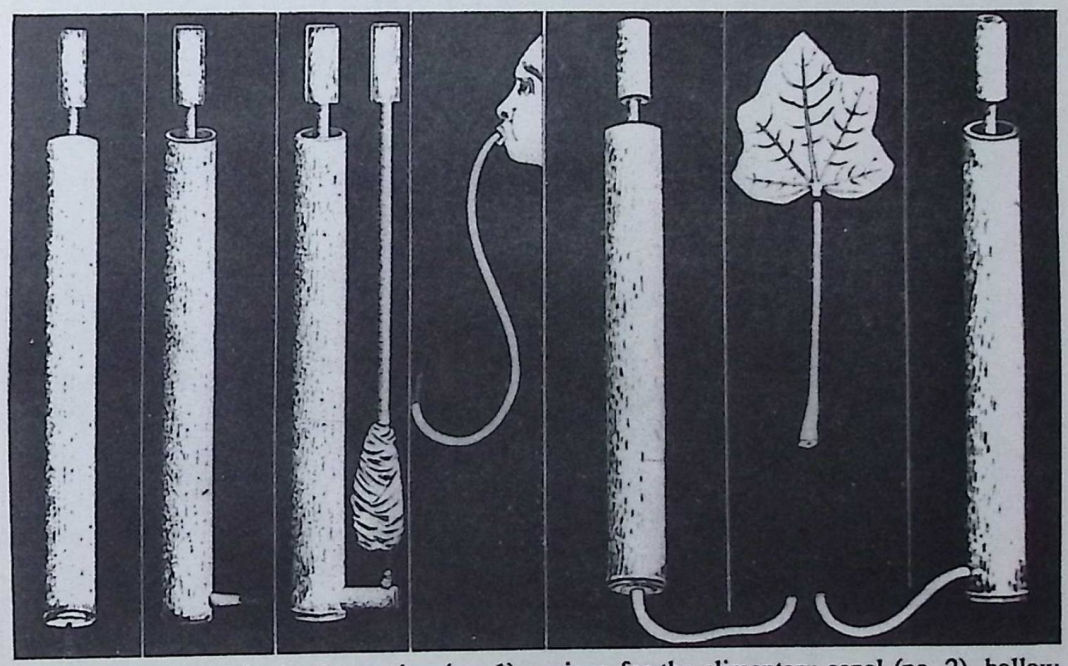
In the eighth century India lost a famous medical text called Amṛta-aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-guhyopadeśa-tantra. It was translated into Tibetan and Mongolian. It gave rise to an immense medical literature among the Mongols. It has roamed over vast areas of China, Central Asia, Siberia as far as the Volga, on whose banks lies the Republic of the Kalmuk Mongols. The above is an illustration of the first page of the Mongolian version, which was obtained from the Volga region by Prof. RaghuVira.

A Tibetan manuscript illustrating the herbs of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṁhitā, originating from the Kumbum Monastery in Sinkiang. The original manuscript was discovered by Prof. RaghuVira during his expedition to Central Asia.



The first and second pages of the Imperial Manchu edition of the Yogaśataka in Tibetan.

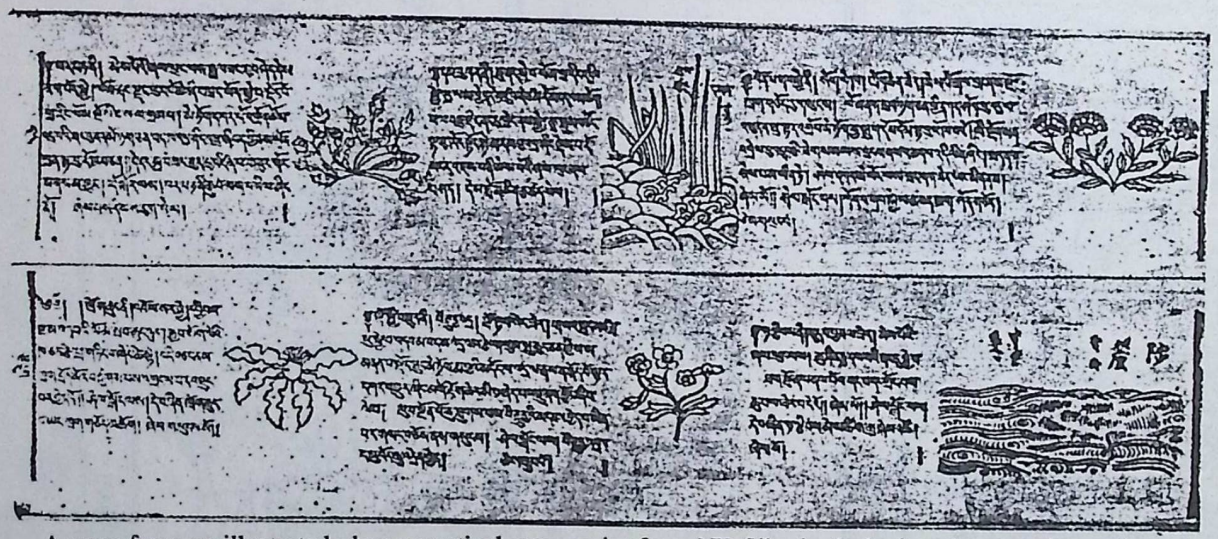
Nāgārjuna authored several works on alchemy and medicine. He is said to have written an elaboration of Suśruta's master-work on surgery. A medical recipe engraved on a column in Pāṭalīputra is attributed to him. Very few of his works have survived the ravages of time. Tibet has preserved his Yogaśataka or "A Hundred Prescriptions". This Tibetan translation was done by Ñi-ma-rgyal-mtshan (Sūryadhvaja) at the Dpal-śes-rab Monastery at Skyi-roṅ. When translated it will add to our understanding of a brilliant medical thinker of India.



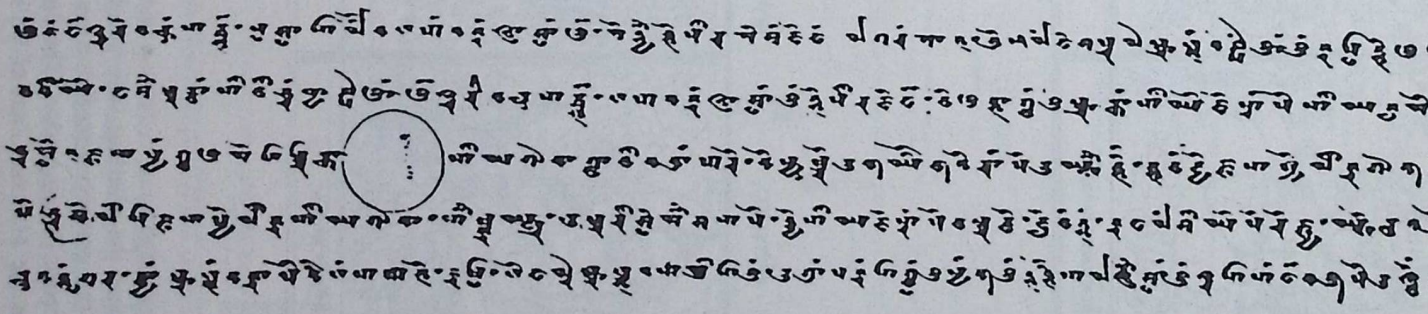
Bamboo syringe for the lumbar region (no. 1), syringe for the alimentary canal (no. 2), hollow lotus stem to insufflate air or water into the intestines (no. 4), bamboo squirt for injecting medicaments into the urethra (nos. 5,7) and a leaf of *Jatropha curcas*.

Provenance: Bali (Indonesia)

The authoritative texts, upon which the Tibetans moulded their own works, were translations from the Sanskrit. All these treatises originated in monastic universities. Among them the bigger ones had medical colleges. The more important a monastery, the more it could attract medical scholars of outstanding talent. The Medical College of the Kumbum Monastery attained special renown, as it was the birth-place of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow Sect and through it of the Tibetan Renaissance. The Medical College of Kumbum had a vast array of medical charts to illustrate the ancient texts. Above is one of these anatomical charts.



A page from an illustrated pharmaceutical manuscript from NE Siberia. It depicts the materia medica mentioned in the Amṛta-aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. Its Sanskrit original is now lost, but it is available in Tibetan and Mongolian translations.

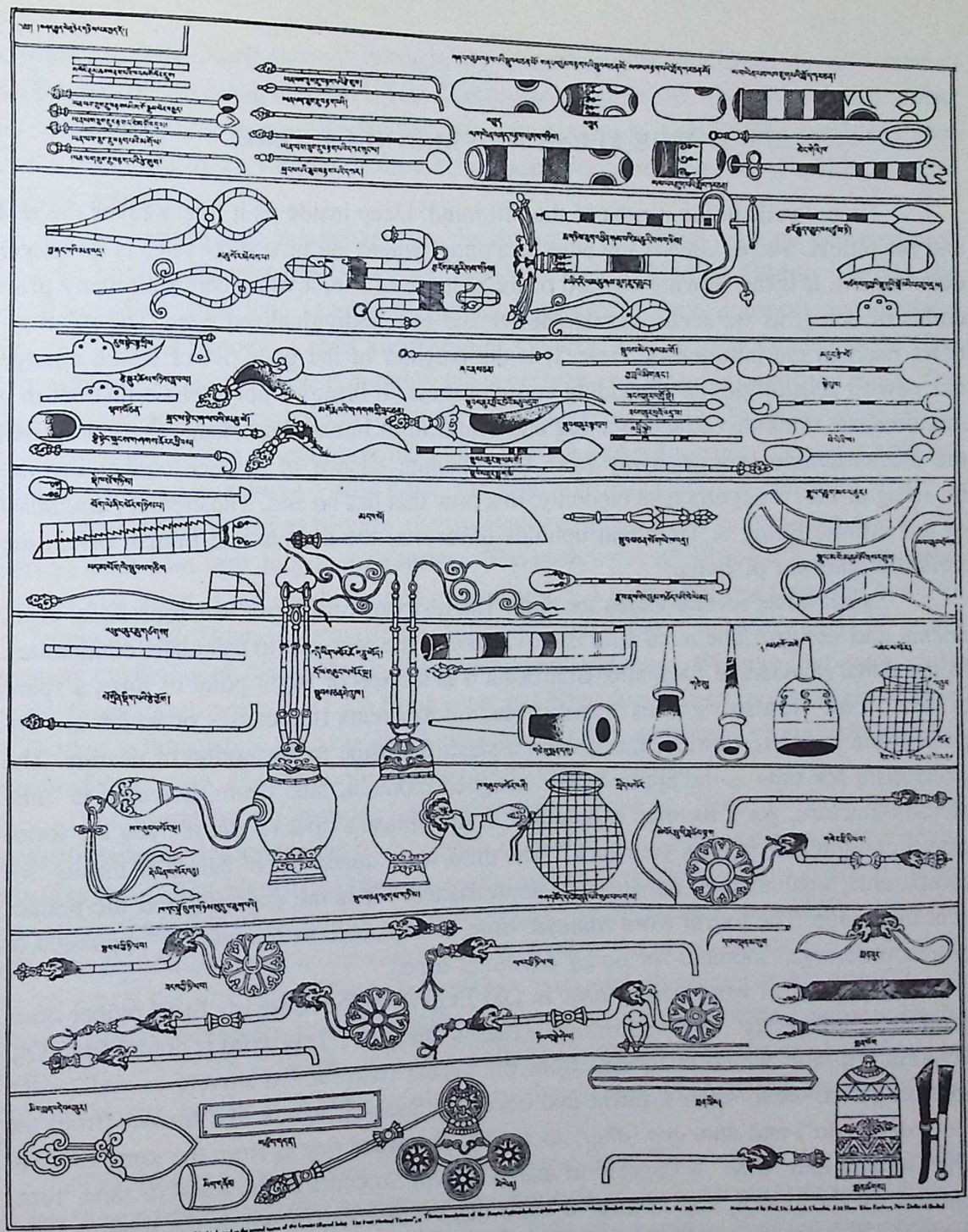


A page from one of the oldest medical manuscripts dating back to the 6th–7th century. It hails from Central Asia and contains the Sanskrit and Khotanese text of Siddhasāra by Ravigupta. It was a widely used medical treatise in Hindu–Buddhist Central Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era. Its use among the Eastern Turks is attested by an Uigur translation.

२७१ श्यामा सुखभद्रा २७२ मङ्गला दीर्घायुषी २७३ मतिभद्रा

२७४ गतिभद्रा २७५ कण्ठभद्रा २७६ भैषज्यदेवी

In Tibet's atmosphere of common visions, in her magic aura, gods are born as if by a miracle. Concepts take on aspect, the offerings with which deities are honoured are symbolised. In this fantastic world, it is no wonder that preventive medicine has its own epiphany in the form of The Five Goddesses of Long Life and the synergic Bhaiṣajyadevī. The illustration is from a xylographic edition of Lalitavajra, the Imperial Preceptor at the Manchu Court of Ch'ien-lung.



A chart of surgical instruments from the Mongolian Medical College at the Yung Ho Kung Monastery at Peking. This chart is based on the Indian text Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṁhitā. Yung Ho Kung is a monument of a great era, where once Mongol students from Urga, Kiakhta and Kobdo, Buryats from the Baikal Lake, Kalmuks from the Volga River, Manchus from Tsitsikhar, Tanguts from the Koko-nor, and Tibetans from Lhasa bustled and jostled.

17. THE FLESH AND BLOOD OF TIME

Time dwells in the depths of the full mind. Deep inside us it interweaves the real and the unreal. Sacred time is the pure becoming, where the time of physics is no longer determinant. It is the flowing onward of the essence of life, a value-centre in many principles of being, as we seek to create newer and ever individualised eyes. The mind renews itself in the intuition of Time. It is the laughter of the gods out of which emerge our newest sensibilities of expanding consciousness. It brings a polytheistic instinct in a monotheistic thinking. Time is the big and beautiful of human knowledge that comprises the immeasurable infinite, away from the absolute silence of science concerning the meaning of life. It engulfs man eternally, in a now that has no end. The eternal (*sanātana*) of the infinite Being is Time that upholds (*dhar*-ma) the cosmic and human order, the *sanātana dharma* of India.

Sanskrit has several words for time. The lexicon Amarakośa lists four: *kāla*, *diṣṭa*, *aneha*, and *samaya*. The word *kāla* is dervied from the root *kal* 'to calculate, enumerate'. In the Atharvaveda and Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa it is a fixed or 'right point of time, a space of time, time'. It also signifies "time as leading to events (the causes of which are imperceptible to man), destiny, fate"; from a sanctified time to the notion of destiny. The word *diṣṭa* for time is the appointed or assigned moment, fate, death. But *diṣṭi* is "auspicious juncture, good fortune, happiness" in the phrase *diṣṭyā vardhase* 'you are fortunate, I congratulate you on your luck". The third word *aneha* 'time' basically means "incomparable, unattainable, unmenaced, unobstructed". It is the enduring and the permanent in change. The fourth word *samaya* 'time' is explained as *samyag eti* "appointed or proper time, right moment for doing anything, time".

The English word *time* is *tima* in Old English in the sense of 'fit or proper time, good time, prosperity'. In Swedish *timme* means 'an hour'. This word is drived from Old Teutonic **ti-mon* which is formed from the verbal base **tī* "to stretch, extend" + the abstract suffix *-mon*, *-man* a suffix that occurs in Sanskrit words like *kar-ma* (from the root *kar* 'to do') and *dhar-ma* (*dhar* 'to hold'). The word *tide* is from the same root **tī*. The German *Zeit* 'time' is cognate to *tide*. The root *ti* occurs in the Sanskrit *titha* 'time, autumn' in the Uṇādi, and in *tithi* 'a lunar day'. The roots of words for time in Indo-European languages mostly signify 'to stretch, measure' in a temporal application. The Latin *tempus* 'stretch of time' can be from the root *ten* in Latin *ten-dere*, Sanskrit *tan*, Greek *teinō* 'stretch'. Russian *vremja*, Slavic **vérmen* is from **vert-men*, Sanskrit *vartman* 'course'. It is a semantic development from the notion of time as a turning cycle of

seasons, etc. The Greek *khronos* is originally 'the comprehensive' from the root seen in the Sanskrit *hṛ* 'to bring together'. The Avesta *yarǎ*, Gothic *jēr*, English *year* are probably extensions of *yā* 'to go', like the Sanskrit *sam-aya* (*i/aya* 'to go'). The words enshrine man's responses to the rhythm of time, its constant recurrence, its never-ending rhymes without reason.

The Indo-European languages are the richest in verbal morphology. Sanskrit conjugation is vibrantly alive to tenses and moods, termed *lakāra* by Pāṇini, wherein the initial *la* is from *kāla*. The richness of verbal conjugation in Indo-European accented the memories of the bygone, a keen awareness of the seen, and passion for that to be. The experienced change in terms of duration gives pastness, presentness, and futureness. The flow of time has been grasped in India not only intellectually but also in intuitive terms. In the intuited stream of consciousness past, present and future flow into one another. Such a Being is *tri-samaya-vyūha muni*, the sage who envisions the trinity of time.

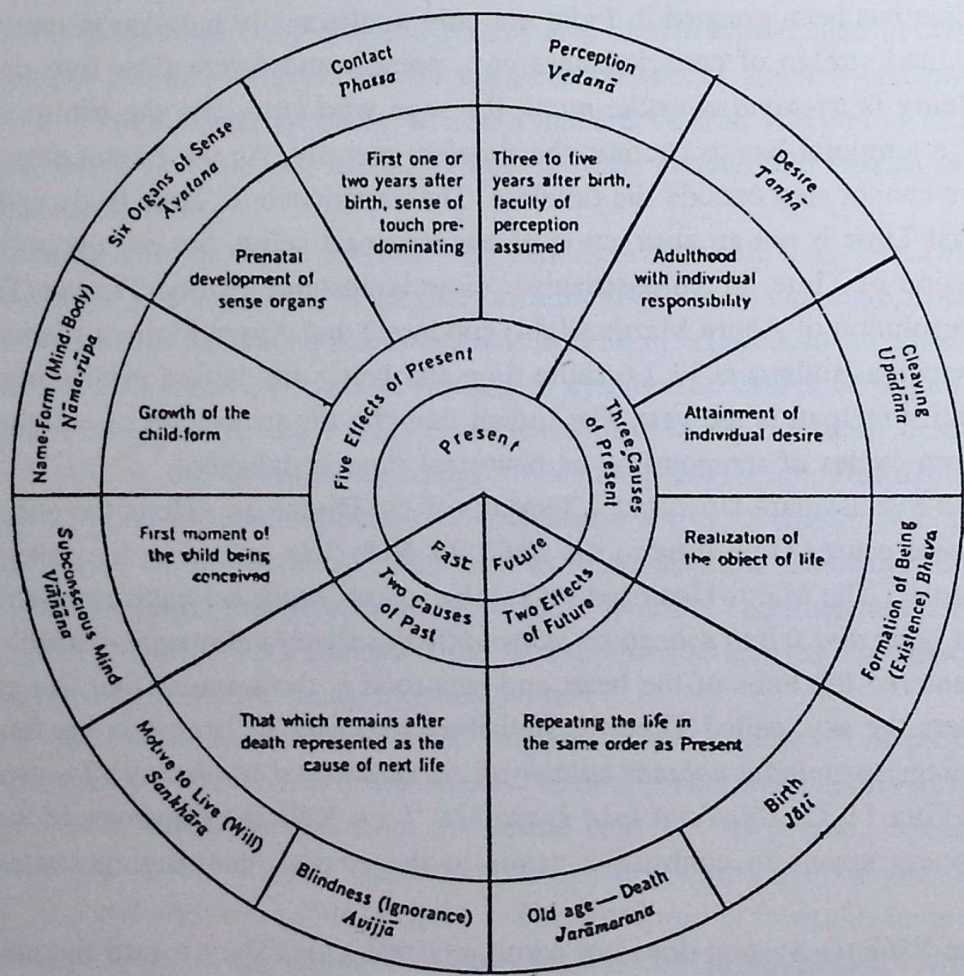
The temporal has to become the timeless eternity. As we cannot step out of the timely, we cannot step outside the timeless. The experience of Time leads us to the perception that Time is not an abstraction of our temporal being, but our temporal being is an expression of Time. In Zoroastrianism, time is absolute reality: Zurwan/Time is the ultimate resolution of Ahura Mazda (light, goodness) and Angra Mainyu (darkness, evil). In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 11.1.6 finite time and being are deified in the single symbol of Prajāpati: Prajāpati is the year. For Indian thought, the realisation of enlightenment is release from cycles of temporality, as historical time is delusion.

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 1.3 speaks of the Divine as: "He is the one who rules over all these causes from time to the soul". In 4.15: "He indeed is the protector of the world in time". The Maitrī-Upaniṣad says: *atha ya eṣo 'ntare hṛt-puṣkara evāśrito 'nnam atti sa eṣo 'gnir divi śritaḥ sauraḥ kālākhyo dṛṣyaḥ sarvabhūtāny annam attīti:* 'Now, he who has entered the lotus of the heart and eats food is the same as that fire of the Sun which enters the sky, called Time the Invisible, who eats all beings as his food". Time eats all beings *(prāṇināṁ kalanāt kālākhyaḥ sarva-bhūtāni saṁharati)*. Likewise in the Bhagavad-Gītā 11.32: *kālo 'smi loka-kṣaya-kṛt*: 'I am Kāla the destroyer of worlds'. Its momentariness stands in contrastive nexus to the eternal, unchanging context of our being.

The Sāṅkhya system does not admit any real time. They regard the unit of *kāla* as the time taken by an atom to traverse its own unit of space. Its existence is linked to the atom and its movement. According to it, *kāla* as a separate entity is a creation of our perceptions. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas regard it as existing by itself, and as an all-pervading partless substance. The Vaiśeṣika-sūtras regard time as the cause of things that suffer change, but not of those that are eternal. Further, it is a substance and is eternal.

According to the Jains, time is that which renders the mutation (*vartanā*) of things possible. Naturally, time is incorporeal, and it has no space-points. In which form did it exist? It is explained that it stood leaning (*pratītya*) on the variable masses of existence. Views differ on whether time is material. That which depends on variable things is not time in general, but only the moment (*samaya*), the present. It is transitory and vanishes the same moment. It is the duration which an atom requires to cross a space-point.

Buddhism regards time as relative and a circle without beginning or end. A living being forms an endless continuum in relation to time. Life in relation to space and time is represented in the following diagram:



The Buddhists of the Madhyamaka school reject the independent and ultimate reality of time. According to them, it exists as a notion relative to phenomena, which do not exist in the ultimate. Hence it is unreal. It is divided into three components: past, present and future, which exist only in relation to each other. It is devoid of ultimate

reality. It does not exist apart from things. Empty time is untenable. It is apprehended from changing entities: *bhāvaṁ pratītya kālaś cet, kālo bhāvād ṛte kutaḥ* (Madhyamaka-kārikā 19.6). Like momentary things or existential structures (bhāva), time too is unreal (*na ca kaścana bhāvo 'sti, kutaḥ kālo bhaviṣyati).* Nāgārjuna expounds that the three phases of time (*kālatraya*) are interdependent, have no self-existence, and so are unreal. Candrakīrti, commenting on Madhyamaka-kārikā 15.5, says that there is no such thing as invariable, unchanging time which could be understood in terms of moments and minutes. It has no essence of its own. Nāgārjuna says: "But an enduring time, although manipulatable, does not exist. How could non-manipulatable time be grasped?" The Prajñāpāramitā accepts that *kāla* has a mundane (*laukika*) and conventional (*sāṅketika)* meaning, but it is not a real dharma. To avoid the metaphoric expression (*prajñapti*) of *kāla*, the Buddhists use the word *samaya*. The Prajñāpāramitā clearly says that Buddhist texts often employ the word *samaya*, and rarely the word *kāla*. Buddhaghosa illustrates the employment of *samaya* by numerous citations from the Nikāyas in his commentaries on them. Eliade says: "Time makes possible the appearance and existence of things. It has no final influence upon their existence, since it is itself constantly regenerated".

In the words of the Nobel Laureate Weizsäcker (1952:163): "Like the limits of space, the modern era has also cracked open the limits of time which the Middle Ages recognized. When geology found fossils of living things 'before the flood', and when it learned to estimate the age of past geological epochs by counting the strata in sedimentary rocks, the calculation of time according to a literal interpretation of the biblical story of creation had to be abandoned". The question of eternity has to be viewed afresh in the plenitude of the real, instead of the poverty of the precisely conceived. Judeo-Christian and Islamic systems are historical religions in relation to other faiths. The manifestation of the cosmic process in the passage of time is circumscribed in them by historic time.

The Judeo-Christian view of a finite cosmos and a time limited to six thousand years has conditioned modern thought. While the infinity of the world has become the symbolical element in natural sciences, eternal time continues to pose problems from the days of Plotinus and Augustine. According to the Christian interpretation, time is the medium through which the divine purpose finds expression. The eternal now is not a frozen instant, a durationless simplicity but life, divine life, "a god manifesting himself as he is" in the words of Plotinus. Experience of inner composure, vividness of hours passing by unregistered, are a threshold for the contemplation of eternity. It is vertically related to the horizontal flowing of time.

The modern view of physics is presented by Russell: "A truer image of the world... is obtained by picturing things as entering into the stream of time from an eternal world outside, rather than from a view which regards time as the devouring tyrant of all

that is". The everlasting, what always was, is, and will be, has to be distinguished from eternity. Eternity touches all time. It transcends time without being separate from it. It is timelessness, in contrast to the sempiternal or everlasting. It is the unity of the multiplicity of relations of precedence and posteriority. Latin metaphysics speaks of eternity as *nunc stans* 'a standing now', and of time as *nunc fluens* 'a flowing now'.

The flow of time as something which cotinually slips past us, is a notion with respect to a hypertime. In the phrase of D.C. Williams it is "the myth of passage". Events happen to continuants, i.e. to things that change or remain the same. While there are memories of the past, there are no footprints of the future. The asymmetry of the temporal directionality of the universe is a fundamental question. Sanskrit uses *samaya* for flowing time, in the conventional worldly sense for protensive events, and *kāla* is the term of the Vaiśeṣikas who regard time as eternal.

Sacred time is crucial to all cultures, from the tribal to the classical. Its context is the unchanging eternal and its expression is the ever-changing momentary. Ambivalent in its focus, it is timeless in the absolute and timely in relative terms. In the spiritual world it reveals itself as timeless. The realities of life have to merge seamlessly into sanctification by the eternal. The planets and constellations as symbols of the eternal are correlates of human life for the epigenesis of the ultimate. In India, sacred rituals are consecrated by the worship of the nine planets (nava-graha) and homage to the twenty-eight constellations (nakṣatra-iṣṭi). It is a living element that influences actions. So strong was the role of the planets and constellations in the life of India that fire rites to them found a special role in Japanese Buddhism. A manuscript of the ninth century at the Tōji monastery entitled Goma-ro-dan-yō illustrates the planets of the week as well as the constellations, along with the fire altars used in their rites (TZ 237:7.815f.). The Japanese Daikoku, translation of Mahākāla, has acquired the character of the patron of fortune (fukujin), and he is a guarantee of success and good luck. He is venerated as the god of agriculture as well as the specific deity of rice-culture. From Mahākāla of death he has become the Great Time (*mahā* great, *kāla* time). The social elaboration of the temporal symbols constitutes an integral bond with the Eternal.

In Indic religions, Time is personified in the highest form of Deity. Herein time is the bridge from the perceptible to the non-perceptible. Kāla or Time is personified as a cosmogonic force in the Artharvaveda 19.53–56. In the perennial philosophy of India, it is Eternity, the sanātana dharma wherein events and symbols, time-intervals and eternal continuities, are homogeneous and interpenetrative. The Sanskrit root of *kāla* is *kal,* a correlate of *kar* 'to create', for the symbols of time are the innovative structures of creativity. India's time is trans-historic, trascendental. The historic Buddha Śākyamuni himself had to be transformed from Master into Lord. From an individual in time he

became the Eternal beyond time. Time flows without a shore and seeks substance in creativity. The stream of eternal time, with its indivisible links in an unbroken whole, is the holoverse of life.

The apotheosis of the Cycle of Time in the complex deity of Kālacakra reflects its creativity in human perceptions. Kālacakra has lived on in Tibet as the apogée of tantric revelation. It is the withdrawal of all appearances that melt

Into light and dissolve into myself.
I also melt into light, and then from within
The emptiness of unapprehendability
Again transforms into the aspect of Kālacakra.

As Buddhist monasteries were being destroyed in Central Asia in the eighth century, mind's geometry translated the image of time into Kālacakra. Like a wheel (cakra), Time (kāla) was to be the timeless movement for trampled dreams to become incredible vitality. In Kālacakra life and time, hope and history, resolve and resurrection intertwine. We think in time and time lives in us. Man conceives and constructs another time to stand over and contrast with the time in which he has his corporeal existence. This dualism is indispensable to the temporal process of history. The Time To Be, the Other Time transforms the 'Is' into the 'Ought', to renew humanity in the dreaming unknown.

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18. THE CYAVANA–VIDANVAT LEGEND IN THE JAIMINĪYA BRĀHMAṆA

In his article, The Fountain of Youth, published in the *JAOS* 26.1–67, Prof. E.W. Hopkins presented a tentative text of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (JB.)2.159–61, which gives the legend of Cyavana interwoven with the tale of Vidanvat. As he pointed out, the text could not be finally established without the discovery of new manuscripts. I now have at my disposal transcripts of three manuscripts, designated as A, B, C in the notes. These have made it possible to present an improved text, which is produced below:

Atha trīṇi vaidanvatāni. Śaryāto vai Mānavaḥ prācyāṁ sthalyām ayajata. Taṁ ha ṛṣayo yājayāṁ cakrus, tad ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ somaṁ samapibaṅs,[1] *tad ubhayair devamanuṣyair uttamaṁ somaḥ sampītas; tasmiṅś Cyavano Bhārgavo 'śvibhyāṁ graham agṛhṇāt. Tam Indraś camasam avāgṛhṇāt,*[2] *ko 'yam ajñātaś camasaḥ pracaratī 'ti; tasya Vidanvān*[3] *Bhārgavaḥ pratyahan, kas taṁ camasaṁ mīmāṅsitum arhati yaṁ vayaṁ*

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[1]Hopkins reads *sampiban* which is not a correct grammatical form. C correctly reads *samapiban*, which has been adopted in the text.

[2]Hopkins: *vā agṛhṇāt*. If this reading is accepted the syntactical position of the particle *vā* presents difficulty and in no manuscript is there a hiatus between *vā* and *agṛhṇāt*. In our MSS. A reads *vāgṛhṇăt*, B *avāgṛhṇāt*, and C *vāgṛhṇāt*. *Avāgṛhṇāt* suits the context admirably. The prefix *ava-* adds force to √*grah* and implies some violence in snatching away the cup from Cyavana, and thereby rightly giving Vidanvat a cause for striking at Indra. The √*grah* + *ava* is not a new compound. It has been used in the PB. 1.7.8, 6.7.22, 23.

[3]The word *vidanvat* is of immense grammatical interest. It is the active participle of √*danv* + *vi*, a root not recorded from literature so far. Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit–English Dictionary (1899) gives *danv* 'to go' as a Parasmaipada root of the first class, occurring only in the Dhātupāṭha 15.88. Cf. the doublet √*dhanv* 'to run, flow', which is not of uncommon occurrence in Vedic literature. Cf. note 16, below.

Hopkins rightly takes Vidanvat and Cyavana to be sons of Bhṛgu. In this connection it may be noted that the prefix *vi* - has been used to form proper names out of other proper names, particularly the names of younger brothers from those of the elder ones. Examples are: *Vi-koka* 'the son of the Asura Vṛka and younger brother of Koka' in Kalki-Purāṇa; Vi-pṛthu 'the son of Citraka and younger brother of Pṛthu' in the Vāyu-Purāṇa. The name Vidanvat seems to be an example of the same type, with the difference that the word Cyavana is replaced by the synonymous *-danvat*. The role played by Vidanvat in striking at Indra, when he seized Cyavana's cup, is also in consonance with the Indian characterization of a younger brother when the elder one is insulted. An incident from the Rāmāyaṇa will not be out of place here. When the arrogant Paraśurāma challenges the elder brother Rāma, the younger Lakṣmaṇa gives a spirited reply which is nothing short of a quarrel. Vidanvat is thus the earliest formation of the name of a younger brother from that of an elder by the prefixing of *vi-*. Psychologically this type of nomenclature is interesting in that it throws light on the status of a younger brother in a family.

prayacchemeti[4] *(159). Te devā akrudhyann, akrudhyann ṛṣayas; te navanavatayo*[5] *Maruta ṛṣṭihastā atiṣṭhann, idānīm idam paryākariṣyāmo 'the 'daṁ sarvam mardiṣyata*[6] *iti. Atha ha*[7] *ṛṣayo Madam āsuram udāhvayan; sa u tṛndann ivā 'ntarikṣaṁ śīrṣṇā 'bhyayāt;*[8] *sā mahatī samad*[9] *āsīt. So 'gnir Indram abravīd, vyetu te krodha śreyāṅso vā ete 'smad;*[10] *yadi vā etān krodha iṣyati*[11] *ne 'ha kiṁ cana pariśekṣyata, etebhyo vai vayaṁ jātā sma iti. Tasyā 'gnir eva krodhaṁ vyanayat. Sa Indro vītakrodhaḥ saha devaiḥ prādravat. Teṣām apendro 'padevo yajño 'bhavat; te 'kāmayanta, sendro naḥ sadevo yajña syād*[12] *iti. Sa etāni Vidanvān Bhārgavaḥ sāmāny*[13] *apaśyat, tair astuta, tair Indram āhvayat, tair asya krodhaṁ vyanayat. Tato vai teṣām Indro yajñam upāvartata, tata ebhyo 'napakramy abhavat, tata esāṁ*[14] *sendraḥ sadevo yajño 'bhavat. Tāni vā etāni sendrāṇi sadevāni sāmāni; sendro hā 'sya sadevo yajño bhavaty, abhy asye 'ndro yajñam*

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[4]Hopkins reads *vā 'yaṁ prayachatī 'ti.* He gives the reading of his transcript as *vayaṁ prayachetīti*, which is found in none of our transcripts. A, B have *prayacheteti* and C has *prayacchemeti.* The latter reading has been adopted in the text as being better than Hopkins' emendation, to which he must have been led by the mistaking of an *-e-* (with a ghost dot) for an *-i-* in *prayacheteti.*

[5]A, B *tenavatoyo*; C *te navanavatayo*; Hopkins' transcript has *tenavanatīyo*, which he tentatively emended to *nā 'vanatā* (?). The emendation is unnecessary. *Te navanato(tī)yo* is clearly a scribal error for *te navanavatayo* (the reading of C); the Maruts being numbered like the steeds of Vāyu and Indra (RV. 4.48.4).

[6]It may better be translated as a passive: 'now this entire (world) is going to be crushed.'

[7]For *atha ha* Hopkins reads *āhu(r)* and that too with the previous sentence, thus beginning a new sentence with *ṛṣayo.* It is difficult to understand how he emended *aha* of the MSS. to the pf. 3 pl *āhu(r)*, which is shocking with the present active participle *atiṣṭhan.* Moreover, there are numerous similar passages where a verb conveying the idea of speech is left understood after a participle, e.g. *Te devā Bhṛgum upādhāvañ, jayāmā 'surān iti* (JB. 2.211).

C correctly reads *atha ha*, in the light of which *aha* can easily be explained as a clerical error. It is noteworthy that the Mada episode, occurring again in this legend only in the beginning of §161, similarly commences with *atha ha*; which is, perhaps, an indication of the fact that the Mada episode was a later introduction in the Cyavana legend.

[8]A, B *'bhyadhāt;* C *'bhyadadhāt.* The correct reading is doubtful. √*dhā* + *abhi* means 'to cover a country with an army' in the Mahābhārata 2.1090. Is it a further instance of the parallelism of the epic and the JB. legend? (See JAOS 26.63).

[9]A, B *samam*; C *samud.*

[10]C correctly reads *vyetu te krodha śreyāṁso vā ete 'smad.* Hopkins has not dropped the visarga of *krodha.* Excepting a few scribal errors, the JB. manuscripts elide the visarga before a sibilant immediately followed by a hard mute, nasal, and semivowel. But it has been overlooked by those who have edited portions of the JB. In accordance with the MSS. tradition, we have dropped the visarga throughout.

[11]A, B, C *krodhayiṣyati.*

[12]See note 10.

[13]Hopkins: *Bhārgavo sāmāny* (wrong sandhi !).

[14]Hopkins reads *eṣa* in his text, while his transcript and our A and B manuscripts have *eṣā*, in which the anusvāra has been omitted by the scribe through oversight. C actually has *eṣām.* It is supported by the genitive in the corresponding *sendro hā 'sya sadevo yajño bhavati*, further on.

āvartate, nāsye 'ndro[15] *yajñād apakrāmati*[16] *ya evaṁ veda. Paśavo ha khalu vai vidanvanta, etā ṛco vidanvatīs, tāsv etam ṛṣabham vaidanvantam apisṛjanti*[17] *mithunatvāya prajananāya; pra mithunena jāyate*[18] *ya evaṁ veda. Yad u Vidanvān Bhārgavo 'paśyat, tasmād vaidanvatānī 'ty ākhyāyante*[19] *(160). Atha ha Mada*[20] *āsuro bibhayāṁ cakāra, sa ho 'vāca, mā mām moghāyo 'dāhvayata,*[21] *vi māṁ*[22] *nidhatte 'ti. Te 'bruvan, pāsyāma*[23] *iti manyamānāḥ, surām āharāma Varuṇasyā 'ndho; 'dhi tasyāṁ naivā 'sīt*[24] *katamaś canā 'rtaḥ samartyā iti,*[25] *tatra Mada parehī 'ti; sa eṣa Mada āsuraḥ surāyāṁ vinihitaḥ.*[26]

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[15]A, B, and Hopkins' transcript read *nāsyesendro*, which has been emended to *nā 'syo sa Indro* by Hopkins. The correct reading *nāsye 'ndro* is given by C. Cf. the preceding sentence in the legend: *abhy asye 'ndro yajñam āvartate.*

[16]It is not uncommon in the Brāhmaṇas to justify the use of a sāman in a yajña by introducing a story, in which the connecting link is etymology. Similarly, here the etymology of the word Vaidanvata is connected with the effect of chanting these sāmans during the sacrifice. Vaidanvata is from √*danv* + *vi* 'not to depart'; so if the Vaidanvata sāmans are chanted, Indra does not depart from the sacrifice.

[17]All our MSS. and Hopkins' transcript read *avisṛjanti*. Hopkins has *ava*(?)*sṛjanti* in his text. As the confusion of *va* and *pa* is ubiquitous in Grantham manuscripts, the correct word is none other than *apisṛjanti*. Cf. JB. 3.250: *Ṛṣabham evai 'tat paśuṣv apisṛjanti mithunatvāya prajananāya; pra mithunena jāyate ya evaṁ veda.*

[18]Hopkins has *mithunenā 'jāyate*. C correctly reads *pra mithunena jāyate*. Cf. the passage quoted in the previous note.

[19]C correctly has *ākhyāyante*.

[20]Hopkins' text has *mahā-Mada*. But C correctly has only *Mada*.

[21]Hopkins' text *udāhvata*. B correctly reads *udāhvayata*.

[22]Hopkins reads *mā*. B has *māṁ*, which appears to be the better reading. The previous sentence also has *māṁ*.

[23]Doubtful.

[24]Hopkins has *na vā 'sīt. Naivā 'sīt* is the correct reading. It gives the required emphasis and is actually found in C.

[25]A, B *samartyāriti;* C *sāmartyāniti.*

[26]The story ends here. It is followed by a Vedic quotation (RV. 9.108.13), which is connected with the next section. But Hopkins inadvertently ends the story after the Vedic quotation (see JAOS 26.67 note 4).

19. STUDIES IN THE JAIMINĪYA-BRĀHMAṆA

While working on the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (henceafter referred to by the abbreviation JB.), I was able to present several corrections in the abstracts of the JB. text published by my illustrious predecessors: *H. Oertel* (JAOS. 18.15 ff., 19.97 ff.; Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897, p. 225ff.; JAOS. 23.325ff., 26.176ff.; 306ff.; 28.81ff.; Trans. Connecticut Academy 15.155 ff.; JAOS. 15.233 ff.; Journal of Vedic Studies of Prof. Dr. RaghuVira I, II), *B. Ghosh* (Collection of the Fragments of Lost Brāhmaṇas), *W. Caland* (Over en uit het JB.; Das JB. in Auswahl), and others. These corrections were incorporated in the introduction of my *The Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* II.1–80 (Nagpur, 1950). In the course of later studies on the subject, more corrigenda have gathered and some of those on *Das JB. in Auswahl,* by Prof. W. Caland are being taken up in the present article.

In the reconstitution of the text, the following three mss have been utilized, which are designated here as A, B and C:

A—India Office Library, Keith 4355 (Burnell 422).

B—Central Library, Baroda, Accession No. 9851 (A–F).

C—India Office Library, Keith 4353 (Burnell 421).

For fuller description see my edition of JB. II.1–80, referred to above. Besides, two other transcripts have also been used: their originals are not specified on the flyleaf. Out of the above three mss., the second one (viz. B) was not available to Prof. Caland.

In Auswahl §129 (JB. II.81) p.144 last line, Prof. Caland reads *yad v eṣaikaikā stotriyopaśīyate,* without giving any v.l. Our mss. without fail, record the reading as: *yad v evaiṣaikaikā...* inserting *eva* which is undoubtedly better. In the same section (JB. II.82), p.145, line 6 Prof. Caland has: *...bhavatas; tad daivyaṃ mithunaṃ prajananaṃ yad vasiṣṭhasya janitre*. For the first three words his mss. have: *bhavata tadaidvadevyam, bhavata daidvadevya,* evidently a corruption in the text. Our transcripts and mss. have the following variants:

1. *bhavata daitva devyaṃ* (C)
2. *bhavata daidva devyaṃ* (A)
3. *bhyapata tadvai daivyaṃ*
4. *bhavataḥ tadetad devyaṃ*
5. *bhavata etad vai daivyaṃ* (B)

The last reading of the Baroda ms is the best of the lot and it is supported by the preceding parallel *etad vai daivyaṃ mithunaṃ prajananaṃ yad ubhaye stomās: tad yad*

daivyaṃ mithunaṃ prajananaṃ, tan mā prajanayād iti (p. 145, lines 1–3). Besides, v.l. (5) affords the proper antithetical force to *tad yad* of the following sentence. The same construction is to be noted in the immediately preceding lines 4–5: *etad vai daivyaṃ mithunaṃ prajananaṃ tad yad ubhe bṛhadrathantare; tad yad daivyaṃ mithunaṃ prajananaṃ, tan mā prajanayād iti*. Reading no. (4) seems to be either a scribal simplification or a transcriptional error of the modern copyist. In line 8, correct *tam mā prajanayād iti* to *tan*...(a lapsus calami).

Auswahl §130 (JB. II.83) p. 146 line 2, Prof. Caland emends: *sa hātiprarikto na śaśākotthātuṃ*, while his mss, without variant, have *sahuhātipra*. Though mss A, B, C go with Prof. Caland, one of our transcripts seems to preserve the correct reading: *sa ihātipra-*, explaining the otherwise superfluous *-hu-* of the mss. In line 4, *eva* has been omitted by oversight: *tam etenaiva punar ayājayat* (so in all our mss). In line 7, Prof. Caland emends the concurrent *tadiktam* of his mss to *tad atiprariktam* in *saṃvatsareṇaivāsya tad atiprariktam ātmānaṃ madhyataḥ punaḥ samaśrīṇāt*, conspicuously on the basis of the preceding *sa ihātiprarikto na śaśākotthātum* (lines 2, 3). This emendation posits the omission of *atipra*, which is not very likely; and besides does not account for the *-i-* of *tadiktam* in a satisfactory manner. Reading *tadiktam* as *tad riktam* easily explains the concurrency of the mss, while giving the same meaning. Moreover, it is actually to be found in one of our transcripts. In line 9, read the last word as *apratigṛhyasya* (*-ṛ-* for *-ra-*, which seems to have come in owing to the confusability of *-ṛ-* and *-ra-* in the Grantham script. All our mss have *-ṛ-*).

Auswahl §130 (JB.II.84) p. 146 line 20, Prof. Caland reads *śravaṇādahe* (sans v.l.) and remarks (p. 148 note 8): "Heillos verdorben. Wie ist zu lesen? Ein 3 sg. pf. muss in den Worten stecken." The relevant passage runs as follows: *tad u vā āhur: yā id vai tāḥ kāmadughā āsann, etena vāva tā yajñena parigṛhyāharatām iti; tasya trivṛt prātaḥsavanaṃ bhavati, trivṛt tṛtīyasavanaṃ, dvādaśaṃ mādhyandinaṃ savanaṃ; dvādaśākṣarā vai jagatī; paśavo jagatī, paśavaḥ kāmadughā; brahma vai trivṛd; brahmaṇā vā enās tad ubhayataḥ parigṛhyājahratus; tāsām ekā śravaṇādahe*.... Tabulated, the equations stand thus:

Pressing	Morning	Midday	Evening
Syllables	9	12	9
	9 syllables = brahman	12 syllables = jagatī = paśus = kāmadughās	9 syllables = brahman

Following the text, it is clear from the above tabulation that supported on both sides by *brahman* are the *kāmadugha* cattle, and it is to one of them (compare *tāsāṃ ekā*

of the text) that the enigmatic *śravaṇādahe* of Prof. Caland refers. The PW. records *śravaṇa* (adj.) from the KātyāyanaŚrautasūtra 23.4.16 in the sense of 'lahm', i.e. limping, lame. Now the second part of the enigma, *dahe* must be a verbal form, which according to Prof. Caland should be a 3 sg. pf. Our Baroda manuscript reads *duhe,* which is a better reading, though not without difficulties. The passage continues: *tāṃ bhūmāv upopatus*. Prof. Caland (p. 148 n. 9): *bhumāvṛpoptus, bhūmadyapopatus*. Prof. Caland's emendation is supported by our mss material: *bhūmāv upopatus, bhūmāv upovatus (va* and *pa* are confused in the Grantham characters), B: *bhūmāv upopatas*. Prof. Caland begins the next sentence: *tām eva tāṃ vakreṇa dāruṇā...* without giving any variant for *tām eva tāṃ*. Our readings are—A: *tām eva tāṃ;* B, C: *tām etāṃ,* both transcripts *tām etāṃ*. It seems more in consonance with the flow and sense of the passage to adopt *tām etāṃ,* which is supported by a greater number of mss, including the best codex B. Further on, we have *diśa ekā, tāṃ vaṇijyayā; brahmaikā, tāṃ brahmacaryeṇa; kṣatram ekā, tāṃ rājānucaryeṇa*. Though mss testimony, both ours and that of Prof. Caland, supports *diśa ekā, tāṃ vaṇijyayā,* it is disharmonious with the similar succeeding statements. We should very much expect *viśa ekā....* ...But then can *viś* precede *brahman?*

In Auswahl § 134 (JB.II.103) p. 156 line 5, Prof. Caland reads: *etad vai dviṣo rūpam etad apaciteḥ*. In the translation of this passage he question-marks the rendering of *dviṣo*, but he gives no variant for it. The subject of the section is the dakṣiṇā in an Apiciti-ekāha, which is dealt with in ĀpŚrS. 22.12.4–9, ŚāṅkhŚrS. 14.33.20, KātyŚrS. 22.10.30–32. The ĀpŚrS., which is nearly verbally identical with our text, and is in all likelihood an abridgement of the latter as is evident from *iti vijñāyate* of 22.12.9, begins with the sūtra *apacitikāmo 'pacitibhyām*. Under *apacitibhyām* are included the two sacrifices Apaciti and Tviṣi, according to the marginal noting of Prof. Caland in his copy of ĀpŚrS. text which I had the fortune of getting at an antiquariaat during my stay in Utrecht. The ŚāṅkhŚrS. deals with the ekāhas Apaciti and Tviṣi consecutively in 14.33 and 34. It is curious, how it should not have struck Prof. Caland that *dviṣo* was a wrong reading for *tviṣo* or better *tviṣe* (as *-e* and *-o* signs are frequently confused in Grantham mss). Our mss testimony: A, B *tviṣe rūpam;* C *tviṣo upam*, no ms gives the reading *dviṣo*! Finally, *tviṣe* should be read for *dviṣo* of Auswahl. Note that *tviṣi, apaciti, yaśas, brahmavarcas,* and *annādya* occur together in ŚBM.11.2.7.10.

In Auswahl § 136 (JB.II.116), p. 158 last line, Prof. Caland reads the introductory phrase to the quotation *ādityā ha jaritar aṅgirebhyo...* ...as: *tad eṣāpy anūcyate* (without recording any v.l.). *Eṣāpy* does not fit in the context. In it *api* presupposes other preceding stanzas, but there are none. Our mss.: A, B: *tad eṣābhyanūcyate,* C: *tad eṣāpy* (*-p-* due to the South Indian pronunciation). *Abhyanūcyate* is the correct reading: √*vac* with *abhi* + *anu* pass. 3 person "to be referred to by some statement or verse" is not rare in

the Brāhmaṇas.

In Auswahl §137 (JB.II.124), p. 162 line 16, Prof. Caland reads *saṃvatsarād etat* (no v.l.) *khaṇḍikam audbhāriṃ keśī dārbhyo nunude. Etat* is a misfit. Excepting ms C which reads *saṃvatsarād etat,* both A and B have *saṃvatsarād eva tat,* which fits in admirably with the passage. It is supported by *eva* in the immediately succeeding repetitive parallel: *saṃvatsarād eva dviṣantaṃ bhrātṛvyaṃ nudate, saṃvatsarād antareti.* Also compare *eva* in the analogous passage in II.91: *caturviṃśatyardhamāsaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ, saṃvatsarād evaināṃs tad ajayan.*

Auswahl § 138 (JB.II.126–27) p. 164 note 6: Prof. Caland omits from his text the passage quoted in the note though it is to be found in all the mss. Before coming to it, it would be helpful if we have in outline the 'setting' in the light of which the passage has to be understood. The sacrifice is the Ekatrika ekāha, which is essentially a fecundity rite according to the Jaiminīyas (compare PB. XVI.16), as will be clear from section II.125, which immediately precedes the section containing our passage, and is being published below:

Athaiṣa ekatrikaḥ. Prajananakāmo haitena yajeta. Prajāpatir vā akāmayata—bahuḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ prajāyeyemāṃ vyaṣṭiṃ vyaśnuviyeti. Sa etaṃ yajñam apaśyat. Tam āharat. Tenāyajata. Sa aikṣata kena stuvīyeti. Sa ātmānam apaśyat. Tenāstuta. Sa aikṣata kena nv eva stuvīyeti. Sa prāṇāpānavyānān apaśyat. Tair astuta. Sa ātmanā sa prāṇāpānavyānais, sa ātmanā sa prāṇāpānavyānais, sa evam eva viparyāsaṃ yajñaṃ samasthāpayat. Tato vai sa bahuḥ prajayā paśubhiḥ prājāyatemāṃ vyaṣṭiṃ vyāśnuta yāsyeyam. Bahur eva prajayā paśubhiḥ prajāyata imāṃ vyaṣṭiṃ vyaśnute ya evaṃ veda.

With this fertility one-day-rite Udara Śāṇḍilya wanted to sacrifice. He had not given out his intention to anyone, and he was naturally surprised when his wife asked him if he was going to perform this dangerous ekāha. He asked her how she had come to know of it. She told him that it was from the gandharva who is in possession of her. The husband asked her to enquire from the gandharva whether he should perform it. Here comes in our passage. It may be pointed out that gandharvas are many a time considered as inimical to conception. For example, in Daśāvatāracarita VIII.555 a woman has gandharvas as husbands who kill any other man who touches her. Similarly in the Kuṭṭanīmata 347, a demon possesses a woman and slays her lover. Our gandharva is aware that the Ekatrika is a fecundity rite (cf. *prajananakāmo haitena yajeta* II.125) and it seems that he does not want that his connection with the wife of Udara Śāṇḍilya be hampered in any way. So he is keen that Udara should not perform it and he, very cleverly, points out that Udara does not know the stotra vital for the performance of the sacrifice, in fact his (Udara's) knowledge does not exceed his own (*yathā vā enaṃ sa vedaivam enaṃ vayaṃ vidmaḥ).* Emphasizing the point, he amplifies it in the words: *anyatara iti vā enaṃ sa*

vedānyatara iti vā enaṃ sa vedānyatara ity enaṃ vayaṃ vidmaḥ, meaning thereby that Udara knows that the sacrifice is of this kind and it is of that kind and that is known to him too, but it is only one who knows the stotra by which Prajāpati lauded who can and who should perform it. Prof. Caland, has missed the import of the word *anyatara,* as evidenced by his translation of the above passage as: "aber er kennt es als das eine, ich als das andere" (p.164), which does not fit in with the preceding statement and consequently has no bearing on the context. Here *anyatara* does not imply 'different'. Its repetition imparts to it a diversative force: 'of this kind, of that kind'. Compare *anya anya* 'the one, the other' Monier-Williams' Sanskrit–English Dictionary (Oxford, 1899), and also compare *anyatama* in the sense of the indefinite article in the Gilgit mss. of the Sarvāstivāda Tripiṭaka (quoted in Prof. Dr. RaghuVira's *An Exhaustive English–Sanskrit–Hindi Dictionary*, Fasc. 1, 1951, s.v. 'a'): *anyatamasmin pradeśe, anyatamaḥ puruṣo daṇḍam avaṣṭabhya gacchati, anyatamenopāsakena, anyatamasmin karvaṭake gṛhapatiḥ prativasati,* Nalinaksa Dutt's ed., Calcutta, vol. III, pt. 1, pp. 17, 63, 75, 87. Interpreted in the above light, the passage presents no difficulty in being retained in the text. Rather, it brings out more emphatically the force of *tu* in *yas tv asyetthaṃ stotraṃ vidyāt...* by stressing that the knowledge of Udara Śāṇḍilya is not deeper than that of the gandharva, who evidently does not know the stotra by which Prajāpati lauded and without which the Ekatrika cannot be performed.

20. A SANSKRIT PRIMER FROM INDONESIA

सः वृक्षः तिष्ठति कानने कुसुमिते । लता वृक्षं संश्रिता भवति । वृक्षः गजेन अभिहतः निपातितः भवति। शक्रेण वृक्षाय जलं देयं भवति । तत् समञ्जरं सकुसुमम् । वृक्षस्य शाखाः उन्नताः। तस्मिन् वृक्षे [पक्षिणः] — हे वृक्ष त्वं कम्पसे। किं कारणम् । वृक्षः वातावनम्राग्रः विकासात् पुष्परञ्जितः भाति वने [यथा] कार्त्तवीर्यः धृतायुधः भाति युद्धे । विहगाः वृक्षं पुष्पफलोपेतं गन्धवन्तं प्राप्य श्रयन्ते [यथा] पुरुषाः दीनाः धनेश्वरं प्राप्य श्रयन्ते । खगाः कष्टाः आकृष्यन्ते वृक्षेण स्निग्धपर्णेन विटपोच्चितशाखिना [यथा] याचकाः कष्टाः आकृष्यन्ते पुंसा दात्रा । अलयः हृष्टाः स्पृहयन्ति वृक्षाय स्तबकाढ्याय गन्धवाहिने [यथा] जनाः हृष्टाः सुखाय भुवि स्पृहयन्ति । विदुषे त्वं मञ्जरम् आनय वृक्षात् भ्रमरसंगीतात् लताश्लिष्टात् सुपुष्पितात् [यथा] दूतः गिरं नृपात् । वृक्षस्य सर्पजुष्टस्य हृद्यस्य अन्यभृतस्वनैः (anyabhṛta=parabhṛta 'koil') शाखाः पुष्पोज्ज्वलाः भान्ति [यथा] राज्ञः नार्यः उज्ज्वलाः । वृक्षे कुसुमिते अकम्प्रे कोकिलस्वनं अलिः श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितः भवति [यथा] नरः रागी लाबुवीणायाः स्वनं श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितः भवति । हे वृक्ष त्वं तिष्ठ । अहं वियोगी । मम वियोगिनः उत्कण्ठां कान्तारे स्वकुसुमैः अकार्षीः [यथा] चन्द्रमाः उत्कण्ठं अकार्षीत् कान्तारे किरणैः । कान्ता पीनस्तनश्रोणी रूपयुक्ता विलासिनी नृणां मनः हरति लोके [यथा] रम्भा मरुतां मनः हरति दिवि। कान्तां गुणवतीं साध्वीं शशिवक्त्रां मनोहरां नरः लब्ध्वा प्रहृष्टः भवति [यथा] वासवः अहल्यां लब्ध्वा प्रहृष्टः भवति। कान्तया साभरणया शीलाचारानुयुक्तया नरः सेव्यमानः भाति [यथा] उमया महेश्वरः सेव्यमानः भाति । कामी पुरुषः कुसुमं ददाति कान्तायै स्मितवक्त्रायै मनोहरवपुःश्रियै [यथा] अर्जुनः कुसुमं ददाति सुभद्रायै । पुरुषः व्यासरूपः कामं बन्धति। पुरुषः, व्यासः यथा, बिभेति कान्तायाः प्रियवादिन्याः रूपवत्याः चलभ्रुवः । कान्तया भ्रूविलासिन्या नराः द्वन्द्वरहिताः म्रियन्ते [यथा] पुरुषः मीनारिः शूर्पकः कुमुद्वत्याः द्वन्द्वतारहितः म्रियते। पुरुषः कामुकः कान्तायाः बहुवाक्यायाः स्वैरायाः वचः तिष्ठति [यथा] रावणस्य वचः तिष्ठति सीतायाम्–हे कान्ते हे ललितलावण्ये त्वत्समागतं लब्ध्वा हृष्टः अस्मि, [यथा] सः अभिमारकः कुरंग्या सह त्वत्समागतं लब्ध्वा हृष्टः भवति।

अग्निः वातचलधूमः तत्तिमिरं भास्करः हन्ति [यथा] मुनिः मातृपार्श्वात् जातः भाति मन्वन्तरेषु। अग्निं शुष्केन्धनासक्तं दीप्तं यज्ञक्रियार्पितं द्विजाः सेव्याः परियन्ति [यथा] रविं स्वकिरणाः परियन्ति । मृगाः प्रतप्यन्ते अग्निना घृतसिक्तेन ज्वलितेन स्फुलिंगिना दावे [यथा] भटाः प्रतप्यन्ते अरिणा रणे । द्विजेन अग्नये मन्दभासाय इन्धनं दातव्यं भवति [यथा] तोयं दातव्यं भवति शक्रेण उदधौ वडवामुखे । अग्नेः उद्गीर्णधूमौघात् स्फुलिंगाः दिवम् उद्गताः भवन्ति [यथा] पक्षिणः काञ्चनं दिवम् उद्गताः। हिमाद्रेः दीप्तशिखरात् पक्षिणः उद्गताः भवन्ति । अग्नेः ज्वालामालाकुलद्युतेः धूमाः चण्डानिलोद्धूताः क्षितेः वितानानि इव भान्ति गगने । अग्नौ भास्करदीप्ताभे शलभाः रूपलोलुपाः पक्षान् वितत्य नश्यन्ति [यथा] पुरुषाः दीनाः धनपतौ पक्षान् वितत्य नश्यन्ति । अग्निः स्वापितः वर्तकापोतकेन–हे अग्ने त्वं तिष्ठ । मे पिता गतः जङ्गमः । अद्यकाले अग्निः स्वपितः स्थितः भवेत् ।

उदधिं नदी वातोद्धतजला द्रुतवेगोर्मिसंकुला गच्छति [यथा] नारी अश्रान्ता पतिं कुशलं गच्छति । नदीं रम्यतटाभोगां दृश्यान्तर्जलमीनकां हंसाः संहृष्टाः चरन्ति [यथा] मुनिं सत्त्वमन्तः संहृष्टाः चरन्ति । वेणुः आक्षिप्यते नद्याः

अम्बुदोदरजलपूर्णायाः सितफेनायाः वेगैः [यथा] पुरुषः कामुकः अक्षिप्यते दूत्या वाक्यैः । नरः शुचिः रोचते नद्यै पुलिनसंचयायै तोयोघायै [यथा] कविः रोचते सरस्वत्यै । जनाः विरमन्ति नद्याः चलन्महावीच्याः गम्भीरायाः [यथा] तापसाः विरमन्ति तरुण्याः । नद्यः सलिलपूर्णायाः तीरद्वयं शुभं दृष्टं भाति [यथा] पुरुषेण कामिना कान्तायाः ऊरुद्वयं शुभं दृष्टं भाति । नद्यां त्वरितवेगायां संभ्रमायां पुरुषेण केनचित् मृतः नरः पतन् दृष्टः [यथा] भागीरथ्यां मृतः बकः पतन् पुरुषेण केनचित् दृष्टः भवति । हे नदि शीताच्छतोयाढ्ये हे कुमुदोत्पलमण्डिते त्वं सत्त्वौघान् प्रह्लादयसि [यथा] द्रौपदी पाण्डवान् प्रह्लादयति ।

हयगजरथाः पुरुषं [न] निवर्तयन्ति मृत्योः । इह लोके न च मन्त्रिमुख्याः पुरुषं निवर्तयन्ति मृत्योः। इह लोके न च हिरण्यकोटयः हिमवत्प्रतिमाः पुरुषं निवर्तयन्ति मृत्योः । हे कमलदलाक्ष त्वम् आत्मनः प्रियाणि चर । नराणां मरणं भयं महत् भवति, यद्यपि मरणं सेवितव्यं पुरुषेण । सः कालवशः । मरणमस्ति जीवलोके हे कमलदलाक्ष । शरीरं पवनचपलचंचलमिव भवति । शरीरं च धार्यते पवनवशेन । पवनः पञ्चवायुवशेन शरीरं भृतं त्यजति हे कमलदलाक्ष। रावणः दशरथसुत–विप्रयोगकर्त्ता दशशिरधृक् महात्मा लवणजलपरिग्रहः विनष्टः । नृप–नहुष–ययाति–धुन्धुमाराः सगर–दिलीप–कृशाश्व–यौवनाश्वाः सर्वे सहयगजरथाः रणे विपन्नाः ।

उदधिं सत्त्वमन्तं चरन्ति । पुरुषाः धीराः गिरिशिखराणि लङ्घयन्ति । वस्तूनि दुष्कराणि व्यवसितसुलभानि । असौ दिवाकरः भगवान् कनकमयूख इव प्रदीप्तः उदयति अम्बरे । इयं निशा रविकिरणहता गता भवति । न पुरुषं मृतम् अर्थाः अनुचरन्ति पृष्ठतः । न च यौवनं प्रभ्रष्टं विनिवर्तते, न च मनः प्रहृष्टं भवति । लोकः वनतरुं रुजति फलेन । बुधान् पुरुषाः मूर्खाः रुजन्ति गुणनिचयेन । नरं बलिनं रोगाः रुजन्ति । हलधरः विपदि, नागाः च विपदि, वैश्रवणः च विपदि, यमः च विपदि, राजा च विपदि, वररुचिः समाप्तवेदः विपदि, हे भगवन् कमलदलाक्ष । क्षितितलं अतृणं गावः त्यजन्ति। सरः विनष्टतोयं कुररी त्यजति । नरपतिं च अघृणं भृत्याः त्यजन्ति । पुरुषं धनरहितं नार्यः त्यजन्ति ।

The above text is based on the collation of six lontars or palmleaf manuscripts: Leiden Cod. 3965, 5082, 5087, 5134, CIII/425 of Kirtya Gedung at Singaraja, and one lontar in possession of the author. In the Singaraja lontar it is termed *lĕṅkṛta* = alaṅkāra or a text on literary embellishment.

It is followed by Mātṛkākṣara Rāmāyaṇa, which has been titled Kavi-Jānakī by Sylvain Lévi in his *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (Baroda) 1933:89–93. Sylvain Lévi has omitted the Old Javanese inflections of *ka*-kavi-*n* and the title has gone wrong: Kavi-Jānakī. It has to be corrected to Kakavin Jānakī, which is equal to Sanskrit Jānakī-kāvya.

These two texts have been presented by Lévi (1933:93–107) under the title Caritra Rāmāyaṇa. He has not recognised that only pages 101–107 are a commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa which he has presented earlier on pages 89–93.

21. THE RAGHUVIRA AWARD TO PRESIDENT DAISAKU IKEDA

The RaghuVira Award for the Global Enhancement of the Values of the Lotus Sutra was presented to President Daisaku Ikeda of the Soka Gakkai International. It was received on 7 December 1990 by his son Mr. Hiromasa Ikeda. The award is named in the memory of Prof. RaghuVira. He was born in the beginning of this century, when India renewed her explorations in the realm of value, as the inherent ground of our becoming or intrinsic to our being. European models were known, but Indian intellectuals were in quest of those nearer home. In the very year that Prof. Raghu Vira was born, that is in 1902, the Japanese Okakura Tenshin stayed at the home of the poet Rabindranath Tagore. Their encounter led to a cultural renaissance in India, in the domain of visual and performing arts, as well as in literature and Classical moorings. Out of their talks, Tenshin crystallised his essay on "The Ideals of the East". Tenshin means the "Heart of Heaven". As such indeed he influenced Havell, Coomaraswamy, Abanindranath Tagore, Nandlal Bose and many others, but above all, poet Rabindranath Tagore. This cultural interface left a deep impression on our national ethos, encompassing even the struggle for freedom. Some of our revolutionaries sought refuge in Japan.

Prof. RaghuVira was moved by this cultural ambience. During his student days in London, he learnt Japanese from the grammar of Chamberlain, a large-size volume whose evocative kanji or ideograms enchanted him. Chamberlain is the founder of modern linguistic studies in Japan. The Japanese syllabary, written in the Hiragana and Katakana styles, fascinated Prof. RaghuVira as being cognate to the sound sequence of the Sanskrit alphabet. The goju-on beginning *a i u e o* evoked a familiar sound symbolism. He heard the recitations of sutras or scriptures from Japanese fellow students. They were intoning Sanskrit texts transliterated in the Chinese Lotus Sutra sixteen centuries ago. They were moving but not intelligible. He saw the path of his life and the task awaiting him—or rather the manifold tasks lying before him—clearly and distinctly. He was, without the least reserve, willing to devote himself to the realisation of his ideals.

Prof. RaghuVira noticed that the earliest existing manuscript of Sanskrit came from Japan. While India did not possess any manuscript earlier than the tenth century, the Japanese monastery of Horyuji had a palm-leaf manuscript of the Gupta period. It has mantras to the Goddess of Supreme Victory/Uṣṇīṣavijayā. It was used to consecrate the promulgation of the First Japanese Constitution in the sixth century. This had been published by Prof. Max Müller, renowned for his edition of the Ṛgveda. The collection of Prof. Max Müller had some fascicules of the Bongaku-shinryō, an encyclopaedic collec-

tion of one thousand fascicules of Sanskrit works, collected and edited by Jiun Sonja in AD 1765. With these vast vistas, Prof. RaghuVira was more than convinced that India could share the Japanese experience of the modern miracle, as well as delve into the historical cultural interflow between the two countries to enrich the present. From the Land of the Rising Sun, Prof. RaghuVira wanted to recapture the moral geometry, the culture of work, the ethereal aroma of Śākyamuni himself, in the full-blown spring of economic development. Prof. RaghuVira obtained the 100 volumes of the Taisho edition of the Buddhist scriptures to explore the profound secrets of the Art of Life in Japan.

In 1936, the Government of Japan deputed Yamamoto Chikyo and Taki Shodo to learn Sanskrit under Prof. RaghuVira. Later they taught Indian Art and Sanskrit Literature in Japan. They were the first Japanese to study Indology in India. Prof. RaghuVira initiated a new tradition of academic exchange. Since independence bilateral exchange of students has been a regular feature.

Japanese monks of the Nichiren denomination stayed for quite some time in the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. They recited Namu myoho-renge-kyo, which became a part of the multi-religious prayers at Wardha. Gandhiji wanted to know the teachings of the Lotus Sutra. Naturally, he turned to Prof. RaghuVira, who sent him the edition of Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, which had been published from Leningrad in 1909. Along with, he sent the English translation of Kern published by the Clarendon Press of the Oxford University in 1909. Prof. RaghuVira narrated to Gandhiji that the bodhisattva Sadāprarudita addresses all people as bodhisattvas in the Lotus Sutra. Each person has the Buddha-nature in him or her. The truth of the Sutra is that all mortals are potential Buddhas (*Buddhāṅkura*). Gandhiji was moved by the idea and said : "it is our daridra-nārāyaṇa". As desired by Gandhiji, the Professor took the Nichiren monks to the remote parts of NW India, as far as Kabul.

These Japanese monks spoke of the cities and monasteries of Gandhara and beyond, mentioned in Chinese works. Prof. RaghuVira's interest in untranslated Sino-Japanese materials, on the ancient geography of India was aroused. In 1943, he translated the geographical chapters of the Hombongo compiled in AD 517.

Prof. RaghuVira's attachment to the culture of Japan earned him the wrath of the British Government. As the relations of Great Britain and Japan soured, he was imprisoned during the Second World War.

Prof. RaghuVira's interest in the Lotus Sutra was abiding. He started the preparation of a Chinese–Sanskrit index of all the characters, single and compound phrases, that occur in this Sutra. The work remained incomplete, as scientific expeditions and Parliament claimed his time. Its 16,000 cards are preserved.

The earliest known manuscript of the Lotus Sutra is the Kashgar codex that origi-

nates from Khotan, on the southern route of the Silk Route. Khotan was a prime source of Sanskrit texts for China. The major portion of this codex is in Leningrad. Prof. RaghuVira acquired its microfilm on a visit to Leningrad in the winter of 1955–56. For this he had to exert hard. As a Member of the Parliament of India he was granted an interview by the Minister of Culture Madame Furtseva and she acceded to his request for the microfilm. Twenty years later, the folios of this birch bark codex were identified and put into textual sequence by Prof. Lokesh Chandra. They were published as a facsimile edition in 1977 from Japan.

The researches of Prof. RaghuVira in the fields of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Sino-Japanese Buddhism, the enrichment of Hindi as a medium of modern expression, his explorations in SE Asia, China, Central Asia, Soviet Union, Tibet, Mongolia are an unwritten saga unto themselves. He was an explorer–pilgrim to every Asian land, to bathe in the loving stream that flows in every heart. His is a life of hide and seek between intense action and calm of introspection. Seeking light (nichi) and purity(ren), he was inspired by the Puṇḍarīka-sūtra, a living book in the inimitable diction of Kumaraju, shaping the breath of eternity.

The Prof. RaghuVira Award for the Global Enhancement of Values to President Daisaku Ikeda is a tiny lamp to the perennial flame that the President has kindled to illumine the minds of men in a dynamic time-flow. The Soka Gakkai International seeks to redraw the boundaries of the unknown. Crossing frontiers is both man's heritage and man's task. The Soka Gakkai International under the Presidency of Ikeda-san fires this vision.

CITATION OF THE AWARD

Poet, thinker, leader and tireless pilgrim of the path of the human and the transcendant, President Daisaku Ikeda is the subtle movement of the pure and sweet air of the green springs, golden summers, copper autumns, and white winters of the last fifteen centuries ever since the Lotus Sutra (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra) blossomed in the edifying Chinese prose and poesy of Kumarajū (Kumārajīva) in AD 406. He has been a constant crusader against the horrors of nuclear terror and the chains of material triviality. He has toiled to make the essence of time blossom and attain maturity in the message of Nichiren Daishonin. The Daishonin or the Great Sage wrote the work Kaimokushō or "The Opening of the Eyes". President Ikeda has made it alive in opening the eyes of humankind, "to establish the eternal self in the midst of the ephemeral", the individual in concert with the cosmic. According to the teachings of the Daishonin, he has striven so that scorched seeds sprout, and withered trees put forth blossoms and fruits. How can man commit Ecocide?

Based on the spirit of Buddhism, the voice of President Ikeda for lasting peace is compassion towards humanity, simmering or shivering in the fire and ice of its own doing. He brings the robe of the Lotus Sutra, the White Lotus (Puṇḍarīka) that arises from the mire of the white winter of extinction to lead men to the yonder shores of wisdom, so that the 'space without' becomes the 'space within', filled and thrilled with humane light.

The Lotus Sutra develops a metaphysics of emanation in which Buddha-nature evolves in numerous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, to save all sentient beings. Likewise, President Ikeda has initiated 'citizen's diplomacy' through dialogues with political and cultural leaders. To the pollution of the human soul, he provides a solution from the inner being of the light (*nichi*) and purity (*ren*) of the Lotus Sutra.

In pursuance of the truth of the Lotus Sutra that all beings are potential Buddhas, President Ikeda is unique in his efforts that fortresses of peace are built within the depths of human life. The Lotus Sutra is unequivocal in that life is superordinate in its realisation of the loftiest goal of *sokushin jobutsu,* or becoming a Buddha in this very existence. Knowledge is power but it is important to have power over knowledge for the celebration of life. These ideas have bred deeds in him and their essence has become his action.

Like Kanzeon/Avalokiteśvara, President Ikeda has invoked the true self-nature of humankind. He has pointed out that hidden in our self is the pure flower (lotus) of the essence of the Tathāgata, just as flowers are hidden in deeply buried roots.

The organisation he heads has the singular name Soka Gakkai which means the "Value-creating Society". As its President, he has been the timely Rain of Spring that falls equally and everywhere, working for human dignity and lasting world peace. In the words of poet Shunzei:

Haru same wa	The spring rain
Ki no mo ka no mo no	Soaks this and that,
Kusa mo ki mo	The grasses and trees,
Wakazu midori ni	Dyeing them all green
Somuru narikeri.	Without distinction.

President Ikeda reminds of the *Fumon* chapter of the Lotus Sutra:

"(The sun of wisdom) can subdue winds and flames of misfortune
And everywhere give bright light to the world".

In the rough surgeonry of time, bruised by the anger of technology, fatigued of traversing the path of desolation and destruction, human aspirations find in him, the Messenger of Peace, their cherry blossoms. From the horizons of Japan's sutra he floods with youth the veins of time.

In conferring the Prof. RaghuVira Award for 1990 on President Daisaku Ikeda,

for the Global Enhancement of the Values of the Lotus Sutra, the International Academy of Indian Culture honours a life dedicated to the scent and savour, the mind and spirit, the joy and affirmation of the Human in the wholeness of its being, in its enduring moments of the Divine.

22. THE VISION OF PRESIDENT DAISAKU IKEDA

An angel of new dreams, President Ikeda, on the rapid wings of a flight begun centuries ago in man's rendezvous with nature, envisions the inner wrappings of time in the murmur of unborn poets:

The poetic mind will restore humanity's rights.
Now with the twenty-first century before our very eyes,
the human race stands at a great crossroad.
Caught up in a tidal wave of materialism,
Will we be engulfed?
Or is the day drawing near when we will choose to build
an age for the restoration of the rights of humanity?
I argue that the wellspring
for this restoration of humanity's rights
clearly rests in the poetic mind.

The mind of humankind will find its consonance of thoughts without rigid shapes: no ideologies to shrivel silence and serenity, no wrinkles of time to scuff the soul. The mobile, fluid, asymmetric, splashing lines of poets will respond and reverberate in the multipolarities of a new era of human cultures. The debris of dead symbols will be the humus of dawning dreams. The words of President Ikeda find a parallel in the following lines of Boris Pasternak:

There he's at home, and at the primal source
Of all with which the century shall flower.

The intangibles, the indefinables are the perfume of the coming century. The English word poetry, from Greek *poesis* 'making, creation', refers to the fact that a poet is endowed with original intuitions into the creative. He enriches our mind with most varied thoughts and feelings in a language uniformly beautiful. Similarly the Sanskrit word for a poet, *kavi*, means one gifted with insight and beauty, enlightened and wise, thinker and singer, sage and seer. Poetry is the incantation of life, in awakened vigour and bristling energy. Sanskrit *gāthā, ge* or *kada* in Japanese, came to Japan along with Buddhism and "gave rise to a new style of poem composition, called ima-yō or modern style" (M. Anesaki). These poems sung in sitting rooms or on streets made profound the profane of Japanese life. A new quality of life and creativity ensued that endures to the present. Like President Ikeda my first lesson in Japanese was *saita saita sakura ga saita* "blossomed, blossomed, the cherries have blossomed": it is the joy of living beauty, the mystery of

autonomy and spontaneity. It is harmony, the expendable and the fleeting: all in the hierarchy of life and evanescence. Life is the ripple of permanent creativity, ever-expanding through impermanence. President Ikeda awaits the unfolding of the new century to sweep the being of man like a flood, its vigour to flow like tides into his blood. He seeks a world that is like a lute, a biwa, whereon human passions play their songs pulsing with love. No more deadly accents of the severity and power of the atom. No nuclear winter, no cold war. With the heart of a lion, President Ikeda says:

Transcend with equal ease national borders
and the walls of the human heart
And continue to blow a wind of happiness and peace to link us all.

These lines of Ikeda-san reflect 'the region of the unfathomable' of Nichiren the śramaṇa of Japan.

The Nobel Laureate Czeslaw Milosz points out that poetry is a metronome beating universal time:

The purpose of poetry is to remind us
how difficult it is to remain just one person,
for our house is open, there are no keys in the doors,
and invisible guests come in and out at will.

President Ikeda has sensed that living essentially goes on in the realm of amorphousness, in spaces that take their dimensions and rhythm from the human mind, a space congruous with the measures of human perceptions. The profound and far-reaching correlations of the harmony of body and cosmos are revealed, *inter alia*, in musical structures. The Chinese ideogram for music designates music, song and dance. The aesthetic expression and experience involves a whole range of senses. They presuppose broader internal and external faculties of the mind and body, outside the constrictions of geographic space. Music is the enlivening element of encounter that transposes us beyond cultures constricted in space. It is universal fluidity, an all-embracing awareness, a form of global incorporation, the intersubjective relationship of men. In the second century BC the Chinese envoy to the West, that is North-West India, Chang-ch'ien became the pioneer of all that came from the West. He opened a new epoch in the development of Chinese civilisation. He introduced new plants and animals, as well as the new Mahātukhāra melody. It was followed by musical instruments like the tudumi/tsuzumi or wooden drums, the dancing belles of India swaying the hearts of the Chinese nobility in garments flying away from their bodies. They became modifiers for a new social order. The society saw in it a symbol of de-imaging, trimming shear of the outer rind. To save their values, the Confucianists found affirmation in "Chapter on Parables" of the Lotus Sutra: "When the four groups of disciples, the bhikṣuṇīs, upāsikās, ...gandharvas and

others in the assembly saw that Śāriputra was given the prediction of anuttarā samyak-sambodhi by the Buddha, they were overjoyed and danced with delight. They all took off their upper garments and offered them to the Buddha". This is the basis of flying angels with their bosoms exposed. It bears testimony to the fact that Buddhist art had at that time broken the custom of meticulous dressing observed in Confucian society.

The Min-on Association founded by President Ikeda is his deep conviction and longing to see a realm, a golden realm, of men in harmony, the ultimate triumph of a higher order of the pan-human. Like Chang-ch'ien of the Han dynasty, the hero who opened a historic tread that was to trade silk for the bodies and sutras for the soul, President Ikeda intrinsically aims to transform the here-and-now into the coming here-and-everywhere. It is the ideal union of the beautiful and the good, implicit in the Greek term *kalokagathos*. In the melisma of music and movement of dance he seeks a positive means of moving forward into time, rich in values and norms, radiant in a shared future. Not moment-ridden, his language of the future enshrines eternal youth. President Ikeda looks beyond his own time to a systematic reconstruction anchored in the tomorrows. It has to be a dynamic relationship of continuous interaction of humanity. From the high-powered energy of youth festivals emanates a future charged with high-powered emotional dynamics. In them, music pulses and the notes tremble up to the Divine: and there is the hour of Humanity.

President Ikeda sees historic hope in the creative future of "a brilliant spiritual silk road to connect the minds and hearts of the peoples of the world". While the maelstrom of strife rages around, President Ikeda in his metaphysical assurance and moral confidence is admirably unique in pin-pointing that "in contrast to military power which threatens humanity and tries to exert control from without, culture arises within the human mind as a liberating force". The Silk Route, across shadowless deserts under a cloudless sky, has been the way of nomads and brigands, carrying scimitars and daggers, and also of merchants and mendicants with their wares and wisdom. Along with silk have travelled scriptures. Courting death the ancient transnationals have plied their merchandise, and in the train of their caravans, besides and beyond them, myths, cosmologies, life, poetry, and beauty have been pilgrims on this route. This has been the birthplace of philosophical ideas, and of influences in art which still determine the intellectual and spiritual life of the millions of East Asia. This route has been an experience in sharing, by different cultures, the common essence of mankind. While the German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen called it the Seidenstrassen or Silk Route in the 19th century, emphasising the commercial aspects of the oasis route, President Ikeda voices appropriately its deeper dimension in an expression of exquisite sensibility: "spiritual silk road opens a century of humanity". In this sentence history becomes a luminous fountain

unrolling the immense pageant of the future. The bodhisattva Ikeda opens up the route as Bodhi, a historical vision of the vast and the noble ever to be. From the Land of the Rising Sun what else can we expect but the new Horizons of the Rising Mind, where the pure and vast palace of the body shall be the receptacle of wisdom:

You who rise out of the mud untouched by the mud
Smile with delight, lotuses adorned with stamens.

On this route were pilgrims extraordinary, namely the sutras or scriptures. It was not only Kinu-no michi 'the road of silk', but it was primarily Okyō-no michi 'the route of sutras'. Countless pilgrims risked lives to realise their dreams of bringing back sutras to China. Across the centuries loom their figures appearing and vanishing in the dunes, dusks and dawns, and their dimmed voices audible in the kanji, majestically emerging on the horizons of time. Trading and translation, prosperity and philosophical speculation, soldiers and scholars, musicians and missionaries on this route enshrine herculean effort and human pain. Travellers in their long and arduous journies welcomed respite at the oasis monasteries along the entire route. In them developed a multidimensional culture, with several nationalities contributing to long spans of multipolarities.

The Confucian world-view spoke of the barbarians, vis-a-vis the inhabitants of the Middle Kingdom, as people from afar, attracted by the radiance of the Emperor's virtue, come to offer tribute as a token of their submission. In time merchants, envoys and hostages lived on in China and became immigrant families. Among them were born ācāryas or masters like Dharmarakṣa/Fa-hu 法護 , in a Yüeh-chih family which had lived at Tun-huang for generations. Dharmarakṣa probably came from a wealthy merchant family which could afford to give him a Chinese education in the Six (Confucian) Classics and the Hundred Schools of Chinese philosophy. Active around AD 266–308 he travelled extensively as an itinerant preacher, an influential organiser and a prolific scholar–translator of 154 works. Among the host of scriptures rendered by him, the most important was the first complete translation of the Lotus Sutra (T 263) done in a short span of three weeks (from 15 September to 6 October 286). He "recited (the translation) while holding the Sanskrit original in his hands". Kuchean, Yüen-chih, Khotanese, Sogdian, and of course Chinese monks were his colleagues. The thirty-six countries, to use a phrase from the time of the Han Emperor Wu (140–087 BC), were pilgrims in quest of an immortal voice, that still echoes across surging centuries.

The Silk Route has been illumined by great meaning in a majestic march across tumultuous time. For the last three millenia jade has travelled on this route, from Khotan to China. White jade was believed to be a product of Heaven itself, highly charged with creative force. Mysterious powers of healing the body and of conferring immortality were attributed to it. White jade was conducive to cultivation of virtue and the expulsion of

evil thoughts from the mind. The ideogram *yü* 玉 for jade is a metaphor for purity, nobility and beauty. A jade woman 玉人 means a beautiful woman. This phrase refers to the charm of Iranian ladies of Khotan who must have come to the Imperial Court along with jade, with their jade-smooth skin. Along with the gentle art of seduction, the ladies of Khotan may have brought Buddhism along with them to China. Buddhism was known is Khotan since Aśoka introduced it in the third century BC.

Silk united the East and the West. China was believed to be the original home of silk: Greek *sērikos* 'silk' is derived from *Sēres* 'Chinese'. Chang Ch'ien and later envoys along this route, brought to China grapevine, alfalfa, coriander, cucumber, fig, safflower and walnut. China gave to the West the peach, pear and orange, and among flowers, the rose, peony, azalea, camellia and chrysanthemum. Emperor Mu of the Chou dynasty, who ruled 1001–945 BC, wished to mark the countries under the sky with the wheels of his chariot and the hoofs of his horses. From his travels to the West, across the flowing sand desert and the K'un-lun Mountain, he returned "bringing order and peace, prosperity and ease" to millions of his countrymen. The Way to the West became the Way of Peace and Prosperity. Like Emperor Mu, President Ikeda seeks "exchanges on the personal, human level among the peoples of the world". The desert and oasis of this route symbolise hell and heaven. President Ikeda planned to send a research team to study Buddhist culture on the Silk Route, as a basic project of the Soka University even before its foundation. The Soka expedition to Dalverzhintepa (1989–94) has been a historic achievement, as it unfolds the ancient route that linked East Asia and Europe. The two will be linked again by surface when Japan completes an under-ocean train to China. Thence by the Chinese railroad network linking Hsian, Lanchow, Tun-huang, Urumchi, Kashgar; or by the Trans-Siberian Railway from Vladivostok to Leningrad; or by the Trans-European Express from Istanbul to Europe. They promise to become vibrant lifelines of a New Human Order. The ancient Silk and Sutra Route will become the great^{100}–grandmother (raised to the power 100) of this future train system linking the East and the West. Nachodka is planned as a free economic zone near Vladivostok, on the Pacific coast, to provide an overland link from East Asia to Europe. The Japanese, Chinese and Koreans are encouraging this plan as it would dramatically shorten the journey of goods and persons. On the other hand, the Kaliningrad enclave will be developed on the Baltic Sea as a free economic zone, to be an important hub of communication between East Asia, Russia and Europe. The old European-gauge railway into Poland and Germany is intact. There are proposals to extend it westwards to Berlin. Nachodka in the east to Kaliningrad in the west will be the latest relative of the Silk Route linking the twain in commerce and culture. From this dynamic symbiosis will emerge a world vibrating with the awareness of life and beauty, forms and ideas, centripetal in its substance of univer-

sality.

As "The Night Seeks The Dawn" (title of the dialogue of President Ikeda with Prof. Huyghe of the French Academy), so does Ikeda-san seek to spin the web of life in the awakening of "wisdom within each individual to live humanistically in peace and happiness", "to feel the joys and sorrows of his neighbours as if they were his own". His superhuman efforts for peace and culture derive from Nichiren Daishonin's Epistle of Sado: "The most dreadful things in the world are the pain of fire, the flashing of swords and the shadow of death". This reinforcement of peaceful existence goes back to Kumārajīva of Kucha, who translated the Lotus Sutra and radiated enlightenment that is global and primordial for creative and intuitive well-springs of life. We need to erect a monument to Kumārajīva at Kucha in the sands of the Silk Route as a symbol of his substantial contribution to modes of consciousness required for a global environment.

While the machinery of nature works for the survial of the fittest, the winnowing of war results in the elimination of the fittest. President Ikeda, an active citizen of the world, has spoken of peace as a continuous element of life: "peace ought not to be thought of as a brief period of respite between wars". It is his key theme and continual striving. Peace is in the bones and marrow of the Soka Gakkai. Its first president died in prison for resistance to militarism in the war. The second president strongly supported the declaration against atomic and hydrogen bombs. Since his investiture to the presidency in 1960, President Ikeda has been travelling for world peace for the last thirty years, and twice presented proposals for its enforcement to the UN General Assembly. In 1974 he presented ten million signatures for the destruction of nuclear weapons to the Secretary General of the UN. The foundation anniversaries of the SGI on 26 January have been occasions for suggestions on disarmament and peace. Like the sun, ever-active, ever-journeying, Ikeda-san has been a mighty force in the recession of a nuclear winter. As the atomic crisis recedes, due to new economic and political parameters, human plenitude has to be vigilant against the reappearance of violence in imperceptible but more pernicious forms. The devil's hoof of self-repetition can peep out from under the cloak of change. The spiritual power-plants have to be in operation, so that man extends present possibilities to ensure that peace remains the perfection of joy. St. Augustine has said that even when they wage war, men are aiming at peace. Peace is not a mere negative absence, but the true happiness of man. It is a sympathy with all that is pure and happy, a concord of human purpose and life of the universe. The *ichinen sanzen* of President Ikeda is international concord, which is final and irreversible, the boundless dominion of well-being and fulfilment of goals of life, wherein material and spiritual conditions converge to social and political reconciliation. President Ikeda is inspired by: eternity in peace and peace in eternity. Like the Buddhist emperor Aśoka, he wishes: "all

beings should be unharmed, self-controlled, calm in mind, and gentle". He has developed positive and constructive factors by meeting political leaders and academic thinkers all over the world: "The time when no human beings fear any other... only then can a truly human society be created. I regard the propagation of such belief and the consequent building of a human society as the prime duty of political leaders, philosophers, and intellectuals". An evil habit is best overcome through the expulsive power of a new affection. His herculean efforts have borne fruit. Disarmament has become a fact with the collapse of a bipolar world. President Ikeda, with prophetic insight, visualises "the victory of culture over politics, of the human spirit over force of arms, and of human beings over nations". The new human order eagerly awaits a living textbook, a cultural decalogue from President Ikeda.

Four contexts have hastened the rise of the 1990s: (i) The dread of AIDS has brought reticence in familial relations in the West. (ii) European efforts to help the Soviets contain the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl have induced a sense of realism of the chinks in the Soviet system as a whole. Catastrophe of a nuclear winter has been averted. Disarmament has come about as a corollary of the withering away of the Soviet state. (iii) Rushdie's heresy has awakened the religious unity of Europe. (iv) The expanding economic presence of Japan in the USA and Europe have rallied the Eurocentric countries in Europe, Americas and the former Soviet Union. The bipolar world of the Eurocentric powers has collapsed. A single European Market is a prelude to a new united Europe. No orphans of egalitarian dreams, only human dimensions. The Russians long to be members of the Common European Home, and they have posed the question "Why not a common Asian Home?" The new dream is de-ideologisation: from ideology to ideas. European unification sits on a fast-moving vehicle. The Latin, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and Finno-Ugrian Europeans have already started speaking of "the *European* future of *our* past". Cultural identity: here today, gone tomorrow. Inner strains have begun to build up. To maintain its unity, Europe needs a superordinate mission of creating 'global interdependence'. To cite E. Husserl, *Die Krisis:* they will have to "Europeanise themselves, whereas we, if we understand ourselves properly, will never, for example, Indianise ourselves". The philosopher Heidegger opined: The "Europeanisation of all foreign parts of mankind" is the destiny of the earth. The soft inner layer of idealistic universals is opposed to the underlying cultural diversities.

The emerging world society can be predominantly a Eurocentric model, an imperialism of abstractions and rationalisations of human relationships, social functions, economic schemata, and radical levelling of the cultures into a global civilisation (rather than cultures), with neutralised systems. These principles and prejudices, unexpressed but implicit, may lead to pathological levelling down of traditions, to the impoverishment of

sustaining cultures. The communication between peoples of different cultures has been founded on Western orientalistics. By these disciplines, the West has mediated with them. The non-European cultures have *no* disciplines to observe the European religions, languages, histories, and societies. Were we to give a systematic exposition of Eurocentric culture, after critical reflection from within our traditional views, the West may revise its self-understanding. Otherness, alterity, helps to resolve ideological contradictions. Does Asian, African, Arabo-Iranian, Sino-Japanese and other thinking see the peculiarities and potentials, virtues and dangers in European culture? While such an approach is of critical interest to us, it is equally relevant for Europe. The science of Europology, studied with the criteria of non-European traditions, will be a fruitful enquiry. This overdue re-appraisal of European conceptions of social and humanistic sciences, and of European judgements will be relevant also for the self-image of Europe. The non-European traditions will have to clearly define their ideations, comparable with European research methods. Such a dialogical understanding will be a true mediation of intercultural enrichment.

The economic miracles of the West Germans, Italians and French opened up possibilities, and at the same time created the 'great illusion' of the 1970s. Overcoming the sclerosis of the 1970s became a necessity for Europe. The power potential of the United States and Japan compelled Europe to respond to the challenge. The danger of military conflicts between the Great Powers has subsided. Horrors of nuclear war nearly overcome, perestroika seeking "our European home" has released forces of a "European Europe", with a Single European Market, and heightened trade-sensitivities. Financial and technical transactions, strengthening the European community, acceleration of structural rationalisation, overcoming Euro-sclerosis, liberalisation of the economic environment, standardisation, adaptation to the needs of an integrated market, and several other factors herald changes on a European and universal scale in technical, environmental, and educational systems. The flowering of human potential in innovation demands creative and refined modes of culture that can transcend the outmoded tribalisms of the Latin–Germanic and the Greek–Slav heritages. These contraposed cultural and linguistic environments need to be replaced by new interests and directions. This globalism in the making threatens smaller developed countries with their limited economic viability and bargaining power. They will be 'system orphans' in the environment of the mega-system. The underdeveloped and developing countries can gain limited competitive advantages through material-intensive and labour-intensive products, the semi-finished goods produced by unskilled labour, and the like. The economic and political integration on a global scale has to be mitigated by intellectual and cultural diversities. The emergence of a world without frontiers will have to avoid the historical misfortune of a tortured

image of regimentation. The cultures should remain "timeless moments", elusive dreams unhemmed by space, eternal wanderers in search of the meaning of existence. The intellectual horizons should remain open, with agents of the secret police in prison. The closed systems of 19th century academic absolutism are being revamped. The legitimisation of subjectivity in post-modernism is fast leading to radical changes. Writings on natural sciences and humanities in discourses of common sense are opening new ways in research methodologies that promise new systems of knowledge representation.

The coming century of convergence will have to be multipolar in cultural, intellectual and spiritual moorings. Such is the meaning and message of the Lotus Sutra. It is a text with a texture of intertwining strands, discrete parts being absorbed into a coherent expression of values. The Japanese tradition bases its interpretation of the Sutra on the analysis of its structure into two halves, the first half as the unifying truth of the universe and the second half as the eternal life of Śākyamuni. It is an open text with a pure context, an empty centre that invites filling by interpretation. It is a commitment of the finite to the infinite. The traditional Japanese exegesis encompasses three central elements: the Dharma (the Universal Truth), Buddha (the Perfect Being), and bodhisattvas (human beings). They are the unifying truth of the universe (the wonderful law as the one vehicle), eternal life (the eternal Śākyamuni), and human activities in the real world (bodhisattva practices). President Ikeda underlines the concept of *ichinen sanzen* where the one mind (the microcosm) and the three thousand realms (the macrocosm) are interdependent and One in the ultimate. He cites the hymn of Hōshaku to emphasise "the attitude of broad-mindedness and receptivity":

"The Buddha expounds the Dharma with a single voice,
But each being understands it according to his own kind".

In a shrinking world, we have to be souls with grace, depth and compassion. Instinctive unity has to be a source of vitality of conscious life. The mind of man has to perceive this truth as the eye does light.

The birth of a new order is an expression of time ever flowing onwards. Time is never-ending rhymes without reason. The decade of the 1980s is gone: no return from revolt to revolution. Secularisation has left wounds in the emptiness of the soul. The Soul abhors a vacuum. It has flowed onward to the essence of life, to new value-centres in many principles of being. Today humankind seeks to create newer and ever individualised eyes. Latin metaphysics speaks of eternity as *nunc stans* 'a standing now', and of time as *nunc fluens* 'a flowing now'. The two nows can meet in the universality of a message of compassion in the serene golden mean of the Lotus Sutra. President Ikeda's message and mission of cultural universalism, vibrating to the silent raptures of live diversities, can become a convergence of shared plenitude, un-shorn of multiplicity. The

destinies of the East and West are no longer closed systems. In every one of us there is an East and a West. Each person has an East, a beyond where the sun rises, a dimension of hope. Every human being has a dimension of the West, of maturity, where values materialise. The East and West can be harmonised in the microcosm of ourselves alone.

The nine decades of the 20th century have looked upon dogmas as their sole blueprint, their exclusive dictionary, and their only support. To borrow the terminology of Chinese intellectuals during the period of "thousand weeds" in 1957: "the thunder clap has been loud, but the raindrops small". The "eyebrows" of time became perestroika (*pere* 'all round', *stroika* 'structuring'). The rigid structures continued, though with a definitely new manner of arrangement. In 1991, the expression perestroika is yielding place to novostroika, the coexistence of distinct parts in a whole. What Copernicus did to the Ptolemaic view of the natural world, is happening in the economic, political, social and spiritual spheres with the relativising of truth. The horizons of an expanding universe are exploding and its centre is suddenly unknown. Many centres of Being, a polycentric consciousness, alone can account realistically for our lives. Such a consciousness is emerging on the tips of our newest sensibilities. It is a re-mythologisation of life, with expanding symbols. Euripides closed his famous play, *The Bacchae,* with the words: "Many are the shapes of things divine"? This will also be the new story. This acknowledgement entails a touch with the depths. It would be a new turn, a re-turn to many centres of being. The synchronous rejuvenation of images of the future moves into an exalting idealism with a new enthusiasm. Bacon's motto for the natural sciences "knowledge is power" needs to be complemented by the slogan of Comte *prévoir pour pouvoir* for the cultural sciences.

The Greek word for free time (*skholē*) is not only the linguistic root of school and schooling, but the psychological root of a free and fruitful pursuit of perceptions. Existence is a dynamic becoming-process, a vision of the gradual unfolding of humans, through and for humankind, towards higher types. It is an I–We relationship, as compared with the I–Thou relationship. It is man as a member of humanity, and to put it the other way round, of humanity in man.

The Taoist sage Chuang-tze gave the name hundred schools to the flourishing of philosophical speculation in China during the third and fourth centuries BC. The dawning period will likewise be realised in the motto: "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a thousand thoughts contend". It is the *ta t'ung hsiao i* "grand unity, minor differences". Dew, water of a river, waves of the ocean: still a single substance water. As the Sun rises in the east, so will the new sensitivity arise in the mind of a son of the Land of the Rising Sun. The vigour of the simple and the sublime in the spontaneity of compassion (karuṇā) is natural to the Japanese mind. I am reminded of Enku, the sculptor of chip Buddhas

(*koppa-butsu*) who died at a Miroku Temple, chanting prayers, ringing a bell and fasting. Some tall oak and cherry trees entwined with wisteria vines now stand at the spot where he attained nirvāṇa. People living in the village say that these vines will bleed if anyone cuts them. From these delicate frontiers of the collective mind, bodhisattva Daisaku Ikeda feeds the streams of the coming century with the offerings of dreams. Drifting like heaven's gift over the skies of the mind, he rains love and song to worship living beings.

23. PRESIDENT IKEDA: THE MIND OF YONDER TIME

Out of the mists and vapours of the mountains, a new year dawns as a kingdom of the revealed heart, where honey nourishes the trees, and the golden spring undresses among the orange blossoms. It is an aroma of deeds arising in the glimmer of heroic striving. It is the invisible poetry of the heart dissolving in its own unknown territories. As petals fall wooed by snow, pure water of a spring flows by in the actions of President Daisaku Ikeda. He seeks new ways to dispel the darkness of *all* beings, just as the light of sun and moon illuminates all obscurity. Like his master Nichiren Daishonin, he lives the twenty-line verse of the Kanji (13th) chapter of the Lotus Sutra, in disdain of persecution. This verse is defined by Tannen in Monguki as "arrogant and sly priests who believe they themselves have attained what they have not attained and slander the votaries" (T 34.315a). Blossoms turn into fruit, says Daishonin in his letter to Jakunichibō. So does the message of Ikeda move forward, surely and steadily, into the coming century and in the invigorating space of a global order. The Buddhism of Nichiren is the philosophy of youth "to build the towering and fruitful culture of the twenty-first century". In the new century, it seeks a glimmer of Eternity upon our lovely world, born in the ripples of the Lotus Sutra. It is a Sutra that seeds the cherries to put them in the pie. It is open and serene, and in that vacancy are the ripples of life. In it is the moving mind, wherein nothing but living water of the future world can delight in its own self-being. The Lotus Sutra is an open text that can be minted into newer and newer expressions of worth. In it human action is paramount, and its humane significance is absolute, in the unifying truth of the eternal Buddha. Rich in openness, humanity can find thoughts in it that bloom beyond the need of words. President Ikeda, in his historic movement of the Soka Gakkai International, manifests this universal in his tireless sojourns across the world. He is a body living in the spirit, a fire on the edge of holy fire, as he gives to the youth images with colour, shape and moving life. In the words of poet Jien, he brings images to the future that it must have:

Izukata mo	Though I search
Nokosazu yukite	Every field
Tazunu to mo	Overlooking nothing,
Hana wa minori no	All the flowers are but
Hana bakari koso.	The flower of the Law.

The Lotus Sutra is the esssence of unfathomed universes of thought in the evolution of its hermeneutics in Japan. Herein lie the saps and sinews of the culture of Man.

Here lies sensitivity, the horizon permeated with reverence for life and love for creatures: the lonely pine is my brother. Buddhism has fascinated the modern mind and will drape the future selves with its timeless patterns. It will kiss the world with compassion and weave light and love in the hearts of men.

In Lotus Sutra Buddhism, the layperson has been and is a major factor in its evolution. It continues an earlier tradition, e.g. texts on logic explain to us conceptions in terms of the potter and weaver, the pot (*ghaṭa)* and the cloth (*paṭa*), which constitute the warp and woof of causation and perception. Every person is consciousness supreme, lapsed in time and space, a buddhāṅkura. Each of us has his or her potencies, and contributes new realities of expression. Every new turn is touched with fresh depths, and infuses new life and new symbols. The eternal is value and the new is meaning. President Ikeda inspires us to realise this centre of human striving. He says: "Just as the lotus, though it puts forth beautiful blossoms, has its roots in the mud of the pond, so the true practitioner of the Dharma lives and works in the midst of the confusion and bustle of everyday society, sharing the joys and trials of the common people and exemplifying in his way of life the true spirit of the Lotus Sutra. Only in this manner can he carry out the true mission of Buddhism."

President Ikeda is in the line of Prince Shōtoku who devoted his energy to the strengthening of Japan, by spreading Buddhism as the mainstay of the nation. His sangyō or three basic sutras were the Hokkekyō (Lotus), Shōmangyō (Śrīmālā) and Yuimakyō (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa). Prince Shōtoku wrote a commentary on the Lotus Sutra and it is *the first* work of Japanese literature. The Lotus Sutra places great value on the ordinary world as well as on ordinary understanding. In this he adopted the Japanese approach of the affirmation of reality. The second sutra chosen by Prince Shōtoku for his commentary was the Shōmangyō, a scripture prominent for pleading the case for ladies. This is seen in Queen Shōman's constant use of the term "good daughter of the family" along with "good son of the family" as a Bodhisattva on every spiritual level. Prince Shōtoku's commentary on the Shōmangyō introduced the interpretation that the queen is a Bodhisattva of the Seventh Stage, inspired by the Tathāgata to be eloquent even about the higher stages, but also able to express that doctrine which ordinary persons can grasp. In the same spirit, President Ikeda's observation on the equality of all beings is of significance for the future of humankind: "the Buddhist Order would have to await the appearance of vigorous leaders from the lower levels of society before the doctrine of the equality of all beings and their equal ability to attain Buddhahood could be clearly and firmly established".

The third sutra chosen by Prince Shōtoku is the Yuimakyō, wherein the centrality of the layman Yuima is emphasised. The sutra says: "He wore the white clothes of the

layman, yet lived impeccably like a religious devotee. He lived at home, but remained aloof from the realm of desire, the realm of pure matter, and the immaterial realm. He had a son, a wife, and female attendants, yet always maintained continence". Again the sutra says: "He was honoured as the businessman among businessmen because he demonstrated the priority of the Dharma".

The lay Yuima excels even the apostolic disciples of Śākyamuni, like Śāriputra and Mahākāśyapa. As the Yuimakyō says: "The Licchavī Vimalakīrti read the thought of the venerable Śāriputra and said: Reverend Śāriputra, did you come here for the sake of the Dharma? Or did you come here for the sake of a chair?" When Mahākāśyapa heard Vimalakīrti speak about enlightenment, he could not understand it at all, he wept over the fact that he did not inherently possess the seed of Buddhahood (T 14.547a).

Yuima brings out that the disciples, such as Śāriputra, are too complacent in their sense of liberation and superiority of wisdom. An injunction to the monastic order.

The Yuimakyō says: "Mañjuśrī replied: Lord, it is difficult to attend upon the Licchavī Vimalakīrti. He is gifted with marvellous eloquence concerning the law of the profound. He is skilled in civilizing all the abodes of devils". Like Yuima, President Ikeda is consummate in his perceptions of the future on a global scale in the creative excellence of the Lotus Sutra.

Thus we see that the sangyō of Prince Shōtoku represent the eminence of the laity as well as women, along with the enlightenment of the Lotus Sutra.

Ever since emperor Aśoka became an instrument of the spread of the message of Buddhism, the role of the laity has been central to Buddhism. In the Lotus Sutra, upāsakas and upāsikās are as integral to the system as bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs.

Lotus Sutra Buddhism is the psychosphere of the future. It highlights for its practitioners the fact that illusions and impurities are caused by their own passion. The concept of 'original sin' condemns persons to the orthodoxy of the priests for their redemption. The Lotus Sutra leaves them on their own, for their true self-nature is pure and bright. The pure flower of essence of the Tathāgata is hidden in our own self. The smooth perfection of the lotus blossom does not allow the transient dew to cling to vagaries. Dew is the standard metaphor for conditioned things. Man is his own master in his intrinsic purity.

The universalisation of human values through the Lotus Sutra can be done by the fang-pien/upāya-kauśalya 善巧方便 approach. It has to be an open frontier towards surrounding traditions. The recasting of potent psychological symbols can be done by the stimulus of the spiritual experience of the Sutra, which propounds that the experience of enlightenment is open to all. The functional goal of experiencing of enlightenment across cultures, across peoples and across languages was developed through the concept of

upāya-kauśalya 'skilful means'. The second chapter of the Lotus Sutra is devoted to these appropriate expedients or tactful methods. The Dharma has to be presented in accordance with the perceptions and backgrounds of the hearers concerned.

The Lotus Sutra speaks of the foolhardiness of certain elements who are either incapable of an evolving universal vision or refuse to visualise it. It says: "Thereupon the Buddha addressed Śāriputra: Now in the congregation I am free from (useless) twigs and leaves, and have nothing but all that are purely the true and real. It is good, Śāriputra, that such extremely haughty ones as those are gone away. Now carefully listen and I will expound.

By myriads of koṭis of tactful ways
They proclaim the Law as opportunity serves.
(But) those who will not learn
Are not able do discern it."

President Ikeda reiterates the Sutra in a contemporary idiom: "Buddhist doctrine enunciates a principle known by the term *zuihobini*. According to this principle, so long as there is no violation of the main tenets and precepts of the Dharma, it is permissible to adapt to the customs and practices of the particular area in which one is preaching or living."

Future humankind seeks the flow of the perennial that sheds glamour on his inner being. In the words of poet Tagore, this eternal seeking is:

To bathe in the living stream that flows in thy heart,
Whose waters descend from the snowy height of a sacred time,
On which arose, from the deep of my country's being,
The sun of Love and Righteousness.

President Ikeda is a pilgrim and a prophet of an open *forma mentis:* "The throb of joy aroused in the reader or the hearer brings to sudden life the Buddha that dwells within his own mind and heart". In his pilgrimage around the world, he conveys the auspicious and the propitious, the benign and benevolent, away from the cold embrace of a universal cultural invariant. To him every creature of the world is book, picture and mirror (Latin *liber et pictura nobis est et speculum).* Men have to read, look, and reflect. Man has not to be the stepson of Time but the son of Eternity. The human mind has to be a wave made of many waves.

24. ETERNAL MELODY OF THE POETIC SPIRIT

Dedicated to my esteemed friend Dr. LOKESH CHANDRA

悠久なれ！詩心の調べ
——敬愛するロケッシュ・チャンドラ博士
に捧ぐ

大河ガンジスのほとり
我一人　仄白き砂の上にたたずむ
夕闇濃く岸辺に迫り
海のごとく充ちたる水は
悠揚として動くともなく
天空と一つに霞みわたる

見よ　西の空に大いなる月は浮かび
厚き暮色の帳を破り
淡い朱色の帯を川面に流す
折りからジャンクの帆影
遥かなる川幅にただ一つ
月光を浴びて　静かに漂う

I linger, alone, on the pale white sands,
alongside the great river Ganges,
as twilight closes in on the bank.
The waters, as voluminous as the sea,
are still and serene
and faint in the distance
where they melt into the sky.

Look !
A grand moon floats in the west.
Tearing through
the curtain of evening gloom,
it throws a fleeting vermilion band
over the river's face.
The shadow of a barge's sail
appears far off, across the river;
it drifts quietly,
bathed in the moonlight.

おお　悠久の時を流れゆく
聖なるガンジスよ
往古の偉大な文明をはぐくみ
今また数億の民の魂を潤す
久遠を今に　今を久遠に
宇宙の運行を思わせる
その流れを前にしては
数千年の歴史も一刹那に溶ける思いあり

万人を魅了してやまぬ
精神の大地　永遠の大河
かつてトインビー博士は
来世はインドに生まれたいと私に語った
それと同じく
すべてを投げうちインドと婚せんとする者
その数を知れず

Oh, sacred Ganges—
Flowing along the course of endless time,
you nurtured the magnificent civilizations of old
and now enrich the spirits of hundreds of millions.
Carrying eternity into the present
and the present into eternity;
history's millenia melting into the moment
of this river that suggest
Of the movements of the universe.

Great land of the spirit,
eternal river !
You have captivated multitudes.
Dr. Arnold Toynbee once told me
that he wished to be reborn in India.
In like manner
many are those
who would give up all
to be with India.

永劫の昔より　永劫の彼方へ
人類の最初の教師・釈尊も
生々流転しゆく人間を見つめて
この河のほとりに立ち
遊行の足を休めたにちがいない

魂の大地・月氏よ
仏法の光彩はここに昇り
東へ東へと移り
日いづる国を照らす
三千年の春秋は巡り
今再び光は西へ還らんとす——

From the past without beginning
to the future without end...
Shakyamuni Buddha, humanity's first teacher,
must have stood on this riverbank,
to rest from his travels
and gaze intently at the endless
births and transmigrations
of the human being.

Land of the Moon,
—land of the spirit—
The brilliant light of Buddhism arose here
and then moved gradually eastward,
illuminating, finally, Japan,
the land of the rising sun.
For three thousand years
the seasons have wound round.
The light has begun its return to the west.

一九七九年二月十一日
旧い花の都・パトナ
インドの良心J・P・ナラヤン氏と会談し
その終了後の夕暮れに
再び私はガンジスのほとりに立った
仰ぎ見る月天子の幽光——
十八年ぶりのその地その日は
奇しくも恩師生誕の日
「アジアの民に日をぞ送らん」との
師子吼しのべば
無量の思いが胸にあふれた

その懐かしくも
法恩深きインドから訪ね来た貴方は
静かに語る
「インドと日本の間に
『詩の道』『哲学の道』を」と

Feburary 11, 1979—
In Patna, the ancient city of flowers,
I met the conscience of India, Jai Prakash Narayan.
That evening, after we talked
I stood once again on the banks of the Ganges,
gazing at the moon's shimmering glow
over an India I hadn't seen for eighteen years.
Remarkably, that day
was the birthday of my revered mentor, Josei Toda.
And I remembered his declaration like a lion's roar
"We must send the light of the sun
to the people of Asia,"
and an infinity of feelings filled my breast.

You came to visit
from this land of fond memories
to whom we owe a debt of profound
gratitude as the birthplace of Buddhism.
You spoke in quiet tones
of the need to build paths
of poetry and philosophy
between India and Japan.

おお　西方からの旅人よ
今拓き始めた
その　魂と魂をつなぐ大道
精神のシルクロードを
悠久の文化の薫りをたたえてやって来た
ロケッシュ・チャンドラ博士

おお　魂の友よ
真実の友情は
生き方を同じくする二人にある
目的を分かち合う二人にある
真実の友情は
大いなる喜びを与えてくれる

Ah, traveller from the west,
Dr. Lokesh Chandra!
Wrapped the perfumed scents of eternal culture
you walked this spiritual Silk Road,
this mighty road linking soul to soul
that has begun its unfolding.

Ah, friend of the spirit, my soul—
True friendship is found
in the common choices in our lives
in the goals that we share.
True friendship is the greatest joy.

一九九〇年十二月
貴方が授けてくれた「ラグヴィラ賞」
世界に法華経の価値観を広め宣揚した
私の功績を称えてと
栄誉ある世界初の受賞となる
その深い信頼と評価とに
感謝の思いは尽きなかった

それは父君ラグヴィラ博士の
輝かしき名にちなむもの
博士はヴェーダ語の世界的権威
サンスクリット語に通じ
仏教文化を深く理解しておられた

December 1990—
You praised my efforts
to spread and extol the values
of the Lotus Sutra by conferring
on me the "RaghuVira Award."
I am eternally grateful
for the deep trust and high appraisal
that allowed me to be the
first in the world so honoured.

Dr. RaghuVira, your father
for whom this honour was named—
A world authority on the Vedas
his knowledge of Sanskrit opened to him
a profound understanding of
Buddhist culture.

闘う知識人でもあった
インド独立運動に身を投じた
獄中も経験したその理由は
日本語を教えては親日派と指され
ロシア語を教えては赤いスパイと疑われた
いわれなき罪によってであった

だが　賢者は迫害を恐れない
けっして運命に屈することもない
熱火が黄金を鍛えるがごとくに
むしろ逆境を喜び
自分の鍛えとする
襲いかかる嵐の激しさこそが
人の偉大さの証明なのだ

He was an intellectual of action
who committed himself to the struggle
for independence,
who was jailed, falsely accused of being
a Japanese sympathizer
because he taught Japanese,
of being a communist agent
because he taught Russian.

The truly wise, however, fear no persecution,
they never bend or submit to destiny.
Just as gold is purified by fire
the wise welcome the trials of adversity.
For they know that violence
of the storm that assaults him
is the proof of a man's greatness.

父君は自身の信念を貫いた
文化の力を信じていた　そして
インドと人類の精神的遺産を
後世へ輝かそうと
学問の牙城をつくった
その「インド文化国際アカデミー」を
貴方は受け継いだ

〃精神の大地〃に脈打つ
〃精神の巨人〃の偉大なる系譜よ
貴方もまた
父君とともにその一人なるか
二十か国語に通じ
世界に知友のネットワークを広げつつ
文化の遺産を集大成した
その「シャタピタカ（百蔵）」は三百数十巻
「父子一体」のその偉業に
心からの拍手を送りたい

Your father lived out his convictions,
his faith in the power of culture.
In order to assure that the spiritual heritage
of India and of humanity
would be shared by future generations
he built a castle of learning—
the International Academy of Indian Culture
to which you are heir.

The lineage of spiritual giants
that beats in the heart of this spiritual land !
Together with your father
you belong to that noble line.
Fluent in twenty languages,
you have built a network of
friendship and wisdom throughout the world.
You have brought together
the treasures of culture in the *Shatapiṭaka,*
whose more than three hundred volumes are
magnificent testimony to the
oneness of parent and child.

日本での出会いは昨年十月
名古屋の法城での語らい
そして虹かかる文化友好祭
貴方は私たちの運動に
若人の乱舞の歌声に
暖かく賛同した
車イスの青年と私との小さな交歓のドラマを
貴方の暖かい眼は
決して見逃さなかった
「仏法のメッセージを現代に展開」との
貴方の言葉を感謝とともに心に刻んだ

We met again in Japan in October last year
in the Castle of the Law in Nagoya.
Watching our festival of friendship and culture
you offered warm support to our movement
to the vibrant songs of our youthful members.
Your sympathetic gaze did not overlook the
drama of the brief exchange between a
youth in a wheelchair and myself.
Your words
—the message of Buddhism
is being put into action in our age—
are engraved, with gratitude, in my heart.

ああ　魂の詩人よ
二人の詩心が高らかに響き合う
貴方は語っている
サンスクリット語のカヴィ（詩人）
それは思想家　歌い手　聖人　予言者にして
洞察力と美　悟達と知恵の人
私も信ずる
二十一世紀をつくるものは「詩」であると

詩は生命の巧みざる演出者
そこには美があり安らぎがある
飛翔する力　創造の力がある
苦悩を突き抜けた歓喜がある
詩は人間性の精華
それはまた宇宙の旋律と躍動
宇宙は妙なる一編の詩ではないか
生命もまた
歴史もまた
哲学もまた

Ah, poet of the soul!
Our poetic spirits resound in harmony !
You said that the Sanskrit word *kavi* means
a thinker, a singer, a sage and a prophet.
It also indicates a person of
insight and wisdom,
aesthetic and enlightened.
It is my belief that the twenty-first century
will be created by poetry.

Poetry is the natural director
of the drama of inner life.
There we find beauty and comfort,
the energy to soar aloft,
the power of creation,
the joy that is found
beyond and through suffering.
Poetry is the refined essence of humanity.
It is the vigorous rhythm of the universe.
For what is the universe
if not one exquisite poem?
As are the workings of life
of history, of philosophy—

詩聖タゴールは語った――
「詩人の使命とは
まだ空中に聞こえない声を
引き寄せること
まだ実現されない夢想への信頼を
鼓舞すること」

戦乱と流血の世紀の帳(とばり)を今閉じんと
世紀末のカオスに
呻吟しつつ光求める人々
偉大なる人間世紀を切り開き
平和と文化の華(はな)薫る世界を
築きゆく源泉こそ
「詩」なのだ

The sage poet Tagore declares:
"The poet's work
is to draw forth the voices
that cannot yet be heard in the sky
and to rouse belief in the dreams
that have not yet become real."

In the *fin de siècle* chaos
of a century of bloodshed and war,
in the agonized seeking for light,
poetry will bring into being
a new world fragrant
with the flowers
of peace and culture.
It will open the way for a new era of humanity.

貴方の詩心は
なかんずく法華経と共鳴し
そこに尽きざる活力をもつ
「文明蘇生の法」を洞察する
その仏法への深い思いに
私は心からの敬意を表したい

おお　法華経こそは最も壮大なる
人間と宇宙の詩
貴方は詠う
「創造的インスピレーションの
永久の源」と
その法華経の真髄の祈りを
私は世界に送る

Your poet's soul
finds remarkable resonance
in the Lotus Sutra.
Your penetrating vision discovers there
an inexhaustible source of vitality,
a Law to rejuvenate civilization.
I offer my sincere respect
for your profound understanding of Buddhism.

The Lotus Sutra is indeed
the most majestic of poems—
woven of humanity and the cosmos.

It is, as you say,
"The eternal source of creative inspiration".
I desire only to share with the world
the prayer that is the Sutra's essence and marrow.

東洋と　西洋と
北の国々と　南の民衆と
今　世界は
新たなる絆を求めて
激しく揺れ動かんとするか

侵略し　蹂躙し
抑圧し　略奪した
痛ましい歴史の傷跡
子らの叫びは
今も蒼穹の果てにふるえ
母の涙は
澪となって大地を流れる

The world is caught in the throes
of a search for new bonds
to unite East and West,
the countries of the North,
the people of the South.

The piteous scars of the history—
of invasion and abuse,
of oppression and plunder.
Even now the cries of children
tremble to the edges of blue skies
and mothers' tears fall
and flow in the rivulets along the earth.

東西ベルリンの壁　崩れ
新たなる世界史の鼓動は響くも
民族と宗教の「心の壁」は
なお厚く　なお高く
紛争の火種は尽きず

世界の人間を千々に分断する
この堅固な壁あるかぎり
人類を照らす真実の世紀の夜明けは
けっして訪れないにちがいない
この牢固たる現状を
打開する機軸は何か

The wall dividing Berlin into
East and West may have fallen
and the drumbeat of new history
for our world may resound,
but the walls in men's hearts
drawn on the lines of race and creed
remain too high, too thick.
The hateful coals that can
flare into conflict smolder still.

While these walls split man from man
along thousand divisions,
the new century's true dawn
will never shed its light on humankind.
Where can we find the key
to unlock this imprisoning stalemate?

貴方は　昨秋
東京で行われたシンポジウムで
シルクロードを開拓した
「張騫」を語った

二千有余年という遥かな昔
十三年の歳月をかけて
西域諸国への道を拓き
艱難と辛苦の果てに
異国の文化　文物をもたらした彼

『史記』はいう
その業　まさに「鑿空」と
空を鑿つ――
未知の世界へ　道を拓くと

At last autumn's symposium in Tokyo
you spoke of Chang-ch'ien,
pioneer of the Silk Road.

It is now more than two millennia
since he spent thirteen years,
overcoming great obstacles and sufferings
to open the way to the Western Region
and bring new culture and writings
to his native land.

In *The Record of the Historian*
his effort is compared to
"drilling a hole in the sky"
to open the way to unknown worlds.

さらに『漢書』にいわく
その人となり——
堅忍不抜の「志」と
寛大な「心」をもち
よく人を「信」じ
蛮夷に愛さると

誰か知る
張騫の長途の旅は
「心の壁」を破る自己との戦い
それは　内面への
遥かな旅路でもありしを

In the *History of the Han Dynasty*
Chang-ch'ien is described
as a man of indomitable aspiration
of generous heart who trusted others
whom even the 'barbarians' loved.

Can we not think that
Chang-ch'ien's distant travels
were a struggle within himself,
a battle to break down the
walls within, that his was
a far journey to the inner regions
of his own heart?

「己心」――これぞ東と西の接点
万人を信じ
万物を包みながら
揺るがぬ志と
広闊な晴れやかさをもって
あらゆる険難を乗り越えゆく
「分断」から「融合」へ
「不信」から「信頼」へ
「カオス」から「コスモス」へ

古来　賢者の眼は
かならず内面へと向かった
激動期であれば　あるほど
愚者が　転変する外界の
荒波に翻弄され
右往左往している間に
彼らは果敢に赴いた
みずからの内なる宇宙の探究へと

Our minds are the junctures of East and West
with the capacity to trust all people,
embrace all phenomena,
to overcome all difficulties and advance
with unwavering will and broadminded optimism
from schism to unity
from mistrust to belief
from chaos to cosmos.

Since ancient times
the wise have turned their gaze inward.
In turbulent ages
when the foolish are tossed about
by the confused waves
of the changing world without,
the wise have bravely set out
to explore their inner universe.

釈尊は　生老病死の縛を断って
広大なる内面の詩的宇宙を説示した
ソクラテス　また
「汝自身を知れ」と叫び
さらに　漢土の先哲いわく
「己れに克ちて礼に復るを仁となす」
「山中の賊を破るは易く
心中の賊を破るは難し」と
ゲーテはいう
「おまえの内部をさがせ
すべてを見出すことができる」と
トルストイは叫んだ
「神の王国は汝が胸中にあり」と
そして　ガンジーもまた
「私は　神が天界にましますのでも
下界にましますのでもなく
一人一人の心の中にましますのを
知っている」と

Shakyamuni Buddha
severed the ties
of birth, old age, sickness and death
and taught poetic and boundless
inner cosmology.
Socrates admonished simply:
"Know thyself."
One Chinese sage advised:
"Benevolence is to conquer oneself and restore courtesy."
Another said:
"To defeat robbers in the mountains is easy;
to destroy bandits in the hearts is difficult."

Goethe declared:
"Look inside yourself; you will find everything."
Tolstoy proclaimed:
"The kingdom of God exists in your heart."
And Gandhi pronounced:
"I know that God is neither in heaven,
nor down below,
but in everyone."

激動の今日(きょう)　波乱の明日(あした)
今まさに　求められるは
己の内面へのひたぶるな挑戦
自分に克つという
胸中の制覇なのだ
さこそ　人間が
真実　人間になりゆく
王道ならん

おお！
精神の大地より萌(も)え出た
大いなる詩心の旅人よ
東と西を結び
北と南をつなぐ
精神のシルクロードを征く
詩心の賢者よ

In these troubled days of turmoil
what is required
is the courage to challenge
our inner selves,
the conquest of our mind
victory over self.
This is the noble path
by which man becomes
truly human.

Oh, traveller with your vast poetic heart,
who grew out of the spirit's soil!
Poet-sage walking the spirit's Silk Road
connecting East and West, North and South.

「われわれすべての中に
東と西があるのです
すべての人が
希望の太陽が昇る希望の場である
東をもつのです
また　すべての人が
諸価値が成熟する場である
西をもつのです
そして　東西は
人間の『小宇宙』においてのみ
調和できるのです」
——との　貴方の明察！

「人間の精神は
それ自体　〃蓮華の花〃
その蓮華の花を開化させるのは
『力』ではない
『太陽』が昇るところに咲くのです」
——との　貴方の確信！

With brilliant insight, you remarked;
"In every one of us there is an East and a West.
Each person has an East,
a beyond where the sun rises, a dimension of hope.
Every human being has a dimension of the West,
of maturity, where values materialize.
The East and West can be harmonized
in the microcosm of ourselves alone."

Your conviction is firm:
"The human spirit is itself the lotus flower.
Power does not make the flowers bloom;
they open where the sun rises."

今！
ガンジスの河面に
新しい太陽が昇る
カオスに揺れる世界の地平に
希望の曙光が輝きわたる
きらめく金波よ！
蘇る生命の大地よ！
そして
笑顔もて集い合う
「人間」と「人間」の光彩！
わが胸に響くは
人類の普遍の魂へと呼びかけた
詩聖タゴールの歌声——
「心を清くして
すべての人の手を取れ
来たれ　虐げられた人よ！
すべての侮辱のかせは　とりはずされよ！
母の祭りに　急ぎ来たれ
すべての人に触れられ　浄められた
岸辺の水で

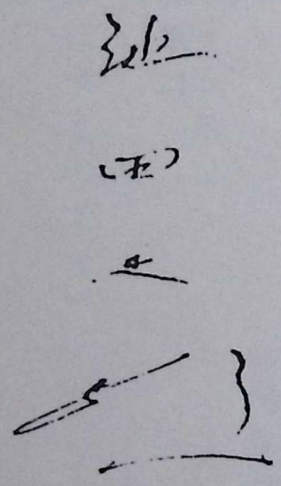
Look ! Above the Ganges the new sun rises.
The dawning light of hope glows
beyond the horizons of a chaotic world.
Waves sparkle gold!
The life-giving earth revives!
And the light of people
gathering in smiles.

In my heart echoes Tagore's song
calling to the universal spirit of mankind:
"With pure heart, take the hands of all people;
Come near, you who have been mistreated.
Cast off all the shackles of insult!
Come quickly to the mother's festival.
The jar of Shrimahadevi is not yet full
with the water from near the shore,
the water touched and purified by all people.
Now, at the shore of the sea of humankind in India."

吉祥の水瓶が　まだ満たされていないのだ
今　インドの人類の　海の岸辺に！」

かの詩聖の心を心として
東西悠遠の文化の道を
歩み続け　拓き征く
偉大なる精神の旅人よ
栄えあれ！
融合の文化の都に
燦然と　輝きわたれ！
永遠に　詩心の太陽よ

桂冠詩人



Great-hearted traveller !
Taking the poet's heart as your own
you continue to walk, continue to forge
the eternal path of culture, East and West.
May you prosper
in the 'capital city' of cultures
in harmonious fusion!
May you shine on forever
dazzling sun of the poetic spirit!

Daisaku Ikeda
Poet Laureate

Respected President Ikeda-san

Your poem: let quiet silence respond. Your verses are gems studded in the necklace of Shrimālā/Shōman. Mind's angels in the folds of enduring nows. Or, moments of worship in the wholeness of life. They have moved me to tears of trampled memories. Serene are they, like the breath of statues and the silence of paintings.

Illuminating are your lines on the eternal river Ganga, the symbol and the image of active Being. In your verses, she becomes the life flowing by, the light on the far horizons, a mist that plays in the eternal. Your sonorous words become the blue incense of the heart. The inner recesses of substance bloom into essence. They evolve into images of depth and water ever flows. The flux and reflux rumbles and reverberates in the liquid quality of your poem: water in its consonants, water in its vowels. In the poetics of the flow of Ganga is our shared infinity, humming in the crystal calm of eternity. The pure crystalline water of the holy river is freshness and youth, the stream and the spring, the reservoir of limpidity of the future of mankind. Your allusions to the particulars of the absolute within, invent heaven and jasmine into something new. They whiten the darkening earth to move beyond delight.

This month is a nucleised landscape in your poem, when your revered mentor Josei Toda-san imaged space as creativity. Being an imagined centre, it is powerful. It is a dynamised centre, dynamising through your person, the tumult that rages in the onrush of the future. Your lines on the light of the Sun to the people of Asia transport me to Rilke's poem:

The world is large,
But in us it is as deep as the sea.

You do with words what the sculptor does with wood, with stone: you give to external realities, contemplated with the outward and the inward eye, their spiritual eternity. Your poem invites immensity of ideas in the vastness of time, to come out of ourselves into expanding consciousness: oh my roads and their cadence. It tempts us to the light that keeps vigil on the far horizons, deep in history, angelic in the wrappings of life.

You are the serene Bodhisattva gazing at the reflection of the unmoving moon in the moving waters of Ganga, the Water-Moon Kannon (水月観音), the spirit or energy 氣 of heaven and earth.

You bloom the cherries of our dreams, you veil the peaks of the human mind with spring, you are a host to the flowering of the new century. No flowers can forget the spring.

Bodhisattva Ikeda-san, the horse is restive. So I am in saddle to the Dark

Continent of South Africa, to witness the dawning of a new order.

With deep regards

Yours in Admiration

Prof. Lokesh Chandra

聖教新聞 (第3種郵便物認可)

この「詩」は、先にインドを訪れた池田SGI会長が、その折にチャンドラ博士に贈った長編詩「悠久なれ／詩心の調べ」に対し、同博士から返詩として南アフリカ訪問へ旅立つ直前に寄せられたものである。SGI会長の了解を得て、ここに紹介する。

わが道に響く躍動の旋律

インド文化国際アカデミー理事長　ロケッシュ・チャンドラ

敬愛する池田会長
あなたの詩に
答える言葉を私は知らない

その詩には
彼所四王の
王女勝鬘夫人の首飾りに
ちりばめられた宝石のように
永劫を綴り成す一瞬一瞬のひだのなかに
心の天使が宿っている

そこに綴られた一コマ一コマは
生の祈りに満ち
孤々の思い出をよみがえらせ
私の頬を涙で濡らした

詩に漂う深い静寂は
彫像の吐息のごとく
黙して語らぬ絵画のごとく
その躍動する様は
悠々と流れゆく
ガンジスを思わせる
――詩の一行一行は
光に照り映える永遠なるガンジスの川辺だ

あなたの詩のなかで
ガンジスは生命の流れとなり
はるかな地平を開く光となり
悠久の調べのなかにとける

あなたの明々たる言葉は
みずみずしい命の香を漂わせ
内なる精神を花開かせる
そして
深遠なる世界へと邦人をうながし
永遠なる流れへと導く

大河のごときその詩のなかで
水は満ち　水はひいて
音をたてて囁き合い

子音も　母音も
一つ一つが躍動の旋律を奏でる

ガンジスの流れのように
あなたの詩は
永劫をともに分かちながら
静寂のなかでささやきかける

その水晶のような澄み渡る流れは
爽やかで　若々しく
泉となり　小川となって
人類の未来を潤す尊き永遠となる

その詩は
内在する普遍の法をもって
現実の事象の一つ一つを照らし
天と　ジャスミンの香る地に
新しき創造をもたらし
かけりゆく地球を浄化し
歓びの彼方へと導く

二月――
それはあなたの詩の誕生月だ
敬愛する師匠・戸田城聖氏の
誕生の月である
氏は無限の空間に創造性を動ていた

あの詩の世界は
戸田城聖氏そのものだ
力強く　ダイナミックで
奔流のように未来をめざす
あなたという人格を通して
氏は生き生きと躍動する

「アジアの民に日を送らん」
という
あの詩にうたわれた一節は
私に　リルケの詩を思い起こさせる
「世界は大きい
しかし　人間の内面は海ほど深い」

あなたは
外に向けられた眼と
己心に向けられた眼をもって思索し
彫刻家が
なんら変哲のない木や石から
作品を生み出すように
言葉をもって
無常なる人の世に
永遠の精神の輝きを刻む

あなたの詩は
悠久の時の流れをつつみ
胸奥からあふれ出る
無量の念をもって
壮大な意識の広がりへと誘ってくれる

おお！
わが道に　響き渡るその詩の調べよ
それは
歴史の深淵にこだまし
生命の光彩につつまれた天使のように
はるかなる地平に
不滅の光となって燃え輝き
われらを招く

あなたは
たゆたうガンジスの川面に映る
動かざる月を眺める
静かなる慈悲の体現者

あなたは
私たちが夢見る桜を咲かせ
人間の心の頂を
春のベールでつつんでくれる

あなたこそ
新しき世紀を花開かせる春の創造者
花は決して春を忘れはしない

利他と慈愛の実践者　池田氏よ
わが馬はいななき　躍っている
私は旅立とう
愛馬に鞍をつけ
悲しき過去を持つ大陸　南アフリカへ
新たな秩序の夜明けを見届けるために

深い敬愛とともに
崇敬の念を込めて
一九九二年二月十一日
ロケッシュ・チャンドラ

25. THE MANI STONE

The stone inscription to be described is an oval slab. It is deposited in the showcase of the Forman Christian College Library. Prof. Ross Wilson tells me that the stone was brought from Ladakh, probably from the road between Khalatse and Leh. It is beautifully chiselled and no part of it is broken. The reverse of the inscription is flat. The inscription is written in the famous ornamental script of Tibet, known as Landza, employed for writing the Sanskrit language. The letters are hollowed out in such a way that they are raised and come up to the level of the obverse surface of the stone. The inscription reads: *Om maṇipadme hūṁ*. It may, more or less adequately, be rendered as "Hail, the Jewel in the Lotus".

This hexasyllabic formula (*ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*) is spoken of as the *maṇi-don* by the Mongols and the Tibetans. These six syllables "are the only thing the ordinary Tibetan and Mongol knows; they are the first words which the child learns to stammer; they are the last sigh of the dying one. The wanderer mutters them on his way, the herdsman at his flocks, the woman at her housework, the monk at all his studies of intuition, i.e., of doing nothing; they are cry both of war and triumph. They are to be read everywhere where the Lamaistic church has penetrated, on flags, rocks, trees, walls, stone monuments, implements, slips of paper, human skulls and skeletons, etc. They are, according to the opinion of the believer, the essence of all religion, all wisdom and revelation, the path to salvation and the gate to bliss. The six syllables combine the goodwill of all Buddhas in one point and are the root of every teaching. They are the heart from which everything that is salutary and blissful flows, the ladder to rebirth and higher existences, the door which bars evil rebirths, the ship which takes us across transmigration, the torch which illuminates black darkness, the brave conqueror of the five evils, the fire ocean which consumes sin and worry, the hammer which crushes all pain and the accompanying friend for converting the rough snow land" (Köppen 1859:59).

In it the yearning soul finds infinite joy. In it is embodied for him the essence of the grandiose teaching of our venerable Lord Buddha. For him it is the guide to the way of *Nirvāṇa*, goal of humanity. He regards this ubiquitous formula as a "panacea for all evil, a compendium of all knowledge, a treasury of wisdom, a summary of all religion" (Monier-Williams 1889:373), the first and greatest of all charms, a "luck-compelling talisman," a charm that thwarts evil influences and the repetition of which secures blessing, a mantra that gains him his goal—the glorious heaven of eternal bliss, the paradise of *Amitābha*.

It has played and still plays an important role in the spiritual life of millions of human beings. According to Konow (1925): "He who in faith and understanding mutters or makes use of the sacred formula has a share in the cosmic force which it symbolizes and embodies, and he may confidently hope to be carried on by its current to the ultimate, the highest goal. He has attained to a mystical union with the force itself and with the powerful being personificating (*sic*) it."

It is so popular in Tibet that the laity seldom use any other formula. It has been spoken of as the "*Pater Noster* of the Tibetans". Its popularity may be accounted for by the belief of the Tibetans that Avalokiteśvara gave magical food to their ancestors, which transformed them from monkeys into men; and He is the great yogin who procures ready entrance to paradise and escape from hell; and only by the repeated utterance of this formula can his favour be won. Its power is thought to be increased when written in the form of an anagram, bordered by a pointed frame indicating the leaf of a Bodhi tree (D.J.P. Andrade, *Historical Studies of the Rosary*, p. 24). Mongolia, being a Lamaist country, has borrowed it from Tibet. The Mongols pronounce the formula as *Om mani-peme hūm* like the Tibetans.

Besides Tibet and Mongolia, where it is prevalent as the most efficacious of all prayers, its "reproduction and diffusion as highly philanthropical acts," and where it occupies a very important place in the daily worship of the people, it is also found in some other Buddhist countries which have come under the influence of Lamaism.

In China it is not very popular. The Chinese explain it as: "Tibetan characters able to ward off noxious influences" (E.J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 111). But in China we have another set of six syllables which are more popular and are mostly used in the same sense: *Na-mo A-mi-t'o Fo*. In Nippon this mantra is used only by the mystic sect of Shingon; but they have *Na-mu Kwan-je-on Bo-satsu*—which is equivalent to the Indian *namo Avalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya*—in place of this mantra. In Korea this formula is repeated by devotees when using the rosary and we find rules relating to it in the *Chyei Syek* classic.

The earliest European reference to this mantra is by Willelm de Rubruk of the thirteenth century in his itinerary *(Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruk. Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires publié par la Soc. de Geog. de Paris*, 4:285). This mantra is also mentioned in *China Illustrata* (AD 1667) by Kircher. There it is transliterated on p. 7 as *O manipe mi hum* and its meaning (in Latin) given there is *Manipe salve nos*. Another attempt to decipher it was made by Bayer, since it was one of the curiosities brought to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersbourg by Messerschmidt. Bayer deciphered it as *Ong ma ni pa dme chum*. Messerschmidt told him, he says, that it was one of the commonest prayers of the Tanguts (Tibetans) and its meaning was "God have

mercy on us." With the advance of Sanskrit and Buddhist studies several attempts were made to translate it. Prof. H.H. Wilson translated it as "Glory to *Maṇipadme*." F.W. Thomas suggests (*JRAS* 1906) that *maṇipadme*, which is considered to be a single word, is a feminine vocative and refers to Tārā. But it cannot refer to Tārā for it is universally restricted to Avalokiteśvara.

Forman Christian College Magazine, Lahore, 1943.

༢༦།།ཞོལ་སྤར་དཀར་ཆག།།

26. TIBETAN WORKS PRINTED BY THE SHOPARKHANG OF THE POTALA

The vast extent of Tibetan literature has yet to be investigated. Numerous texts lie scattered over vast and inaccessible areas of the world: some xylographed and others still handwritten. The xylographed texts are turned out by the monastic printing-houses (*par-khaṅ*), which also issue catalogues of works they print from wooden blocks. The catalogues are invaluable for giving us an idea about the immensity of Tibetan scholarship. Here we give the catalogue of the Shoparkhang, one of the two main printing presses in Lhasa and situated just under the Potala, the residence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Tucci 1956:114). This catalogue is entitled: *Pho-braṅ chen-po Po-ta-laḥi zhol Bkaḥ-ḥgyur spar-khaṅ steṅ śod-du gsuṅ spar dpe-riṅ ji yod kyi dkar-chag bzhugs.* The short title given on the left-hand margin is: *Zhol-spar dkar-chag*. It consists of five folios, each measuring 54.5 cm × 9 cm, with a printed surface of 48.5 cm × 6 cm. The recto side of the first folio is occupied by the full title of the work. According to Mr. Lhalungpa Lopsang Phuntshok, it lists the blocks which were carved up to 1940. Since then more texts have been carved for xylographing, but no revised catalogue has been issued.

The present catalogue gives the short titles of well-known works, while for other texts the full titles are given usually along with their authors. For instance, the complete detailed catalogue of the Kanjur is simply mentioned as: *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur dkar-chag rgyas-pa*, while the full title given on the xylograph itself is: *Bdag-cag-gi Ston-pa mñam-med Śākyaḥi-rgyal-poḥi bkaḥ Gaṅs-can ḥdir ḥgyur ro-cog-gi gsuṅ par Ḥdzam-gliṅ spyi nor-gyi dkar-chag: Legs-bśad ḥphrul-gyi lde-mig ces-bya-ba.*

The catalogue opens with the following *maṅgalācaraṇa:*

རབ་འབྱུམས་ཆུལ་བས་པད་དཀར་ལྟར་བསྟན་སྟོབས་བཅུའི་བདག་པོ་ཇི་གས་ས་ངས་རྒྱས།
དེ་སྲས་ཟུང་དང་ཤིང་ཏ་སོགས་འཕགས་པོད་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཞབས།
ལྷག་པར་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡབ་སྲས་བཙུན་པར་བཅས་དང་གངས་ཅན་མགོན།
ཞབས་ཀྱིས་རྟུལ་ཕྲེང་གཏུག་ན་མངོན་མཆོད་དཀར་ཆགས་རིན་ཆེན་ཕྲེང་མཛེས་བསྟར།།

Hereafter it announces that a short catalogue is being given of the *Ḥphags-mchog ḥjig-rten-dbaṅ-phyug-gi pho-braṅ chen-po Po-ta-laḥi zhol nub rgyud Bkaḥ-ḥgyur spar-khaṅ* which is the full name of the *Shoparkhang* (ཞོལ་པར་ཁང་), also known as *Shokhang*.

This printing house was established by His Holiness Dalai Lama XIII primarily for the preservation of the wood-blocks of the so-called Lhasa edition of the Kanjur, which fact is reflected in its full name.

Every title is followed by its extent in volumes (*pod=po-thi)* and/or number of folios (*śog graṅs)*.

I. The first item is the Lhasa edition of the Holy **Kanjur** in 100 volumes classified as follows:

1. རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་ (the complete Holy Kanjur)

འདུལ་བ་	(Vinaya)	13 vols.
ཤེར་ཕྱིན་གས་སྒྲོར་	(Prajñāpāramitā)	21 vols.
དཀོན་བཅུགས་	(Ratnakūṭa)	6 vols.
ཕལ་ཆེན་	(Avataṁsaka)	6 vols.
མདོ་མང་	(Sūtra)	30 vols.
མྱང་འདས་	(Nirvāṇa)	2 vols.
རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྒྲོར་	(Tantras)	21 vols.
བཀའ་འགྱུར་དཀར་ཆག་རྒྱས་པ་		1 vol. (folios 510)
(detailed catalogue of the Kanjur)		
དཀར་ཆག་བསྡུས་པ་	(short catalogue of the Kanjur)	folios 49.

II. Hereafter follow separate prints of **Canonical Texts** from the Kanjur and Tanjur:

2. མདོ་མཛངས་བློན་ཟུར་འདོན་ folios 219 (Toh. 341).
3. གླ་ཏོག་གསེར་གསུམ་ 1 vol. of 470 folios. It contains three texts, two of which are the Pañcarakṣā (*gra)* and the Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra (*gser)*.
4. གཟུངས་བསྡུས་, ཡར་གསར་ A collection of dhāraṇīs in one volume consisting of 563 folios including the *dkar-chag*.
5. དགེ་སློང་ཕའི་ས་ཐར་གྱི་མདོ་རྒྱས་པ་ folios 31. Bhikṣuprātimokṣa (cf. Toh. 2).
6. འདུལ་བའི་གླེང་འབུམ་ folios 561. For *gleṅ ḥbum* see S.C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* p. 260.

The *Five* (7–11) *Treatises of Maitreya* (Obermiller 1930:81f.) are printed separately by most of the important monasteries.

7. བྱམས་ཆོས་མངོན་རྟོགས་རྒྱན་ (अभिसमयालङ्कार) folios 17. Toh. 3786, TWB 6787...

8. མདོ་སྡེ་རྒྱན་ (सूत्रालङ्कार) folios 49. Toh. 4020, TWB 6789, 6800...
9. དབུས་མཐའ་རྣམ་འབྱེད་ (मध्यान्तविभङ्ग) folios 7. Toh. 4021, TWB 6790, 6801.
10. ཆོས་ཉིད་རྣམ་འབྱེད་ (धर्मताविभङ्ग) folios 5. Toh. 4022, TWB 6791, 6802.
11. རྒྱུད་བླ་མའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ (उत्तरतन्त्रशास्त्र) folios 26. Toh. 4024, TWB 6788, 6799.

Rigs tshogs drug (12–17). In TWB too these six texts occur consecutively, nos. 6778–83. TWB, classified index of contents, p. 11a gives *Rigs tshogs lṅa* or *drug*.

12. རིགས་ཚོགས་དྲུག་ལས་, དབུ་མ་རྩ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་ (मूलमध्यमककारिका), folios 25. Toh. 3824.
13. བརྩོད་བཟློག་ (विग्रहव्यावर्तनी॰) folios 5. Toh. 3828, TWB 6781.
14. རིན་ཆེན་ཕྲེང་བ་ (॰रत्नमाला), folios 27. It is Toh. 4158, TWB 6783 (Rājaparikathā-ratnamālā). It is to be distinguished from Toh. 2384 (*Rin-chen-phreṅ-ba*) which is a very short text of less than one folio (Derge, ZI 18b4–19a3).
15. རིགས་པ་དྲུག་ཏུ་པ་ (युक्तिषष्टिका), folios 4. Toh. 3825, TWB 6779.
16. སྟོང་ཉིད་བདུན་ཏུ་པ་ (शून्यतासप्तति॰), folios 5. Toh. 3827, TWB 6782.
17. ཞི་མོ་རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ (वैदल्य॰), folios 3. Toh. 3826, TWB 6780.
18. ཆོས་དབྱིངས་བསྟོད་པ་སོགས་བསྟོད་ཚོགས་སྐོར་, ཀླུ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་གྲྭ་ཕྲུག་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་ folios 19. Dharmadhātustava (Toh. 1118), and other similar works by Nāgārjuna.
19. བཤེས་སྤྲིང་ (सुहृल्लेख), folios 9. Toh. 4182, TWB 6784.
20. དབུ་མ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་པ་ (चतुःशतक), folios 22. Toh. 3846.
21. དབུ་མ་འཇུག་པ་ (मध्यमकावतार), folios 23. Toh. 3861, TWB 6792, 6806.
22. སློབ་སྤྲིང་ (शिष्यलेख), folios 14. Toh. 4183, 4497.
23. བྱང་འཇུག་ (बोधिसत्त्वचर्यावतार), folios 48. Toh. 3871, TWB 6807, 2808.

III. Collected Works (*gsuṅ-ḥbum*)

24. བུ་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་དང་།ཕྱགས་སྒྲས་ཐ་ཚད་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གསུང་འབུམ་ folios 11,102 (including the dkar-chag). Gsuṅ-ḥbum of Bu-ston and his disciple Sgra-tshad-pa in 28 vols. See TWB 5001–258.
25. (i) ཏྲང་ཆུབ་ལམ་རིམ་ཆེན་མོ་མཆན་བཞི་སྒྲགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དཀར་ཆག་བཅས་ folios 5.
    (ii) མཆན་བཞིའི་སྟོད་ཆ་ folios 429.

(iii) དེའི་སྒྲ་ཆ་ཞེ་ལྔ་གཉིས་folios 433.

26. ཞོག་དོན་ཡོད་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་གསུང་བཅུ་ 1 vol. of 493 folios (including the dkar-chag).

27. འཇམ་དབྱངས་བདེ་བའི་རྡོ་རྗེའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ 1 vol. of 498 folios (including the dkar-chag).

28. སྐྱོ་ཤོད་ངག་དབང་བསྟན་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་གསུང་འབུམ1 vol. of 529 folios (including the dkar-chag)..

29. ཐུབ་བཀྭན་ཆུ་མ་བཤད་གསུང་འབུམ་ 10 vols. containing 4581 folios (including the dkar-chag).

30. གྱང་ཐང་དགོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མེའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ 8 vols. containing 3678 folios (including the dkar-chag).

31. རྗེ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབུམ་ 7 vols. containing 3061 folios (including the dkar-chag).

32. ལྷང་ཀུབ་ཁྲི་ཟུར་གྱི་གསུང་འབུམ་ 1 vol. of 144 folios (including the dkar-chag).

IV. Historical Works and Biographies

33. ཏཱ་ནང་ཏཱ་ར་ནཱ་ཐའི་གསུང་—རྒྱ་གར་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ folios 140. TWB 7037. Tāranātha's history of Indian Buddhism.

34. མི་བཟང་མགོན་པོ་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་གསུང་— རྒྱ་ནག་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ folios 110. History of Buddhism in China by Mi-bzaṅ-mgon-po-skyabs.

35. ཐུན་ར་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཞེས་པ་
ཀ་པར:ཏཱ་ནང་ཏཱ་ར་ནཱ་ཐའི་གསུང་— འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ folios 81.
ཁ་པར:འཇམ་དབྱངས་བཞད་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེའི་གསུང་—འཇིགས་བྱེད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ folios 414.

36. ཁ་ཚག་བསྟན་པའི་མགོན་པོའི་གསུང་—ཀློང་རྡོལ་བླ་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར་, རྒྱལ་ས་ས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱན་ folios 178. Biography of Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma.

37. དྭགས་པོ་སྐལ་བཟང་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་གསུང་—ལྷ་བརྒྱད་ལམ་རིམ་གྱི་བླ་མ་བརྒྱད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ folios 11.

V. Philosophical/Theological Texts

38. བཀའ་གདམས་ཀྱི་གསུང་ཐོར་བུ་ folios 29. Opusculi (*gsuṅ thor-bu*) of the Bkaḥ-gdams-pa sect.

39. ཐུན་ལ་ཏོ་ཁ་ཀྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་ཀུན་ལ་ཕན་ཐེག་ཆེ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་ folios 59.

40. ལམ་ཆེན་ཏོ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཀུལ་མཚན་ཀྱི་ཀུན་ལ་ལམ་ རིམ་བདེ་ལམ་ folios 31. A guide to Lam-rim (TWB 5392). Same as TWB 5944.

41. རྒྱལ་དབང་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་__ལམ་རིམ་གསེར་ཞུན་མ་ folios 22. A gist of Lam-rim.

42. ཆོ་ནེ་གླགས་པ་བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་གསུང་__བཤེས་སྤྲིང་ཏིགྷ་ folios 22. A commentary on Bśes-sprin = Suhṛl-lekha (Toh. 4182).

43. དགག་ལན་ (i) (ཀ) མཁས་གྲུབ་ཇེའི་གསུང་__ངོར་ལན་, གནམ་ལྷགས་འགོར་ལོ་ folios 4. Cf. TWB 5462.

(ii) (ཁ) ས་ར་ཇེ་བཙུན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་གསུང་__ཀར་ལན་, བླ་སྒྲུབ་དགོངས་རྒྱན་ folios 79. Kar = Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa.

(iii) (ག) གོ་ཎྱ་གི་དགག་ལན་, ལྷ་ངན་མུན་སེལ__ཇེ་བཙུན་པའི་གསུང་, པཎ་ཆེན་བདེ་ལེགས་ཉི་མས་འཕྲོ་བསྐྱངས་པ་ folios 239. Go-lotsaba Śākya's refutation called Lta-ṅan-mun-sel, by Rje-btsun-pa, completed by Paṇ-chen Bde-legs-ñi-ma.

(iv) (ང) འབྲས་ལྡུངས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དགའ་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་གསུང__གོ་ལན་, གནམ་ལྷགས་འགོར་ལོ་ folios 57.

(v) (ཅ) ཐོམ་ལྷ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་གསུང__ འབྲུག་ལན་ folios 27. Ḥbrug refers to the sub-sect.

44. དཔལ་མང་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་གསུང__ ས་སྐྱ་ཡབ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་མགོ་སྨོས་བྱ་གདོང་ལྔན་ས্ক্ষ্ণ་ལ་ཕྱི་ལས་ཀ་ཏོ་ folios 68. Sa Rñiṅ Bkaḥ-brgyud refers to the three sects: Sa-skya-pa, Rñiṅ-ma-pa and Bkaḥ-brgyud-pa.

45. བསྟན་དར་ལྷ་རམ་པའི་གསུང__ ཀཅིག་དུ་བལ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གཞག་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་བཏུས་པའི་འགྲེལ་ཕྱོང, བདུད་རྩིའི་ཀཆེགས་མ་ folios 43.

46. ཁལ་ཁ་ཆོས་ཇེ་ངག་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡན་གསུང__ ཐོ་གསལ་གླིང་དང་ཕྱོ་མང་གི་དབུ་ཕར་ཕིག་ཆའི་བཤད་ཚུལ་བཀོད་པ་ ཐོ་གསལ་དགའ་སྟོན་ folios 91. Commentary on the Madhyamaka (*dbu*) and Prajñāpāramitā (*phar*) manuals of Blo-gsal-gliṅ and Sgo-maṅ by Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-ldan. His biographical sketch and list of works appears in the author's *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*.

VI. Tantric and Ritual Texts

47. ཐུན་ཕྱེ་ཐྱིའི་རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པ་, ཐུགས་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ཐོ__ དཔལ་མང་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་ folios 79. A general introduction to the tantras.

48. ས་ག་པ་དམ་ཆོག་ངོ་ཇེའི་གསུང__ གསང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དམ་ཆོག་གི་ཇས་དང་ཡོ་བྱད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གཞག, དངོས་གྲུབ་གཉིར་མཛོད་ folios 43. A short biography and complete list of

the works of Dam-tshig-rdo-rje appears in Lokesh Chandra 1961, MHTL 7314.

49. དེའི་—ཆ་ལག་འགའ་ཟུར་དུ་བཀོད་པ་, ཟབ་དོན་གསལ་བྱེད་ folios 29. MHTL 7315.

50. (i) དབུལ་ཆུ་ཏྲཱ་ཐ་ཁའི་གསུང་ཟིན་—འཇིགས་བྱེད་ལྷ་བཏུ་གསུམ་མའི་བསྐྱེད་རིམ་ folios 78. TWB 6413. Summary of the Trayodaśātmaka-Bhairava-utpatti-krama.
(ii) དེ་འི—ཇོ་གས་རིམ་ folios 26. TWB 6415. Summary of the utpanna-krama of the above 13deity Bhairava.

51. འདུལ་འཇོན་གྱགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་གསུང་— ཀུན་རིག་ཏིཀ་ཆེན་ folios 177. Commentary on the Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana.

52. དཔལ་མང་གསུང་— བྱ་རྒྱུད་རིགས་གསུམ་གྱི་བསྟེན་ཡིག་, དོན་གསལ་སྟོང་པོ་ folios 13.

53. ཡང་དམ་ཆོག་ཏོ་ཇེའི་གསུང་—གཙུག་ཏོར་དྲ་མེད་ལྷ་ལའི་དགྱེལ་འཁོར་སྒྲུབ་མཚོད་ཐོག་མ་ཇེས་འཇོན་ཆོ་ག་, ཡིད་བཞིན་དབང་རྒྱལ་ folios 28. See no. 48. MHTL 7375.

54. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་—འོད་ཟེར་དྲ་མེད་ཀྱི་གཟུངས་དགྱེལ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མཚོད་རྟེན་སྲོག་ཤིང་འཇུག་ཆོ་ག་དང། ས་ལྷ་གོ་དཀའི་ཐོ་ནས་བསག་ཐུང་བྱ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཆོ་ག་, དཀོ་ལེགས་འོད་འབར་ folios 29. MHTL 7258, 7259.

55. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་—དྲ་མེད་རྣམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་གའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ས་ལྷ་འདོས་པའི་ཆོ་ག་ folios 2. MHTL 72.

56. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་—ཏ་མ་མཚོད་པའི་ཆོ་གའི་ངག་འདོན་གྱི་ཟུར་རྒྱན་, སྐལ་ལྡན་སྟོང་ནོར་ folios 22. MHTL 7209.

57. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་—འདུལ་འཇོན་གྱགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་དགོངས་པ་བཞིན་ཟབ་གནས་འབྲིང་པོའི་ལག་ལེན་གསལ་བར་བཀོད་པ་, བཀྲ་ཤིས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ folios 41. MHTL 7366.

58. དེའི་གསུང་—ལྷང་སྐུ་གོང་མའི་ཟབ་གནས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་བསྡུས་པ་ཐུང་ཟད་རྒྱས་པར་བྱེད་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཟུར་འདེབས, བཀྲ་ཤིས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ folios 8. MHTL 7366.

59. དེའི་གསུང་—ས্ক্ষ্ম་དཀར་གྱི་ས্ক্ষ্ম་ནས་འཆི་ཟུ་བ་ཚུལ་ཆེ་དཔལ་པད་མོ་རྒྱས་བྱེད་བྱིན་ཆབས་ཀྱི་ཉེ་མ་བདུན་འབར་ folios 12.

VII. Fables ?

60. ངག་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡན་གྱི་གསུང་—བཙུན་པ་དང་ར་ལུག་གླང་གསུམ་གྱི་འབེལ་གཏམ་ folios 17. Against meat-eating. See no. 46.

61. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་— ཐུན་པོ་འདྲེས་ཁྱེར་ཕྱེ་མར་འཐག་པའི་གནམ་ལྷུགས་འཕྲུལ་འཁོར་ folios 5.

VIII. Specialised Subjects

(a) Rhetorics

62. སྒོས་དཔོན་དབྱུག་པ་ཅན་གྱི་གསུང་—སྙན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་ (काव्यादर्श), folios 37. Toh. 4301.

63. ~གོང་ས་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསུང་—སྙན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་དཀའ་འགྲེལ་, དབྱངས་ཅན་དགྱེས་བློ་ folios 138. Commentary on the Kāvyādarśa by His Holiness Dalai Lama V. TWB 7059.

64. བོད་མཁས་པ་མི་ཕམ་དགེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ལྷས་མཛད་པའི་—སྙན་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་བཤད་སྒྲུར, དཏྷི་དགོངས་རྒྱན་ folios 167. Commentary on the Kāvyādarśa.

65. དེའི་དཔེར་བཤད, ས།ད་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འཇུག་ངོགས་ folios 37. Cf. TWB 6611.

66. དཔལ་ཆུ་དབྱངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁ་ཕའི་རྣ་ཕ་ཡི་གསུང་ཟིན—བོད་མཁས་པའི་སྙན་འགྲེལ་གྱི་གཞི་ཆགས་བཤད་པ, པཊ་ཆེན་ཐ་མའི་ཞལ་ལུང་ folios 7.

(b) Tibetan Lexicography and Orthography

67. རིན་གྱུངས་ངག་དབང་འཇིག་ཀྱགས་ཀྱི་གསུང་— མངོན་བརྗོད་མཁས་པའི་རྣ་རྒྱན་ folios 82.

68. དཔལ་ཆུ་ཏྲམ་ཐུབ་པའི་གསུང་— མངོན་བརྗོད་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཆུ་ཕིགས་ folios 12. TWB 6391.

69. དེའི་གསུང་— ཀྱངས་ཀྱི་མངོན་བརྗོད་རྣམ་བཤད་ folios 6. TWB 6392 (numerical lexicon).

70. དཔལ་ཆུ་དབྱངས་ཅན་གསུང་—མིང་གཅིག་དོན་མང་ལ་འཇུག་ཚུལ་ folios 5. TWB 6478 (explanation of words with multiple meanings).

71. དེའི་གསུང་—བོད་ཡིག་གི་གནས་དང་བྱེད་རྩོལ་ངོས་འཛིན་ folios 3. TWB 6477 (explanation of the pronunciation of Tibetan letters).

72. བཙ་གས་ར་ཁྱིང་གི་ཁྲད་པར་སྟོན་པ, ལི་ཥིའི་གུ་ར་ཁང— ཐྲི་གས་སྟོན་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ folios 17. TWB 7064. Bacot 1954:295 translates *Li-śiḥi-gur-khaṅ* as *Lavaṅga-dūṣya-gṛha*. For its description see ibid.296 no. 41; cf. *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages*, Wiesbaden, 1957:183.

73. བཙ་གས་ར་ཁྱིང་གི་དོན་བསྡུ་ folios 5.

74. བོད་ཀྱི་བཙའི་བསྟན་བཅོས, ལེགས་བཤད་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཟ་མ་ཏོག་བཀོད་པ—ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པ folios 29.

(c) Sanskrit Grammar (*sgra*)

75. སྲོལ་བ་དཔོན་ཞ་ནུ་ལྷུ་ཏི་ལ་ལྷ་མོ་དབྱངས་ཅན་མས་དངོས་སུ་སྒྲུབ་པ་__དབྱངས་ཅན་སྒྲ་མདོ་ (सारस्वतव्याकरण) folios 11. Toh. 4297, TWB 7061.

76. དེའི་འགྲེལ་པ་, རབ་ཏུ་བྱ་བ་གསལ་ལྡན་__ཞ་ནུ་ལྷ་ཏིས་མཛད་པ་ folios 151. Toh. 4298, TWB 7061.

77. སྒྲ་སྦྱོར་གསུང་__མཚམས་སྦྱོར་ལྟའི་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བཤད་པ་ folios 84. TWB 7060 (detailed exposition of sandhi).

78. དཔང་ལོ་བློ་གྲོས་བརྟན་པས་མཛད་པའི་__བར་སྦྱོང་སྟེང་པོ་དང་དེའི་རང་འགྲེལ་བཅས་ folios 7. Cf. TWB 7060.

(d) Sanskrit Lexicon

79. མདོ་མཁར་ཞབས་དྲུང་ཚངས་སྲས་དགེས་པའི་བློ་ལྡན་ ནམ་ ཆོ་ཉིང་དབང་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ མཛད་པའི་__ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ལེགས་སྦྱར་གྱི་རྣམ་དོད་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་ལེའི་ཕྲེང་བསྒྲིགས་, ངོ་མཚར་ནོར་བུའི་མེ་ལོང་ folios 76. Photographically reproduced by J. Bacot, *Dictionnaire Tibétain-Sanscrit par Che-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal,* Paris 1930. Also see *BEFEO* 44(1954).294 no. 40 for its colophon.

(e) Metrics

80. སྡེ་བ་སྦྱོར་ཡིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་པ་, དོན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་__ ལོ་ཆེན་ངག་དབང་ ཆོས་དཔལ་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་ folios 34. Commentary on the Chandoratnākara (Toh. 4459).

81. སྡེ་བ་སྦྱོར་ཡིན་ཆེན་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཟིན་བྲིས་, ངོ་མཚར་མེ་དོག་བཀྲ་བའི་འཕྲི་ཤིང་__འོ་ ཇོ་ངན་པཎ་ཏ་དབྱངས་ཅན་དགེས་པའི་བློ་ལྡན་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་ folios 16. Summary (*zin-bris* cf. TWB 5477) of the Chandoratnākara (Toh. 4459).

(f) Handicrafts

82. སྨན་ཐ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་__བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་བྱེད་ དང་།འཕྲེང་ཁ་བ་དཔལ་ལྡན་བློ་གྲོས་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་__མཆོད་རྟེན་བཀྲད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ཚད་ བཅས་ folios 30. Two texts on the measurements of (i) icons and (ii) caityas by Sman-bla-don-grub and Ḥphreṅ-kha-ba Dpal-ldan-blo-gros-bzaṅ-po.

83. ཡང་, བཟོ་རིག་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་, མདོ་ཁྱུད་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་__འཕྲེང་ཁ་བས་མཛད་ པ་ folios 12.

84. སྡེ་ལྷོད་གསུང་__ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དྲངས་ཤེལ་མེ་ལོང་ folios 42.

(g) Dhāraṇī (?)

85. ཞྭ་ལུ་ལོ་ཆེན་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ལྷག་བཀོད་མཛད་པའི་—གཟུངས་མཁོ་ཆེ་འགའ་བོད་སྐད་དུ་བཀྲོལ་བ་ folios 22. Some important dhāraṇīs translated into Tibetan by Zhva-lu lo-chen and others.

(h) Tibetan Grammar

86. ལྷང་སྐུ་རོལ་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེའི་གསུང་—སུམ་ཅུ་པ་དང་རྣགས་འཇུག་གི་དོན་ཀྱང་ཏུ་བཤད་པ་, ཌོ་ལྷན་དགའ་བསྐྱེད་ folios 7. Edited by J. Schubert, *Tibetische Nationalgrammatik,* Artibus Asiae, suppl. I, Leipzig 1937.

87. བྲ་ཤི་དགེ་བཤེས་རིན་ཆེན་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་གསུང་—སུམ་ཅུ་པའི་རྩམ་བཤད་, ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་པོའི་དགོངས་པ་རབ་ཏུ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱུན་ folios 37. Commentary on the basic text of Tibetan grammar, the Triṁśaka (Toḥ. 4348).

88. དེའི་གསུང་—རྣགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པའི་དགོངས་འགྲེལ་གསལ་བར་བཤད་པ་ folios 6. Elucidation of the Liṅgāvataraṇa of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa (Toḥ 4349).

89. ཞ་ཀུ་ཡོངས་འཛིན་དབྱངས་ཅན་དགའ་བའི་ཌོ་ལྷས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་—རྣགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པའི་དགོངས་འགྲེལ་, རབ་གསལ་སྣང་བ་ folios 19. Commentary on the Liṅgāvataraṇa (Toh. 4349). TWB 6605.

90. དེའི་གསུང་—རྩོམ་དབྱེ་བརྒྱད་དང་བྱ་བྱེད་ལས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་མདོ་ཙམ་བཤད་པ་, དཀའ་གནད་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་ folios 7. A short clarification of the eight cases, verbs, etc. (TWB 6606).

91. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་—རྣགས་འཇུག་དཀའ་གནས་བདག་གཞན་དང་བྱ་བྱེད་ལས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་ཞིབ་ཏུ་ཕྱེ་བ་, ཉང་གསལ་འཕྲལ་གྱི་ལྷ་མེག་ folios 6. Clarification of the difficult passages of the Liṅgāvataraṇa (Toh. 4349), ātmanepada, parasmaipada, verb, subject, and object (TWB 6608).

92. ཡང་དེའི་གསུང་—ཡི་གེའི་ཐོག་ཐང་ཉེར་མཁོ་མེ་ལོང་ folio 1.

93. མཁས་མཆོག་ཐོན་མིའི་གསུང་—སུམ་ཅུ་པ་དང་རྣགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པའི་རྩ་བ་ folios 5. The original texts of the Triṁśaka (Tanjur 4348) and Liṅgāvataraṇa (Tanjur 4349), the two fundamental works on Tibetan grammar by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa.

94. ཡང་བསྟན་དར་ལྷ་རམ་པའི་གསུང་—ཡི་གེའི་བཤད་པ་, མཁས་པའི་ཁ་རྒྱན་ folios 22.

95. དེའི་གསུང་—དག་ཡིག་གཅེས་བསྡུས་འཁྲུལ་ཞོང་, ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པའི་རྒྱ་རིང་གསར་པ་ folios 17. Text on correct orthography.

IX. Miscellanea

96. རྒྱོས་གཞུང་རྣམ་གསལ་, འོད་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ལེ་_འོ་ཛོང་པཎ་དགས་མཛད་པ་ folios 70.

97. གདུགས་དཀར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཇུགས་ཚོག་, དགེ་མཚན་དཔལ་འབར་ folios 35. Banners.

98. ~གོང་ས་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞབས་བརྟན་གསོལ་འདེབས་ folios 5. Prayer to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

99. རྟ་དཀོ་ folios 10.

100. དཔེ་ཐུང་གྲས་,~གོང་ས་མཆོག་གི་ཞབས་བརྟན་གསོལ་འདེབས་ folios 9. It appears to be the same as no. 98, but in a smaller format (*dpe thuṅ gras).*

101. ལྷ་མོའི་ཀོ་མོ་ folios 59. A similar work by Dṅul-chu Dbyaṅs-can-grub-paḥi-r dorje is Dpal-ldan-lha-mo-la brten-nas śo-mo ḥdebs-tshul, Nor-buḥi me-loṅ "The method to tell one's fortune by casting a die propitiating Śrīdevī" (TWB 6471).

102. ཐུམ་པ་ས্ལ་ཀ་མཆོ་ (?) folios 77.

The catalogue of the Shoparkhang includes a number of titles of extra-canonical individual works and collectanea which do not figure in the TWB. The extra-canonical authors included are: Kloṅ-rdol-bla-ma (36), Dpal-maṅ Dkon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (44, 47, 52), Guṅ-thaṅ Dkon-mchog-bstan-paḥi-sgron-me (30), Dvags-po Skal-bzaṅ-mkhas-grub (37), Skyogs-ston (72), Mkhas-grub-rje (43i), Ḥdul-ḥdzin Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (51), Co-ne Grags-pa-bśad-sgrub (42), Sgra-tshad-pa, a disciple of Bu-ston (24), Lo-chen Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-dpal (80), Rin-spuṅs Ṅag-dbaṅ-ḥjig-grags (67), Skyid-śod Ṅag-dbaṅ-bstan-ḥdzin-ḥphrin-las (28), Khal-kha-chos-rje Ṅag-dbaṅ-dpal-ldan (46, 60, 61), Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho goṅ-sa lṅa-pa chen-po 'His Holiness the Dalai Lama V' (63), Lcaṅ-rgyab-khri-zur (32), Se-ra-rje-btsun Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (43ii), Ḥbras-spuṅs Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-dgaḥ-ba (43iv), Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bde-baḥi-rdo-rje (27), Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-paḥi-rdo-rje (35), Rje-btsun-pa (43iii), Jo-naṅ Tāranātha (33,35), Bstan-dar-lha-ram-pa (45, 94, 95), Rta-tshag Bstan-paḥi-mgon-po (36), Sog-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje (48, 49, 53–59), Zhog Don-yod mkhas-grub (26), Dṅul-chu Dharmabhadra (50, 68, 69), Thuḥu-bkvan Dharmavajra (29), Paṇ-chen Bde-legs-ñi-ma (43iii), Sde-srid (77, 84), Sgom-sde Nam-mkhaḥ-rgyal-mtshan (43v), Ḥphreṅ-kha-ba Dpal-ldan-blo-gros-bzaṅ-po (82, 83), Bu-ston (24), Spyan-sṅa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (39), Dpaṅ-lo Blo-gros-brtan-pa (78), Paṇ-chen Blo-bzaṅ-choṣ-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (40), Dṅul-chu Dbyaṅs-can (70, 71), Dṅul-chu Dbyaṅs-can-grub-paḥi-rdo-rje 66), A-kya-yoṅs-ḥdzin Dbyaṅs-can-dgaḥ-baḥi-blo-gros (82–92), Ḥo-rdzoṅ paṇḍita Dbyaṅs-can-dgyes-paḥi-blo-ldan (81, 96), Bod-mkhas-pa Mi-pham-dge-legs-rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi-lha (64, 65), Mi-bzaṅ-mgon-po-skyabs (34), Sman-bla-don-grub (82), Tshaṅs-sras Dgyes-paḥi-blo-ldan *alias* Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (79), Zhva-lu

lo-chen (85), Zhva-lu-lotsaba Rin-chen-chos-skyoṅ-bzaṅ-po (74), Bra-sti-dge-bśes Rin-chen-don-grub (87, 88), Lcaṅ-skya Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje (86), rje Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho (31), Rgyal-dbaṅ Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho (41).

27. LES IMPRIMERIES TIBÉTAINES DE DREPUNG, DERGE ET PEPUNG

Les événements qui se déroulent actuellement au Tibet auront une influence de grande portée sur l'incomparable culture et la littérature de ce pays. Un grand nombre d'imprimeries de monastères ont été détruites et celles qui peuvent exister encore sont en voie de désintégration rapide. Les réfugiés tibétains qui se sont enfuis dans l'Inde au prix de terribles difficultés n'ont pu sauver un nombre appréciable de textes. Cependant, ce qu'ils ont apporté avec eux, manuels de prières, textes inclus dans le programme d'études des monastères, commentaires érudits ou ouvrages rares, suffit à démontrer la grande vitalité et la variété de l'héritage littéraire du peuple tibétain. La recherche bibliographique moderne a encore un long chemin à parcourir pour montrer la richesse infinie du génie littéraire des saints-érudits du pays des neiges. La production littéraire du Tibet, *per capita,* pourrait bien occuper une place d'honneur dans l'ancien monde.

Au cours de ces dernières années, les catalogues des imprimeries monastiques des différentes régions du Tibet ont été activement rassemblés par nos soins comme étape préliminaire à l'étude bibliographique, plus ou moins complète, de la littérature tibétaine[1]. Nous avons édité le catalogue du Shoparkhang du Potala[2] et le professeur Rinchen a publié les listes d'imprimés de trente et un monastères bouriates.[3] L'Institut oriental de Leningrad possède trois listes d'imprimés (*par-tho*) dans la collection Baradiin: *Čhos-sde čhen-po Bkra-śis-'khyil-gyi bla-braṅ bkra-śis-mthoṅ smod-du bžugs-pa'i par-tho, Čhos-sde čhen-po Dga'-ldan-čhos-'khor-gliṅ-gi par-tho, Dga'-ldan-rab-rgyas-gliṅ-gi par-tho.* Ces trois listes ne sont pas accessibles actuellement.

Le présent article fournit les listes d'imprimés de Drepung[4] ('Bras-spuṅs), Derge et Pepung,[5] centres renommés pour la publication de xylographes. Ces monastères possédaient les planches de *gsuṅ-'bum* célèbres, de biographies de personnages importants du

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[1]Les études bibliographiques de Mlle Lalou et de ses prédécesseurs ont été, pour l'auteur, une source d'inspiration dans ce domaine.

[2]Tibetan Works printed by the Shoparkhang of the Potala, *Jñāna-muktāvalī* (commemoration volume in honour of Prof. Johannes Nobel), International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1959.

[3]Rinchen, *Four Mongolian Historical Records*, Śatapiṭaka n° 11, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1959.

[4]«Il y a deux imprimeries principles à Lhasa: l'une au monastère de Depung, l'autre au Shokang (*źol-khaṅ)* sous le Potala. Mais les livres les plus soignés et les plus prisés s'impriment a l'Est du Tibet [c'est-à-dire à Derge] où l'on utilise des planches de cuivre au lieu de planches de bois» (G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond*, p. 114).

[5]Je remercie sincèrement Rai Saheb Densapa qui a bien voulu me prêter une copie de ces trois *par-tho*.

Lamaisme, de textes historiques, religieux et philosophiques. Le *par-tho* de Drepung contient une liste de quarante et une entrées, celui de Degre cent quarante-trois et celui de Pepung dix-huit. L'imprimerie de Degre était exceptionnellement riche en énormes séries d'ouvrages comprenant plusieurs volumes, tous très clairement imprimés et édités dans la meilleure tradition de l'érudition tibétaine. D'après Zimai Rimpoche, les planches gravées de Derge ont été utilisées pour construire des ponts ou brûlées. L'imprimerie de Drepung se spécialisait dans les oeuvres complètes des Dalai Lamas, leurs biographies et des textes historiques, y compris ceux des Kadampa. Notre liste de Drepung laisse de côté les ouvrages trop connus (par exemple *TWB* 6778–91), des textes mineurs, *ephemera* et autres travaux considérés comme n'ayant pas une importance exceptionnelle. Le monastère de Pepung est devenu célèbre grâce à sa série complète en quatre-vingt-dix volumes des « Cinq Mjod », parmi lesquels le *Rin-čhen gter-mjod*[6] est bien connu en Occident. C'était aussi un centre important pour l'impression d'autres textes *rñiṅ-ma-pa.*

§ 1. 'BRAS-SPUṄS DGA'-LDAN-PHO-BRAṄ

1. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ daṅ-po Dge-'dun-grub-kyi gsuṅ-'bum* (œuvres complètes du Ier Dalai Lama), volumes *ka-ča,* 2.155 folios comprenant le catalogue de chaque volume. *TWB* pp. 161–71.

2. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-'phreṅ gñis-pa Dge-'dun-rgya-mcho'i gsuṅ-'bum* (œuvres complètes du IIe Dalai Lama), 3 volumes, 1.477 folios comprenant le catalogue. *TWB* pp. 173–216.

3. *Rgyal-mčhog-lṅa-pa-čhen-po'i gsuṅ-'bum* (œuvres complètes du Ve Dalai Lama), volumes *ka-źa* (c'est-à-dire 21 volumes), chacun ayant sa propre table des matières, 7.757 folios. *TWB* pp. 217–52.

4. La table des matières des ouvrages ésotériques du Ve Dalai Lama, en 14 folios *(phyi naṅ phyogs-gčig-tu bkod-pa'i dkar-čhag)*. Le *pod phyi-ma* consiste en quatre volumes. *TWB* pp. 252–77. D'après le Lama Chultim, il y avait aussi une partie *naṅ* consistant en deux volumes écrits à la main qui n'ont jamais été gravés.

5. Portrait xylographié du Grand Cinquième (Dalai Lama) (*goṅ-sa lṅa-pa-čhen-po'i sku-brñan),* taille: deux *khru* sur un *khru* quatre *sor.*

6. *Rgyal-mčhog sku-phreṅ bdun-pa Skal-bzaṅ-rgya-mcho'i rnam-thar*: *Dpag-bsam-sñe-ma* (biographie du VIIe Dalai Lama), 558 folios.

7. Œuvres complètes du VIIe Dalai Lama, volumes *ka-ǰa,* avec la table des matières, 2.768 folios. *TWB* pp. 279–95.

8. *Rgyal-dbaṅ Dge-'dun-rgya-mcho'i rtogs-brǰod (avadāna* du IIe Dalai Lama), 161 folios.

[6]Réne von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Where the Gods are Mountains,* London 1956, p. 48.

9. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ brgyad-pa 'J̌am-dpal-rgya-mcho'i gsuṅ-'bum* (œuvres complètes du VIIIe Dalai Lama), 1 volume avec la table des matières, 280 folios. *TWB* n'en fait pas le catalogue.

10. Biographie du VIIIe Dalai Lama, 365 folios.

11. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ dgu-pa Luṅ-rtogs-rgya-mcho'i rnam-thar* (biographie du IXe Dalai Lama), 203 folios.

12. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ bču-pa Chul-khrims-rgya-mcho'i rnam-thar* (biographie du Xe Dalai Lama), 340 folios.

13. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ bču-gčig-pa Mkhas-grub-rgya-mcho'i rnam-thar* (biographie du XIe Dalai Lama), 267 folios.

14. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ bču-gñis-pa 'Phrin-las-rgya-mcho'i rnam-thar (*biographie du XIIe Dalai Lama), 292 folios.

15. *Rgyal-dbaṅ sku-phreṅ bču-gsum-pa Thub-bstan-rgya-mcho'i mjad-pa-rnams* (oeuvres du XIIIe Dalai Lama), 2 volumes, 748 folios.

16. *Dbus-'gyur čhos-sde čhe-čhuṅ-rnams-su gsuṅs-pa'i čhos-spyod* (ouvrages sur le rituel des monastères principaux et secondaires de la province de Dbus), 228 folios.

17. *Bka'-gdams čhos-'byuṅ Gsal-ba'i-sgron-me-loṅ (*histoire des *Bka'-gdams-pa*), 417 folios. *TWB* 7038.

18. *Rtogs-brǰod rin-čhen dpag-bsam 'khri-çiṅ (Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*), 620 folios. Contient le texte skt sur lequel S.C. Das s'est appuyé pour faire son édition. *TWB* 7034.

19. *Dga-'ldan čhos-'byuṅ Vaiḍūrya-ser-po'i-me-loṅ,* 419 folios. Cette histoire du monastère de Ganden à été éditée en deux parties: *Vaiḍūrya-ser-po,* éd. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1959–60.

20. *Dus-'khor phyi naṅ gsaṅ gsum gsal-bar-byed-pa'i dri-med 'od rgyan* (traité sur le *Kālacakra bāhya, ābhyantara* et *guhya),* 319 folios.

21. *Dpe-čhos-rin-čhen-spuṅs-pa,* 182 folios. C'est un *lan-rim* Kadampa qui fait partie de la triade des *spuṅs-pa rnam-gsum*, les deux autres étant *Gtam-rgyud-rin-čhen-spuṅs-pa* et *Man-ṅag-rin-čhen-spuṅs-pa* [Lama Chultim].

22. *Slob-dpon A-nrus mjad-pa'i Bod-skad-gyi-gsuṅ-rabs-'ǰug-chul* (commentaire de la grammaire (*sum-ču-pa)* d' Anru *alias* Thon-mi Sambhoṭa), 14 folios. *TWB* 7071.

23. *Byākaraṇa'i rtags-kyi-'ǰug-pa rnam-par-gsal-ba'i-legs-bçad* (commentaire du *rtags-'ǰug*), 18 folios. *TWB* 7072.

24. *Rgya-gar-gyi slob-dpon Dad-byed-go-čha'i gźuṅ-daṅ-mthun-pa'i čha-gsum* (la cérémonie des lampes triples d'apres le maître indien Śraddhākaravarman), 5 folios. Sur Śraddhākara, cf. Mlle Lalou, *Répertoire du Tanǰur,* Paris, 1938, pp. 167–68.

25. *Byaṅ-čhub-lam-rim-gyi 'khrid: Gser-gyi-yaṅ-źun* (guide du Lam-rim), 21 fo-

lios. *TWB* 6978.

26. *Bka'-gdams gsar rñiṅ-gi čhos-'byuṅ: Yid-kyi-mjes-rgyan* (histoire des anciens et nouveaux Kadampa), 103 folios.

27. *J̌o-bo-rǰe Rgya-gar-du bstan spel-źiṅ Gser-gliṅ-du phebs chul (*voyage d'Atīśa de l'Inde à Suvarṇadvīpa), 23 folios. *TWB* 7044.

28. *J̌o-bo-rǰe dpal-ldan Mar-me-mjad-ye-çes-kyi rnam-thar* (biographie d'Atīśa Dīpaṅkara-śrijñāna), 108 folios. *TWB* 7043.

29. *Luṅ-ston-pa Kalāpa'i mdo* (grammaire Kalāpasūtra), 27 folios.

30. *Chad-ma-rnam-'grel-gyi bsdus-gźuṅ: Çes-bya'i-sgo-'byed* (résumé du *Pramāṇavārttika. TWB* 4210), 35 folios.

31. *Saṅs-rgyas-kyi-mchan lṅa-stoṅ bźi-brgya lṅa-bču-ṅa-gsum* (cinq mille quatre cent cinquante-trois noms du Buddha), 156 folios.

32. *Luṅ-bstan-gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ,* 9 folios. Commentaire du texte grammatical *Rtags-'ǰug* par Dbyaṅs-čan-grub-pa'i-rdo-rǰe (Lokesh Chandra, *Bhoṭ Śikṣak,* introd. p. 6).

33. *Skye-rabs-brgya-pa,* 422 folios. Ce texte paraît être différent de l'*Avadāna-śataka* (*Gaṅ-po-la-sogs-pa'i rtogs-pa-brǰod-pa-brgya-pa,* Tohoku n° 343).

34. *Skal-bzaṅ-rgya-mcho'i gsaṅ-ba'i rnam-thar* (biographie ésotérique du VIIe Dalai Lama), 4 folios.

35. *Mdo-las byuṅ-ba'i Bkra-çis-kyi-chigs-su-bčad-pa* (*Maṅgalagāthā,* tirée des *Sūtra*), 3 folios.

36. *J̌o-bo-rǰe dpal-ldan Atīça'i rnam-thar čhos-'byuṅ sogs Bka'-gdams-glegs-bam-pha-čhos* (biographie d'Atīśa dite *pha-čhos),* 566 folios. *TWB* 7041. (Cf. J. Bacot, *Titres et colophons d'ouvrages non-canoniques tibétains*, dans BEFEO, XLIV-2, n° 22, p. 284–85, et n° 32, p. 291).

37. *'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i-'byuṅ-gnas-kyi skye-rabs Bka'-gdams-bu-čhos* (biographie de 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i-'byuṅ-gnas, disciple d'Atīśa), 465 folios. *TWB* 7042.

38. *Bka'-gdams-man-ṅag Be'u-bum-sṅon-po'i 'grel-pa* (commentaire du célèbre ouvrage Kadampa, *Be'u*°, S.C. Das, *Tib.-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 876), 271 folios. *TWB* 6970.

39. *'Dul-'jiṅ Grags-pa-rgyal-mchan-gyi gsuṅ, Bčom-ldan-'das thams-čad rigs-pa'i rnam-bçad,* 161 folios.

40. *'Dul-ba'i bslab-bya-čhen-mo* (étude d'ensemble sur le Vinaya), 175 folios.

41. *'Bras-spuṅs-par-khaṅ-čhen-mo'i dkar-chag* (liste de l'imprimerie de Drepung), 4 folios.

§ 2. SDE-DGE PAR-KHAṄ ČHOS-MJOD-ČHEN-MO

Le catalogue original n'indique également que les titres abrégés et non les titres complets qui sont donnés dans les ouvrages eux-mêmes.

1. *Rgyal-ba'i bka'-'gyur rin-po-che* (Kanǰur), 103 volumes.

2. *Bstan-'gyur* (Tanǰur), 213 volumes.

3. *Rñiṅ-ma rgyud 'bum,* 26 volumes. See G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond, p.* 113 and G. Roerich, *Blue Annals,* p. 102.

4. *Rgyud-sde kun-btus,* 32 volumes. Contient des *abhiṣeka, vidhi, sādhana* et autres opuscules (R.A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet,* Paris, 1959, p. 39).

5. *Lam-'bras slob-bçad,* 17 volumes. Ouvrage sa-skya-pa.

6. *Sa-skya bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes de maîtres sa-skya-pa), 15 volumes.

7. *Rnam-'grel,* 4 volumes. Peut-être un commentaire du *Pramāṇavārttika.*

8. *Sgrub-thabs kun-'dus,* 14 volumes. Collection de *sādhana* sa-skya-pa. [Une copie du *dkar-čhag* et deux volumes de la collection sont en ma possession.]

9. *Kun-mkhyen Bsod-nams-seṅ-ge'i gsuṅ-'bum* (œuvres complètes de Bsod-nams-seṅ-ge), 13 volumes.

10. *Sa-skya A-phyes-źabs-kyi bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes d'A-phyes-źabs), 5 volumes.

11. *Źu-čhen Chul-khrims-rin-čhen-gyi bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes de Chul-khrims-rin-čhen), 10 volumes. Chul-khrims-rin-čhen est l'éditeur de Tanǰur de Derge dont l'exactitude est bien connue; c'est pourquoi il est appelé « grand correcteur » (*žu-čhen).*

12. *Ṅor-čhen Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po'i bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes du grand Ṅor-pa Kun-dga'-bzaṅ-po), 4 volumes.

13. *'J̌am-mgon Mi-pham-rgya-mcho'i bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes de 'J̌am mgon Mi-pham-rgya-mcho), 19 volumes.

14. *Kloṅ-čhen-rab-'byams-kyi gsuṅ 'thor-bu* (opuscules de Kloṅ-čhen-rab-'byams, le maître de 'J̌igs-med-gliṅ-pa).

15. *'J̌igs-med* (ms. *byed)-gliṅ-pa'i bka'-'bum* (œuvers complètes de 'J̌igs-med-gliṅ-pa), 9 volumes.

16. *Sṅa-'gyur Rgyud-'bum rin-po-che rtogs-pa-brǰod-pa* (*avadāna* des premières traductions de Tantras), 250 folios(?). Cf. *Blue Annals,* p. 102 et suiv.

17. *'J̌am-gliṅ mtha' gru khyab-pa'i rgyan.*

18. *Brgyad-stoṅ sum-bid (Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā,* avec translittération en lantsa et en tibétain du texte skt suivi, à la 3e ligne, par la traduction en tibétain), 1 volume.

19. *Dvags-po'i bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes de *Mñam-med-dvags-po'i-lha-rǰe*), 2 volumes.

20. *Roṅ-ston Mṅon-rtogs-rgyan 'grel* (commentaire de *l'Abhisamayālaṁkāra,* par

Roṅ-ston), 2 volumes.

21. *Thogs-med Mdo-sde-rgyan 'grel* (commentaires du *Sūtrālaṃkāra* d'Asaṅga), 1 volume.

22. *Rma-bya-pa'i Dbu-ma-rca-çes 'grel-pa* (commentaire du *Madhyamaka mūla*, par Rma-bya-pa), 156 folios.

23. *Mṅon-pa mchom čhen*, 2 volumes (voir n° 24).

24. *Mṅon-pa mchom čhuṅ*, 1 volume (voir n° 23).

25. *Mdo-rca mčhan-'grel Mcho-sna-ba'i gsuṅ* (commentaire de Mcho-sna-ba sur le *Vinayasūtra*), 1 volume. Le *Mčhan-'grel* contient le texte, en gros caractères, suivi des explications en petits caractères.

26. *Padma bka'-thaṅ*, 1 volume. Cf. Gustave-Charles Toussaint, *Le Dict de Padma*, Paris, 1933.

27. *Bka'-thaṅ sde lṅa* (les Cinq Dicts), 1 volume.

28. *Bka'-'dus*, 1 volume. Ouvrage Rñiṅ-ma-pa.

29. *Klu-'bum dkar nag khra gsum*, 1 volume. TWB 6925. René Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Where the Gods are Mountains*, p. 54.

30. *Mar-pa'i rnam-thar* (biographie de Mar-pa).

31. *'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seṅge'i chad-ma rnam-'grel* (commentaire du *Pramāṇa-vārttika*, par 'U-yug-pa°), 1 volume.

32. *Źe-druṅ skad dod prajña*, 1 volume. Paraît être un lexique tibétain-sanskrit.

33. *J̌o-bo'i čhos čhuṅ brgya-rca* (cent opuscules d'Atīśa), 1 volume.

34. *Byams-pa'i skyes-rabs (jātaka* de Maitreya), 1 volume.

35. *Bod-kyi čhos-'byuṅ* (histoire du Bouddhisme au Tibet), 209 folios.

36. *Rgya-gar čhos-'byuṅ* (histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde), 1 volume.

37. *Thaṅ-rgyal rnam-thar* (biographie du Lama Thaṅ-stoṅ-rgyal-po), 1 volume.

38. *Bai dkar (Vaiḍūrya dkar-po*, ouvrage d'astrologie), 2 volumes. Voir la préface de L. Petech, dans Lokesh Chandra, *Vaiḍūrya ser-po*, 1960, p. xii.

39. *Nag-rcis brǰod-bya*, 65 pages (*çog-lhe)*. Ouvrage sur l'astrologie chinoise (*rgya-nag*).

40. *Dag-yig Ṅag-sgron mčhan-'grel* (dictionnaire Ṅag-sgron, texte et commentaire), 78 folios. Le texte à été publié en écriture cursive (*dbu-med)* par the Freedom Press, Darjeeling, 1960.

41. *Thogs-med Spyod-'ǰug 'grel-pa* (commentaire du *Bodhicaryāvatāra* par Rgyal-sras-thogs-med-bzaṅ-po), 1 volume.

42. *Thar-mdo*, 91 folios. Cf. Kanǰur (*Tohoku* 264), *TWB* 6767.

43. *'Od-mdo*, 64 folios. Cf. *TWB* 6766.

44. *Sbyoṅ-mdo*, 62 folios.

45. *Rcis-gto* (texte pour détourner le mal?), 63 folios.

46. *'Phrug-bčos,* 30 folios.

47. *Spom gta'* (?).

48. *Sman-yig* (texte médical), 7 volumes.

49. *Thogs-med Rgyud-bla-ma'i 'grel-pa* (commentaire de l'*Uttaratantra* par Rgyal-sras-thogs-med-bzaṅ-po, 103 folios. Cf. n° 41).

50. *Red-mda'-ba'i Dbu-ma-'ǰug 'grel* (commentaire du *Madhyamakāvatāra* par le maitre de Coṅ-kha-pa, Red-mda'-ba), 157 folios.

51. *Sum-rtags rca 'grel* (texte et commentaire des textes grammaticaux tibétains *Sum-ču-pa* et *Rtags-kyi-'ǰug-pa),* 25 folios.

52. *Dag-yig Ṅag-sgron,* 21 folios. Texte seul, cf. n° 40.

53. *Za-ma-tog* (texte grammatical), 31 folios. Publié par B. Laufer, *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft der Tibeter. Zamatog* (*Sitzungsber. der bay. Akad. der Wiss. zu München),* 1898.

54. *Mdo ṅes-don* (traité de *nītārtha),* 6 volumes.

55. *Che-sgrub brgya-rca* (centuple offrande pour prolonger la vie), 4 folios.

56. *Thugs-čhen brgya-rca* (centuple offrande), 4 folios.

57. *Ṅor-chen Dkon-mčhog-lhun-grub-kyi bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes de Lama Ṅor-pa Dkon-mčhog-lhun-grub), 4 volumes.

58. *Sman bsdus* (compendium de médecine), 2 volumes.

59. *Rgyud-bźi* (le texte de base de la médecine tibétaine), 1 volume. Pour des détails et la littérature moderne sur la question, voir René Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan Blockprints and mss. in possession of the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna,* dans *Archiv für Völkerkunde,* Band XII (1958), pp. 193–94, et *Where the Gods are Mountains,* p. 50.

60. *Sa-bzaṅ Mṅon-pa kun-btus* (résumé de l'*Abhidharma?* par Sa-bzaṅ-mati-paṇčhen), 456 folios.

61. *Bai-sṅon= Vaiḍūrya sṅon-po* (texte médical par Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mcho), 2 volumes. Voir W.A. Unkrig, introd. à C. v. Korvin-Krasinski, *Die tibetische Medizin-philosophie,* Zürich, 1953, pp. xxii-xxiii, et Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op.cit., p. 209.

62. *Cel goṅ phreṅ,* 1 volume. Contient le texte médical connu sous l'abréviation *Çel goṅ* et son commentaire, *Çel phreṅ.* Cf. W.A. Unkrig, ibid., pp. xxiii–xxiv, et Nebesky-Wojkowitz, op. cit., pp. 196–98.

63. *Mkhyen-brce'i rnam-thar* (biographie d'une incarnation de *Mkhyen-brce),* 1 volume. Voir A. Ferrari, *Mkhyen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Tibet,* Rome, 1958, xix. L. Petech se réfère dans son introduction, p. xix, à la biographie de *'J̌am-dbyaṅs-mkhyen-brce'i-dbaṅ-po Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mchan.*

64. *Sa-bzaṅ Sgra-kalāpa'i 'grel-pa* (commentaire de la grammaire Kalāpa par Sa-

bzaṅ-mati-paṇ-čhen), 1 volume. Voir n° 60.

65. *Guru'i rtogs-brǰod* (*avadāna* de Padmasambhava), 1 volume.

66. *Mcho-sna'i 'dul-'grel Ñi-ma'i-'od-zer* (commentaire de Mcho-sna sur le Vinaya), 2 volumes. Titre abrégé en *Mcho-ṭik (ṭik = ṭīkā)*. Le texte sera imprimé par l'Indian Information Centre, Gangtok.

67. *Dkon-mčhog-lhun-grub-bstan-pa'i čhos-'byuṅ* (histoire du Bouddhisme de Dkon-mčhog-lhun-grub), 1 volume.

68. *Bu-ston čhos-'byuṅ*, 1 volume. Traduit par E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism of Bu-ston*, I, II, Heidelberg, 1931–32.

69. *Klu-rñiṅ-ñams mgur* (chants du Lama Klu-rñiṅ), 1 volume.

70. *Dbus-pa Blo-gsal-gyi grub-mtha'* (traité sur les systèmes religieux et philosophiques par Dbus-pa Blo-gsal), 1 volume.

71. *Dpal-ldan-čhos-skyoṅ rtogs-brǰod* (*avadāna* de Dpal-ldan-čhos-skyoṅ), 2 volumes.

72. *Kun-bsod Spyod-'ǰug 'grel-čhen* (grand commentaire du *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, par Kun-dga'-bsod-nams), 1 volume.

73. *Karma-che-dpal-gsuṅ Spyod-'ǰug 'grel-čhuṅ* (petit commentaire du *Bodhicaryāvatāra* par Karma-che-dpal), 1 volume.

74. *Sgrol-ma'i rnam-thar* (vie de Tārā), 19 folios.

75. *Gtor-ma'i-brgya-rca'i rnam-bçad* (explication du *bali* centuple), 46 folios.

76. *Mkhyen-brce'i gsuṅ mgur* (chants de Mkhyen-brce), 1 volume.

77. *Thogs-med bka'-'bum* (œuvres complètes de Thogs-med, voir n° 41), 1 volume.

78. *Char-lugs Čhos-ñid-bstan-gso*, 1 volume. D'après le Lama sa-skya-pa Char-pa.

79. *Bsaṅs-dpe'i skor* (traité sur l'encens), 1 volume.

80. *Thogs-med rnam-thar* (biographie du Lama tibétain Thogs-med, voir n° 41), 64 folios.

81. *Rog-rogs*, 64 folios.

82. *Bod-mkhas sñan 'grel* (commentaire de Mi-pham-dge-legs-rnam-par-rgyal-ba'i-lha sur le *Kāvyādarśa*), 1 volume. Cf. Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan Works Printed by the Shoparkhang of the Potala*, n° 64.

83. *Dus-'khor 'don čhog (Kālacakra-vidhi)*, 1 volume.

84. *Dmar-čhen-gtor-bzlog*, 1 volume.

85. *Ratna-gliṅ phur-pa* (le *kīlaka* d'après le Lama Ratna-gliṅ-pa), 1 volume.

86. *Ṅag-čhos grub-mtha' çan-dbye (grub-mtha'* du Lama Ṅag-čhos).

87. *'J̌am-dbyaṅs rnam-thar (avadāna* de Mañjughoṣa), 60 folios.

88. *'J̌am-dbyaṅs skyes-rabs (jātaka* de Mañjughoṣa), 18 folios.

89. *Sñan-ṅag dper-brǰod* (exemples illustrant le *Kāvyādarśa),* 32 folios.

90. *Rgyal-po Çugs-ldan-gyi gsol-kha* (prière à un Lama divinisé), 1 volume.

91. *Dri-med rnam-gñis-kyi mčhod-rten sgrub skor* (collection de *sādhana* des deux *caitya*: Gcug-tor-dri-med et Gcug-tor-rnam-rgyal).

92. *Bçes-spriṅ 'grel-pa daṅ rca-ba* (texte et commentaire du Suhṛllekha), 39 folios.

93. *Ṅor-dpon-slob Mṅon-brǰod 'grel-pa* (commentaire de l'*Abhidhāna* de Ṅor-dpon-slob), 1 volume.

94. *Chad-ma-rig-gter 'grel-pa* (commentaire de l'ouvrage de Sa-skya-paṇḍita sur le *Pramāṇa),* 88 folios.

95. *Chad-ma-brtag-rigs 'grel-pa,* 38 folios.

96. *Çer-phyin 'grel-pa* (commentaire de la *Prajñāpāramitā),* 105 folios.

97. *Gya'-sel* (commentaire et additions à l'ouvrage d'astrologie, *Vaiḍūrya-dkar-po,* cf. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls,* pp. 136–37), 2 volumes. Cf. n° 38.

98. *Maṇi bka'-'bum,* 2 volumes.

99. *Bka'-gdams pha-čhos bu-čhos* (biographie d'Atīśa et de son disciple 'Brom-ston), 2 volumes.

100. *Lam-'bras bla-brgyud* (lignée des Lama qui ont exposé la doctrine du *lam-'bras),* 3 volumes.

101. *'Dul-'grel Ñi-ma'i-'od-zer* (commentaire sur le *Vinaya*), 4 volumes.

102. *Ston-pa'i mjad-pa,* 1 volume. Les Actes du Buddha.

103. *J̌o-naṅ-mjad-brgya* (cent opuscules de *J̌o-naṅ*), 1 volume.

104. *Bka'-babs bdun-gyi rnam-thar,* 4 volumes. (Peut-être l'ouvrage historique de Tāranātha.)

105. *Sa-skyoṅ-sde-dge'i rgyal-rabs* (généalogie des rois de Derge), 56 folios.

106. *Sa-paṇ rnam-thar rgyas-pa* (biographie développée de Sa-skya-paṇḍita).

107. *Sñan-ṅag lhan-thabs* (supplément au *Kāvyādarśa),* 1 volume.

108. *Byi-ba-riṅ-bsrel* (texte médical), 1 volume.

109. *Čha-lag bčvo-brgyad* (texte médical), 1 volume.

110. *Dar-mo bka'-rgya* (ouvrage médical de Dar-mo sman-rams-pa), 1 volume.

111. *G.yu-thog rñiṅ-thig* (œuvre du grand médecin tibétain, cf. S.C. Das, *Tibetan–English Dictionary,* p. 1152 b), 1 volume. Cf. n° 112.

112. *G.yu-thog rnam-thar* (biographie de G.yu-thog-pa, cf. S.C. Das, ibid., p. 1152b). Cf. n° 111.

113. *Sro-ma-rā-jā* (texte médical), 1 volume.

114. *Le-dge rca-çer 'grel-pa* (texte de la *Prajñāpāramitā* avec le commentaire du

Lama Le-dge), 86 folios.

115. *Mṅon-rtogs-rgyan 'grel* (commentaire de l'*Abhisamayālaṅkāra),* 43 folios.

116. *Phyag-čhen 'khrid* (guide de la *Mahāmudrā),* 24 folios.

117. *Sa-bzaṅ spyod-'grel* (commentaire du *Bodhicaryāvatāra* par Sa-bzaṅ-mati-paṇ-čhen), voir n° 60.

118. *Roṅ-ston 'bum-'grel* (commentaire de la *Śatasāhasrikā* par Roṅ-ston), 1 volume.

119. *Roṅ-ston rgyud-bla daṅ 'byed-gñis 'grel-pa* (commentaire de Roṅ-ston sur l'*Uttaratantra* et les deux *vibhaṅga: Madhyāntavibhaṅga* [Tanǰur 4021] et *Dharmatā-vibhaṅga* [Tanǰur 4022]), 110 folios.

120. *Çer-phyin sgom-rim* (le *Bhāvanākrama* de Kamalaśīla), 60 folios.

121. *Ṅag-čhos sdom-gsum zla çar* (texte du Lama Ṅag-čhos sur les trois *saṁvara),* 232 folios.

122. *Dkon-lhun snaṅ-gsum brgyud-gsum* (ouvrage du Lama sa-skya-pa Dkon-mčhog-lhun-grub), 112 folios.

123. *Ston-pa'i skyes-rabs brgya-lṅa-bču-pa* (les cent cinquante *jātaka* du Buddha), 1 volume.

124. *Kun-rig rnam-bçad.* Rites de la divinité Sarvavid, 140 folios, cf. S.F. Oldenburg, *Izobraźenii 300 Burkhanov,* n° 76.

125. *Bod-kyi rgyal-rabs Gsal-me* (histoire de Tibet connue sous le nom de *Gsal-ba'i-me-loṅ),* 104 folios. Cf. G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls,* p. 140.

126. *Kyai-rdor rnam-bçad* (exposé sur Hevajra), 67 folios.

127. *Luṅ-rigs gter mjod,* 1 volume. Sur *luṅ-rigs,* voir S.C. Das, ibid., p. 1216a.

128. *Kyai-rdor 'grel-pa Zla-'od* (commentaire du *Hevajratantra),* 1 volume.

129. *Blo-sbyoṅ legs-bçad-kun-btus* (texte sur *nīti*), 124 folios.

Les textes qui suivent sont xylographiés en petit format (*dpe thuṅ gras*) :

130. *Guru Padma-'byuṅ-gnas-la gsol-'debs le'u-bdun-pa* (prière à Padmasambhava en sept chapitres), 28 folios.

131. *'Phags-pa-'ǰam-dpal-gyi mchan yaṅ-dag-par brǰod-pa* (*Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti),* 28 folios.

132. *Che-daṅ-ye-çes-dpag-tu-med-pa'i mdo* (*Aparimitāyurjñānasūtra),* 15 folios.

133. *Saṅs-rgyas-byaṅ-sems-kyi mchan sna-chogs phyogs-bsdus rin-čhen-phreṅ-ba* (collection des noms variés des Buddha et des Bodhisattva), 115 folios.

134. *Rǰe-bcun-ma rgyud-sde bźi 'phreṅ-ba.* Ouvrage sur Tārā basé sur les quatre catégories de Tantra, 12 folios.

135. *Čhag-med gsuṅ: Rnam-dag-bde-čhen-smon-lam* (*praṇidhāna* par Karma-čhag-med), 19 folios.

136. *Las-sgrib-kun-gčod-kyi sṅags brgya-pa* (cent *mantra* pour couper tous les *karmāvaraṇa),* 28 folios. Cf. *Las-kyi-sgrib-pa-rgyun-gčod-pa (Karmāvaraṇapratiprasrabdhi*) Kanǰur 219.

137. *Rgyal-po-bsod-nams-rtogs-brǰod (avadāna* du roi Puṇya), 39 folios.

138. *Bskal-bzaṅ-rgyan-phreṅ,* 20 folios. Texte sur les Mille Buddha.

139. *Sñiṅ-thig ṅag-'don,* 33 folios. Manuel rñiṅ-ma-pa.

140. *Dbus-gcaṅ-gi gnas-yig (*guide des lieux saints des provinces de Dbus et Gcaṅ), 38 folios. Cf. A. Ferrari, *Mkhyen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Tibet,* Rome, 1958.

141. *Ltuṅ-bçags-phan-yon* (texte sur les trente-cinq Buddha de confession), 10 folios. Cf. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus,* p. 170, 186.

142. *Dri-med bçags rgyud,* 82 folios.

143. *Mkhas-pa Bsam-gtan-blo-gros-kyi rnam-thar* (biographie de Mkhas-pa Bsam-gtan blo-gros), 49 folios.

§ 3. DPAL-SPUṄS

1. *Rin-čhen-gter-mjod-sogs Sprul-rin-po-čhes mjad-pa'i mjod rnam-pa-lṅa* (les cinq trésors de Koṅ-sprul-rin-po-čhe Yon-tan-rgya-mcho), 90 volumes. L'un d'entre eux, le *Çes-bya-mjod* (aussi appelé *Çes-bya-kun-khyab*) est une excellente encyclopédie de la vie séculière et religieuse du Tibet (3 volumes).

2. *Situ Čhos-kyi-'byuṅ-gnas-kyi gsuṅ-'bum,* 13 volumes. Œuvres complètes du grand grammairien du XVIIe siècle, cf. Lokesh Chandra, *Bhoṭ Śikṣak,* New Delhi, 1960, introd., p. 5.

3. *Phyag-čhen-rgya-gźuṅ* (texte sur la *Mahāmudrā),* 3 volumes.

Suivent d'autres textes rñiṅ-ma-pa :

4. *Mdo-dgoṅs-'dus.*

5. *De'i 'grel-pa Mdo-ṭik Mun-pa'i-go-čha-'dus-pa-mdo-dbaṅ-gi-skor sogs,* 2 volumes.

6. *Sgyu-'phrul-gsaṅ-ba-sñiṅ-po'i rca-ba.*

7. *Gsaṅ-sñiṅ-'grel-pa Roṅ-zom-pas mjad-pa* (commentaire de Roṅ-zom-pa sur le n° 6), 1 volume.

8. *Gsaṅ-sñiṅ-'grel-pa Phyogs-bču-mun-sel Kloṅ-čhen-rab-'byams-pas mjad-pa* (commentaire du n° 6 par Kloṅ-čhen-rab-'byams), 1 volume.

9. *Gsaṅ-sñiṅ 'grel-par-bkab,* 1 volume.

10. *Mi-pham-gyi gsuṅ: Gsaṅ-sñiṅ-gi-don* (précis sur le n° 6 par Mi-pham), 4 folios.

11. *Kloṅ-čhen-rab-'byams gsuṅ: Gsaṅ-sñiṅ-spyi-don* (précis sur le n° 6 par Kloṅ-

čhen-rab-'byams).

12. *Gsaṅ-sñiṅ-spyi-don Legs-bçad-rol-mcho* (exposé du n° 6), 150 folios.

13. *Ka-thog-pa Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mchan-gyi gsuṅ: Par-bkab mchan-'grel* (n° 6 avec des notes insérées par le Ka-thog-pa Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mchan), 1 volume.

14. *Candragomi'i Rgya-mdud-'grel-pa sogs* (commentaire du *Rgya-mdud* de Candragomin, etc.), 1 volume.

15. *Sems-sde a-srog bčvo-brgyad sogs* (?).

16. *Roṅ-zom-chos-bzaṅ-gi Theg-pa-čhen-po'i-chul-la-'ǰug-pa* (introduction au Mahāyāna), 200 folios.

17. *Roṅ-zom-pa'i Snaṅ-ba-lha-sgrub.*

18. *Ka-thog-pa Dam-pa-bde-gçegs-kyi gsuṅ: Theg-pa-rim-dgu'i rnam-gźag (bçad)-pa*, 1 volume.

28. TIBETAN BUDDHIST TEXTS PRINTED BY THE MDZOD-DGE SGAR-GSAR MONASTERY

As pointed out earlier (Vostrikov 55) the handlists of the Lamaist monastic printeries (*par-tho*) are a valuable peep into the vast literature of the Lamaist world written in Tibetan by the numerous tribes of the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan regions going up to the Siberian steppes and even to the banks of the Volga. The local printeries attain greater significance as we can glean from them the opuscules and *magnum opus* of the local savants besides the collected works of eminent scholars whose fame roamed over the vast expanses of Lamaism and the xylographic boards of whose *opera omnia* lent a special significance to even not very major monastic printeries which had the privilege of preserving them. For instance, our monastery had attained special renown by publishing (Vostrikov 55 n.3) the complete works of A-khu-rin-po-che Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho(4), who has rendered a signal service to the history of Lamaist literature by his outstanding *tho-yig* or list of rare works classified subjectwise. It has been edited in part 3 of the author's *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.

The title of our *par-tho* on the cover-page is given as *Dgaḥ-ldan-rab-rgyas-gliṅ-gi dpar-tho bzhugs-so,* while at the beginning of the text the significant appellative *Mdzod-dge sgar-gsar* is added to the aforesaid title which makes it possible to identify the location of the monastery with precision. In the Amdo region, down the Ang-khor Valley are the two famous Mdzod-dge lamaseries, the Old and the New, known as *Mdzod-dge sgar-rñiṅ* (Chinese: Mo-wu chiu-ssu or the Old Mo-wu Monastery) and the *Mdzod-dge sgar-gsar* (Chinese: Mo-wu hsin-ssu or the New Mo-wu Monastery, Rock 1956:26, map 3). Our *par-tho* pertains to the New Mdzod-dge monastery which was to the east of its old counterpart.

The *par-tho* is handwritten. It is divided into two parts. The first part consists of books of long format, but there is no specification to this effect. The second part pertains to xylographs of small format (*sna-thuṅ-gi-skor*).[1] The extent of the text is normally given in folios, and occasionally in volumes (pothis) or chapters. The long format con-

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[1]Four sizes of xylographs are distinguished:

i. long format or "arrow-length" (*mdaḥ-tshad-ma, par riṅ-po)*
ii. medium format (*par ḥbriṅ)*
iii. short format (*par thuṅ)*
iv. very short format (*śin-tu-sna-thuṅ*)

Compare Vostrikov 62 n. 2.

tains works of a fairly long extent like the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (with adnotations, 1),[2] commentary on the *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti* (14), the piṇḍārtha of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (13). Besides commentarial works there are historical writings like the biographies of Atīśa (2) and his disciple Ḥbrom-ston (3) well-known as the *Pha-chos* and *Bu-chos*, two biographies of the Gun-thaṅ Bstan-paḥi-sgron-ma (18, 19). In the tantras, we meet with two scholia (5, 6) on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (Toh. 442) and Nam-mkhaḥ-grags' exposé of utpatti- and sampanna-kramas in the *Guhyasamāja*. Among philosophical items are *zin-bris* of Guṅ-thaṅ (9) and Ri-khrod-dbaṅ-po (10). Guruyoga texts, which form a very fundamental part of Lamaist literature, are represented by a *zin-bris* of Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma. This part closes with a few texts of shorter extent, on bali-vidhi, pratividhāna, homa and eulogia (16, 17, 20, 21, 22: these might well have been engraved on small size xylographs). The biggest and most important item are the collected writings of Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho or Prajñāsāgara[3] in eight volumes. The elucidation of the *Vajrāvalī* and of the abhiṣeka of Mitrayogin by Ḥbo-ra Don-grub lends a local colour to the *par-tho*.

The second part of the list contains xylographs of small format and as may be expected they contain works of daily recitation, ritualia and eulogia whose frequent or constant use demanded a handy size. Besides, their short extent also rendered the small format appropriate: most of them range between 1–23 small folios. We may draw attention to the fact that texts extending over 23 folios are only those canonical works which were used for daily recitation; like the *Saṁcayagāthā* (23), *Guhyasamāja* (26), *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti* (28), and the *Bhairavatantra* (29). The guruparamparā *(bla-brgyud)* of the *Guhyasamāja* (24) and the special recitation to precede and to end this (?) tantra, are followed by the first and last[4] chapters of the *Saṁvara-tantra* (Toh. 368) which are specially holy: *ādi-* and *paryavasāna-kalyāṇa*. Two guruyoga texts are the *Gurupañcāśikā* (30) from the Canon and the *Gurupūjā* by a Panchen Lama. Later guruyoga texts are listed further on, under nos. 44–49. Praṇidhānas of the *Lam-rim* (35), Sukhāvatī (36, 37), Sarvavid (38); tea offering (39), short biographicals (41, 42), stotra (50), adhyeṣaṇā (51) and eulogia indicated by their opening words (52–57) are some of the types of minor texts in this part. Services to Mahākāla (61), Devī (62), Gñan (63), Dharmarāja and Lcam-sriṅ (65); bali to Vaiśravaṇa (66) and Vajrasādhu (67), water-bali (69); *glud* for

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[2]Figures in parantheses refer to the serial numbering of the items in the list given at the end of this article.

[3]*Prajñāsāgara* is written as °*sāra* with the omission of intervocalic -*g*- which is a common feature of Mongol pronunciation (Mong. *ulaγan* ~ *ulaan)*.

[4]This concept is also typified in the great sādhana collection of Panchen Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-gyal, known for short as *Rin-lhan*, whose first chapter aptly begins with the *ādi-kalyāṇa* deities and the last chapter closes with the *paryavasāna-kalyāṇa* deities: Lokesh Chandra, "The Rin-lhan and Rin-ḥbyuṅ", *Oriens Extremus* 8.189.

cattle (70) and an agricultural dhāraṇī (75)—all are from the day-to-day life of the people. Finally, after leaving about three inches of blank space the *par-tho* lists illustrations of mandalas and rakṣācakras which were to be had from the printery. The *par-tho* follows a general pattern in listing the books according to their size and concluding with the illustrations—we find this pattern throughout the catalogue of the printing blocks of 31 Buddhist trans-Baikalian monasteries from the archives of the NE Siberian Buddhist Patriarch the Paṇḍita Mkhan-po, edited by Academician Rinchen in *Four Mongolian Historical Records*,[5] pp. 71–121.

After these few general remarks we proceed to reproduce the *par-tho* in its original sequence, adding annotations to clarify the titles.

1. *Brgyad-stoṅ-pa mtshan-daṅ-bcas-pa, Aṣṭasāhasrikā* with glosses, 448 folios.

2. *Bkaḥ-gdams-pha-chos,* the biography of Atīśa, in 26 chapters. *TWB* 7041.

3. *Bu-chos* in 20 chapters, the biography of Ḥbrom-ston Rgyal-baḥi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas, the "Son" *(bu)* i.e. disciple of Atīśa. *TWB* 7042.

4. *Ḥjam-mgon Pradzña-sāraḥi gsuṅ-ḥbum,* the collected works of *Prajñāsāgara* in eight volumes, complete with a dkar-chag or list of works included therein. He is A-khu-rin-po-che Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho who lived from AD 1803–75. His works have been listed in Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* 1.269–73. Also see Vostrikov 55.

5. *Ḥgos-lo-tsa-baḥi: Gsaṅ-ḥdus stoṅ-thun,* a condensed commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* by the Ḥgos Lotsaba, in 270 folios.

6. *Rgyud-chen Brtson-ḥgrus-ḥphags-kyi Rgyud-ṭik,* in 297 folios. Commentary on the tantra (*Guhyasamāja)* by Brtson-ḥgrus-ḥphags, the Master of the Tantra (*Rgyud-chen,* it was a title conferred on lamas who were distinguished for the wide range of their tantric learning, i.e. those who had obtained the *luṅ* for a vast majority of the canonical tantras. Their esoteric biographies or *gsan-yig* were extensive works).

7. *Dvags-po Nam-mkhaḥ-grags-kyi Gsaṅ-ḥdus bskyed-rim,* in 64 folios. The utpattikrama of the *Guhyasamāja* according to Nam-mkhaḥ-grags of Dvags-po.

8. *Deḥi rdzogs-rim,* in 87 folios. The sampannakrama of the foregoing. For the utpatti- and sampanna-kramas, the manifestation and reabsorption of phenomenal existence, see D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra* 1.139–40.

9. *Guṅ-tḥaṅ-gsuṅ gras*: *Lta-baḥi zin-ḥbris, Thar-lam-snaṅ-ba,* in 23 folios. A résumé of the philosophy [of the Gelukpas], by Guṅ-thaṅ, entitled the *Thar*° (Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* 3447).

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[5]New Delhi, 1959 (= Śatapiṭaka Series, 11, edited by RaghuVira).

Ri-khrod-dbaṅ-po Mkhas-grub-bstan-ḥdzin-paḥi gsuṅ-gras[6] (nos. 10–12 have been authored by him):

10. *Lam-rim zin-bris,* section *KA* 47 folios, *KHA* 58 folios, *GA* 62 folios. A résumé of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam-rim* by Mkhas-grub-bstan-ḥdzin. For Ri-khrod-phur-bu-lcog Monastery, see Vostrikov 66.

11. *Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma daṅ skyabs-ḥjug sdom-paḥi zin-ḥbris,* in 20 folios. A synoptical treatment of the Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma which is a fundamental teaching of the guru-yoga in the Dge-lugs-pa sect and the vow of taking refuge in the Triple Gem. Opuscules on the Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma are very popular, see for instance TWB 6620, 6626, 6632, 6645, 6668, 6693, 6696, 6698, 6700, 6701, 6704, 6710–17, 6757, 6989, 6998, 7021, etc., etc.

12. *Bkaḥ-rtsom daṅ-poḥi ḥgrel-pa,* 13 folios. Commentary on the first chapter *Gu-śri Chos-ḥphel-paḥi gsuṅ-gras* (13, 14 have been written by him).

13. *Byaṅ-saḥi bsdus-don,* in 28 folios. Epitomised explanation (piṇḍārtha) of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* by Gu-śri Chos-ḥphel. *Byaṅ-sa* is a short name of *Rnal-ḥbyor-spyod-paḥi-sa-las Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi-sa* (P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* Paris, Mdo-ḥgrel, *ZHI,* part 3 p. 379). This abbreviated title is quoted from the original Tibetan Index under nos. 5, 6, 7 of pothi *YI* (Cordier pp. 381–82) which are the vṛtti, bhāṣya and ṭīkā on sections of this text.

14. *Ḥjam-dpal-mtshan-brjod-kyi ḥgrel-pa,* 60 folios. Commentary on the *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti.* The quardrilingual (Skt., Tib., Mongolian and Chinese) edition of the text has been edited by RaghuVira, Śatapiṭaka Series, vol. 18 (New Delhi, 1961).

15. *Ḥbo-ra Don-grub-kyi gsuṅ-gras: Rdo-rje-phreṅ-ba daṅ Mi-traḥi dbaṅ bśad,* 48 folios. An introduction to the *Vajrāvalī* and the consecrations (*abhiṣeka, dbaṅ)* of Mitrayogin by Ḥbo-ra Don-grub. On the location of the Ḥbo-ra Monastery, see Rock 1956:26 and Map 3. It was in the proximity of our Mdzod-dge Sgar-gsar Monastery. The *Vajrāvalī* was an oft-used abhiṣeka text. A synopsis of the consecrations of Mitrayogin appears in Lokesh Chandra, The Biography of Mitrayogin, *Indo-Asian Studies,* II.

16. *Bde-gśegs so-lṅaḥi cho-ga Mkhan-chen gsuṅ ḥgrel gtor,* 11 folios. A bali extracted (?) from a commentary and the vidhi for the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession, by Mkhan-chen [Ṅag-dbaṅ-mkhas-grub]. Compare the *phan-yon* of the 35 Buddhas by Hu-re-chen-moḥi Mkhan-chen Ṅag-dbaṅ-mkhas-grub in Lokesh Chandra, *Eminent Ti-*

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[6]*gras* "class, group" denotes that the texts mentioned hereafter are written by the author mentioned till the next specification. In the original manuscript it is further emphasised by using the sign ☨ at the beginning of the grouping. In no. 9 and 15 too we find the use of *gras* though there is only a single work of an author, but there is no ambiguity in these cases as the position is clarified by the aforesaid sign and the authorship of the following item is stated.

betan Polymaths of Mongolia, text p. 40 (vol. *GA*). For the illustrations of the 35 Buddhas see Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* part 3, p. 9. There are several works devoted to the 35 Buddhas (e.g. Toh. 1142, *TWB* 5366 abhisamaya and painting-manual by Tsoṅ-kha-pa, *TWB* 5429 anuśaṁsā of the names by Rgyal-tshab Darma-rin-chen, *TWB* 6341 stotra by Dharmabhadra).

17. *Sdom goṅ-ma gñis-kyi phyir-bcos,* 6 folios. The pratividhāna of the first two saṁvaras. See *TWB* 6958 for a *phyir-bcos* (pratividhāna) of bhikṣus.

18. *Bstan-paḥi-sgron-maḥi rnam-thar,* 5 folios. A short biographic sketch of Guṅ-thaṅ Bstan-paḥi-sgron-ma, whose list of works appears in MHTL. 1.175–83.

19. *Yaṅ deḥi rnam-thar,* 49 folios. The biography of the foregoing Incarnate Lama.

20. *Thugs-rje-chen-poḥi sbyin-sreg,* 7 folios. The homa of Mahākāruṇika Avakokiteśvara.

21. *Chos-sku stoṅ-ba-ma,* 2 folios. A stotra of Avalokiteśvara.

22. *Lcam-sriṅ,* 7 folios. A stotra to Lcam-sriṅ who is described in details by Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 88–93.

SMALL FORMAT

(*sna-thuṅ-gi skor-la:*)

23. *Mdo-sdud-pa,* 90 folios. The *Prajñāpāramitā-ratnaguṇa-saṁcayagāthā* (Toh. 13). Its Sanskrit and Tibetan texts have been reprinted in *Indo-Iranian Reprints,* V by Edward Conze from E. Obermiller's edition (The Hague, 1960). Its English translation by Edward Conze appears in *Indo-Asian Studies* (ed. RaghuVira) 1.128–78.

24. *Rgyud-gzhuṅ bla-brgyud,* 5 folios. A prayer to the teachers transmitting the teaching of the tantras. *Bla-brgyud* or guruparamparā-adhyeṣaṇās containing the genealogy of transmission of specific tantras, minor texts, abhiṣekas are of common occurrence. Compare, e.g. a *bla-ma-brgyud-pa* in *TWB* 5862.

25. *Ḥdon-thabs,* 3 folios. A small book of recitation.

26. *Rgyud-gzhuṅ,* 97 folios. *Guhyasamāja-tantra.*

27. *Bde-mchog rtsa-rgyud leḥu thog mthaḥ gñis,* 9 folios. The first and last chapters of the *Saṁvara-tantra* for daily reading.

28. *Ḥjam-dpal-mtshan-brjod,* 51 folios. *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti* (Toh. 360).

29. *Ḥjigs-byed-rtog-bdun,* 39 folios; the *Vajramahābhairava-tantra* (Toh. 468). *Rtog-bdun (saptakalpa* "in seven chapters") to distinguish it from Toh. 469 in three chapters (*Rtog-gsum*) entitled *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantrarāja Trikalpa nāma.*

30. *Bla-ma-lṅa-bcu-pa,* 9 folios. *Gurupañcāśikā* [Toh. 3721, *TWB* 7014, 5269 (expln.), 6416 (memo)].

31. *Bla-mchod,* 16 folios. It is a guru-pūjā, probably the one by Panchen Lama I Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (*TWB* 5892).

32. *Dzam-lha,* a sādhana of Jambhala in three chapters (*le-tshan)* consisting of 23, 20, and 10 folios.

33. *Byin-bskul,* 2 folios. An adhiṣṭhāna-adhyeṣaṇā.

34. *Zhi rgyas dbaṅ drag-ma,* 1 folio. A folio on the śānti, pauṣṭika, abhiṣeka, and raudra rites (?).

35. *Lam-rim-smon-lam,* 3 folios. A praṇidhāna of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam-rim* (*TWB* 5392).

36. *Zhiṅ-mchog-sgo-ḥbyed,* 3 folios. A praṇidhāna of Sukhāvatī.

37. *Bde-smon,* 7 folios. Sukhāvatī-praṇidhāna. *Bde* is short for *Bde-ba-can* "Sukhāvati" and *smon* for *smon-lam* "praṇidhāna". It is probably by Tsoṅ-kha-pa *[TWB* 5275(69), 6944].

38. *Kun-rig-smon-lam,* 9 folios. A praṇidhāna of Sarvavid.

39. *Yon-tan-mchog-gnas-ma daṅ ja-mchod rgyas-pa gñis,* 3 folios. Two short opuscules, the latter pertaining to the tea offering. Short booklets devoted to the tea offering have been written by Dalai Lama I (*TWB* 5572), Dalai Lama V (*TWB* 5660–61), Dṅul-chu Dharmabhadra (*TWB* 6292, 6311).

40. *Rgyal-sras-mtshan-brjod, Sdig-grib-dag-byed,* 5 folios. The names of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. They correspond to the *nāma* genre of Sanskrit works like the *Viṣṇusahasranāma.*

41. *Rjeḥi gsaṅ-rnam,* 8 folios. A concise esoteric biography of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

42. *Sku-ḥphreṅ gsum-paḥi rnam-thar,* 15 folios. A biographic sketch of the Third Incarnation of? (unspecified).

43. *Thugs-rje-chen-po-ḥgro-kun-gduṅ-sel,* 6 folios. A prayer to Avalokiteśvara.

44. *Byams-pa ḥjam-dbyaṅs-la brten-paḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor,* 3 folios. Guruyoga based on Maitreya and Mañjuśrī.

45. *Bskal-bzaṅ-rgyal-sras-ma,* 4 folios. A praṇidhāna.

46. *Sku-ḥphreṅ gsum-paḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor,* 3 folios. Guruyoga based on the Third Incarnation of? (unspecified, cf. no. 42).

47. *Gsaṅ-ḥdus bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor,* 10 folios. Guruyoga based on the *Guhyasamāja.*

48. *Rje Btsoṅ-kha-pa-la brten-paḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor,* 9 folios. Guruyoga based on Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

49. *Thugs-rje-chen-po-daṅ ḥbrel-baḥi bla-maḥi-rnal-ḥbyor,* 3 folios. Guruyoga connected with Avalokiteśvara.

50. *Ḥjam-dkar-bstod-pa,* 1 folio. A stotra of Sita Mañjuśrī.

51. *Lho-brag-grub-chen-gyi gsol-ḥdebs,* 3 folios. A praṇidhāna to Nam-mkhaḥ-rgya-mtsho of Lho-brag in Tibet.

52. *Skal-bzaṅ-thar-ḥdod-ma,* 1 folio.

53. *Smad-byuṅ-srid-zhi-ma,* 5 folios.

54. *Mkhaḥ-khyab-bye-ba-ma,* 5 folios.

55. *Dpal-maṅ-rin-po-cheḥi-bkaḥ-drin-rjes-ma.* 11 folios.

56. *Skal-bzaṅ-stobs-bcu-ma,* 4 folios.

57. *Srid-zhi-gtsug-rgyan-ma,* 1 folio. The above six texts (nos. 52–57) are praṇidhānas, designated by their opening words.

58. *Bden-gtam-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ,* 7 folios. It appears to be a nīti text.

59. *Kha-mchu zhi-baḥi-mdo,* 5 folios.

60. *Yul-khrus char-ḥbebs gñis,* 8 folios. Two texts on (i) the ceremony of sprinkling water (cf. *TWB* 6022) on the yul-lha and (ii) rain-making. Yul-lha are local protective deities (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:231–52).

61. *Mgon-poḥi-bskaṅ thuṅ,* 2 folios. Religious services to Mahākāla, in brevior. For *bskaṅ-baḥi-mdos* and *bskaṅ-rdzas* see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:373, 395, 433.

62. *Lha-moḥi-bskaṅ thuṅ,* 7 folios. Religious services to Śrīdevī.

63. *Gñan-bskaṅ,* 3 folios. Religious services to the class of minor deities known as Gñan, on whom see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 288–90.

64. *Lhun-grub-bde-stoṅ-ma,* 5 folios. It is a *bskaṅ,* probably written by Chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho.

65. *Chos-rgyal Lcam-sriṅ gñis,* 3 folios. Bskaṅ services to Dharmarāja and Lcam-sriṅ. On them see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1965:82 f. and 88 f.

66. *Rnam-sras gtor-ḥbul,* 1 folio. A vidhi for offering bali to Vaiśravaṇa.

67. *Dam-can gtor-ḥbul,* 5 folios. A bali-vidhi for Dam-can Rdo-rje-legs-pa or Vajrasādhu, the samayin. For Vajrasādhu one may consult F.D. Lessing, *Yung-ho-kung,* p. 17, A Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei,* p. 185 f., Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* part 7, p. 6 and plate 508. In *Kālacakra-tantra* 3.2 (ed. Raghu Vira) *dam-tshig-can* corresponds to Skt. *samayin.*

68. *Ḥjam-dpal zhi-khro-ma daṅ rluṅ bskyed bcas-pa,* 5 folios. A bali (?) for Mañjuśrī in his śānta and krodha epiphanies, with a vidhi for the *luṅ-rta* banner.

69. *Chab-gtor,* 7 folios. A jalabali-vidhi. In the Tanjur there are two opuscules with the title *Chu-gtor-gyi cho-ga* (Toh. 3775, 3779). S.C. Das, *Tibetan–English Dictionary,* renders *chu-gtor, chab-gtor* as *tarpaṇa. TWB* 6928 is a *chab-gtor* to Śākyamuni (*TWB* renders *chab-gtor* as arghapūjāvidhi).

70. *Phyug-glud,* 6 folios. It pertains to the rites of "substitute-offering" for avert-

ing harm to cattle (see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:361–62). For the various *glud* see references in Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:639, index.

71. *Rmad-byuṅ-srid-ma,* 5 folios.

72. *Mtshan-sṅags,* 1 folio. A composition eulogising the component letters of the name of a deity or guru (cf. *TWB* 6482).

73. *Nor-rgyun-ma,* 2 folios. Vasundharā eulogium.

74. *Sgrol-ljaṅ,* 11 folios. A eulogy addressed to Green Tārā.

75. *Ḥbru-ḥphel-baḥi gzuṅs,* 5 folios. A dhāraṇī for the increase of grain-harvest.

ILLUSTRATIONS

76. *Kun-rig-gi dkyil-ḥkhor dpar:* mandala of Sarvavid.

77. *Bde Gsaṅ Ḥjigs gsum-gyi dkyil-ḥkhor dpar:* an illustration of the mandala of the triad of Saṁvara, Guhyasamāja and Bhairava.

78. *So-sor-ḥbran-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Mahāpratisarā. For *sruṅ-ḥkhor* see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:504–05.

79. *Rnam-ḥjom bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Vajravidāraṇa. Rnam-ḥjoms is a short appellation of Vajrav° (e.g. G. de Roerich, *Blue Annals,* p. 538).

80. *Khro-bcuḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of the Ten Krodha Deities. On them see *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon,* part 2, p. 5; B. Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī* introd. p. 36; RaghuVira, *Kālacakra-tantra* 3.23 (*krodha-vṛnda).*

81. *Ḥod-zer-can-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Mārīcī.

82. *Sgrol-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* a rakṣācakra of Tārā.

83. *Tsakra-bcu-gsum-maḥi bsruṅ-ḥkhor:* rakṣācakra of the Trayodaśātmaka [Vajrabhairava]. See *TWB* 5100 (Bu-ston), 5518 (Mkhas-grub Dge-legs-dpal-bzaṅ-po), 6272 (Dharmabhadra), 6441 (Dbyaṅs-can-grub-paḥi-rdo-rje).

84. *Thog bsruṅ:* a protective rite, or more probably a rakṣācakra, against lightning. Consult Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:479–80.

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29. NĀMA-SAṄGĪTI AS A HYMN OF ADVAYA NAMES

INTRODUCTION

In 1972, the Ambika Press, 214 Indra Chowk, Agamchok, Kathmandu has published the *Advaya-paramārtha nāma-saṅgīti,* edited by Divyavajra Vajracarya. The title omits the name of Mañjuśrī, and instead it has advaya-paramārtha. The status of Mañjuśrī in the text deserves reconsideration. Is the Nāma-Saṅgīti (NS) a recitation of the names of advaya-paramārtha? What light is thrown by the Indonesian Advaya-sādhana, to which Buddhologist have hardly given serious attention. The Advaya-sādhana of the Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan raises a number of questions about the development of Mantrayāna, the evolution of the concept of advaya and its position in Mantrayāna.

Is the NS a chant of Mañjuśrī names? In 1985 Shambhala has published "Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī. The Mañjuśrī nāma-saṅgīti. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. Translated, with Annotations & Introduction by Alex Wayman." Beginning with the title of the work down to the mooring of its subject-matter deserves a fresh study from Sanskrit, Indonesian, Tibetan and Chinese sources. How has the tradition viewed the context and contents?

CHINESE TITLES

1. The NS was translated into Chinese by Dānapala in the year AD 1002 under the Chinese title (K 1419, Nj 1408, T 1187):

佛說最勝妙吉祥根本智最上秘密一切名義三摩地分

Literally, the Chinese means:

Fo-shuo (Buddha-bhāṣita) tsui-sheng (uttama) miao-chi shiang (mañjuśrī) ken-pen chih (mūla-jñāna) tsui-shang (anuttara) pi-mi (guhya) i-ch'ieh (sarva) ming-i (nāmārtha) san-mo-ti (samādhi) fen (varga) (Nj anuttara mañjuśrī has to be corrected to uttama mañjuśrī).

2. The second Chinese translation is by Chin-tsung-chih (Jap. Konsōji) who worked in China from 1111–17 (Hob. 266). Chin-tsung-chih was of Indian origin and his name has been reconstructed by Nj 1370 as Suvaṇadhāraṇī, but it can better be Suvarṇadhara. The Chinese title (Nj 1370, T 1188, K–) runs:

文殊所說最勝名義經

Its literal meaning is:

Wen-shu-su-shuo (Mañjuśrī-bhāṣita) tsui-sheng (uttama) ming-i (nāmārtha) ching(sūtra).

3. The third translation into Chinese was done by Shih-chih (Jap. Shakuchi, T 1190) during the Yüan dynasty (1277–1367). This is the only work of this monk of

Tibetan origin. His Chinese name means Śākyajñāna, which would be Śākya-ye-śes in Tibetan. The Chinese title runs (Nj 1032, T 1190, K–):

聖妙吉祥眞實名經

Sheng (ārya) miau-chi-shiang (Mañjuśrī) chen-shih (parama) ming (nāma) ching (sūtra). The Sanskrit title is given at the beginning as: Mañjuśrī-nāma-nah-chi-ting=Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti.

4. A fourth Chinese translation (T 1189) is by Sharapa (=Śes-rab?) of Hsi-hsia origin, who lived 1259–1314. He was a disciple of Ḥphags-pa. The Chinese title runs:

文殊菩薩最勝眞實名義經

Wen-shu (Mañjuśrī) p'u-sa (bodhisattva) tsui-shang (parama) chan-shih (satya) ming-i (nāmārtha) ching (sūtra).

The aforesaid Chinese titles point to the inherent difficulties in translating the Sanskrit title of the work even in the 11th century when the traditions were alive both in ritual and philosophy. The second translation of Chin-tsung-chih (Nj 1370) makes it clear that the sutra was spoken by Mañjuśrī, and it is not the recitation of his names. Dānapala's version (Nj 1408) renders paramārtha as 'chih-tsui (anuttara) pi-mi (guhya) i-chieh (sarva) ming (nāma) i (artha)'. It indicates that paramārtha means anuttara guhyārtha, that is, transcendant esoteric meaning or symbolic significance of all the names. These names lead to visualisation and thereby to samādhi. Of all the four Chinese translations, only the one of Dānapala, takes the word saṅgīti into account. Saṅgīti was substituted by the well-known word samādhi: "through this union of recitation and meditation, the initiations are attained" (Hopkins 1982:211). The Chinese translations speak of the 'Meaning of Names, the symbolism of epithets'.

TIBETAN TITLE

The Tibetan title is identical in all the xylographic editions and mss, with minor variants: Ḥjam-dpal ye-śes-sems-dpaḥi don-dam-paḥi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par-brjod-pa (Peking ed. Rgyud Ka 1–15b) = Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya paramārtha-nāma-saṅgīti. It precedes the Kālacakra-tantra in most of the editions. Bu-ston also places it before the Kālacakra, and he has the title Ḥjam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par-brjod-pa (Nishioka 1983:69 no.1545).

In the Ḥjan Sa-thaṅ edition the title is short: Ḥphags-pa Ḥjam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par-brjod-pa (Imaeda 1984:57 no. 349).

The title of the Narthang edition is translated by Körös (1836:184) as: Enumeration of the several names or epithets of Mañjuśrī. Told by Śākya at the request of Vajradhara.

In the Derge edition (Toh. 360), the translators are Kamalagupta and Rin-chen-

bzaṅ-po.

The Urga edition (Bethlenfalvy 1980:86 no.362) has the same title as P with the variant ye-śes-sems-dpaḥ (without the genetive suffix). The Sanskrit title is Mañjuśrī-jñānasatvasya paramārtha-nāma-saṅgīti. The short title is Ḥjam-dpal-gyi mtshan yaṅ-dag-par-brjod-pa.

In manuscript editions the NS precedes the Māyājāla-tantra: in the Stog Palace ms (Skorupski 1985:229 no. 427), and in the Rgyal-rtse Them-spaṅs-ma ms (Bethlenfalvy 1982:42 no. 492 Rgyud CHA). The ambiguity of the role of Mañjuśrī is reflected in the reading of this edition: -sems-dpaḥ (without any declensional ending). In the longer colophon of the Berlin ms it is a work of mahāyoga-tantra in its samādhijāla section (Beckh 1914:72).

In the Tibetan Tanjur (Cordier 2) the name of the text is Nāma-saṅgīti in 26 commentaries: 44.1, 3, 58.1, 2, 59.7, 8, 60.1, 10–14, 18–20, 26–28, 41, 61.24–27, 71.16, 169, 171. It is Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti in 47 commentaries: 5.9–13, 44.2, 5, 17, 58.1–3, 59.3–6, 9, 60.3–9, 15–17, 29–31, 33–37, 40, 42, 61.2, 5–8, 10, 29–31, 82.1, 5.

SANSKRIT TITLES

Sanskrit mss have the following colophons with variations: *Ārya-māyājālāt ṣoḍaśasāhasrikān mahāyogatantr-āntaḥpāti-samādhijāla-paṭalād bhagavat-tathāgata-śrī-Śākyamuni-bhāṣitā bhagavato Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasy-ādvaya-paramārthā nāma-saṅgītiḥ parisamāptā/* (Bendall 1883:48, Add. 1323).

The colophon of Paris ms 62 has the noteworthy variant: *Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya paramārthā nāma-saṅgīti parisamāptaḥ//* (Filliozat 1941:31). Paris ms 159 omits the genetive (-jnanasattva-, Filliozat 1941:96).

Tokyo mss 89, 209 *Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya paramārtha-nāmasaṅgīti*. Tokyo ms 207 has a short colophon: *bhagavato mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya daya-paramārtho nāma-saṅgīti*. Tokyo ms 208 differs: *Ārya-māyājāla-ṣoḍaśa-sāhasrikāyā mahāyoga-tantr-āntaḥpāti-samādhijāla-paṭalād bhagavato mañjuśrī-jñānakāyasya bhagavat-śākyamuni-tathāgata-bhāṣitā bhagavato mañjuśrī-jñānakāyasy-ādvayaparamārthā nāma-saṁgīti*. Tokyo ms 214 shows yet another variant: *Ārya-māyājālāt ṣoḍaśa-sāhasri-kāt mahāyoga-tantr-āntapāti-samādhijāla-paṭalād bhagavato mañjuśrī-jñānakāyasya bhagavat-śākyamuni-tathāgata-bhāṣitā bhagavato mañjuśrī-jñānakāyasy-ādvaya-param-ārtha nāma-saṁgīti* (Matsunami 1965:259).

The colophons make it clear that:

(i) Mañjuśrī is in the line of transmission of the NS: Śākyamuni/Śākyasiṁha→ Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva (compare the illustration of Mañjughoṣa in the beginning of the Beckh ms).

(ii) The NS is derived from the samādhijāla-paṭala of the mahāyoga-tantra Māyājāla. The Māyājāla is 16000 ślokas in extent.

(iii) The contents are the chanting of names in their esoteric meaning of advaya (advaya-paramārtha-nāmasaṅgīti). The names do not pertain to Mañjuśrī, but they represent the neyārtha (here designated paramārtha) of advaya.

In the Nāma-saṅgīti-ṭippaṇī entitled Amṛta-kaṇikā it is stated in the introductory stanzas that Śākyasiṁha Buddha was requested by eager hearers of various tantras to preach the NS at the Dhānyakaṭaka mahā-caitya. On the full-moon day of the caitra month he displayed (*visphārya)* the dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara mandala, over it the nakṣatra mandala Ādibuddha. The same day he gave the initiation (Buddhābhiṣeka) to the gods and others and preached the mantra-nīti according to the classification of big and small tantras (*bṛhal-laghu-tantra-bhedena).* Among them this Nāma-saṅgīti is eminent of all mantra-naya because it is a treasure of the most unfathomable paramārtha (*tatra ceyam eva nāma-saṅgītiḥ parama-duravagāha-paramārtha-nidhi... sarva-mantra-naya-pradhāna-bhūtā).* Herein Vajradhara's knowledge of esoteric syllables (*param-ākṣara-jñāna)* is the heart of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Vajradhara imparts the knowledge of esoteric syllables under the pretext of asking the Buddha for instructions in sixteen stanzas that commence the NS (Cowell 1875:27, Bendall 1883:30).

An Amṛta-kaṇik-oddyota by Vibhūticandra, is known from a palm-leaf ms in 90 folios, at the Tokyo University Library (Matsunami 1965:8 no.18).

A third commentary is Nāma-mantr-ārth-āvalokinī nāmnī nāma-saṅgīti-ṭīkā (Ryōtai 1954:71 no. 172), a ms in the National Archives, Kathmandu. Another palm-leaf ms dated AD 1457 of this commentary by Vilāsavajra is preserved at the Cambridge University Library (Bendall 1883:203 Add. 1708). Mañjuśrī is not an integral part of the title and the commentary explains the meanings of the names and mantras.

The Tibetan Tanjur has 73 commentaries.

MEANING OF THE TITLE

The various elements in the title of NS are to be explained as follows:

1. Mañjuśrī-jñānasatvasya (-ttva): Mañjuśrī as the jñānasattva or knowledge-being proclaims the NS. This is clear from its Chinese translation by Chin-tsung-chih (Nj 1370, T 1188), which says *Wen-shu-su shuo = Mañjuśrī-bhāṣita.* In the text itself, Vajradhara with innumerable Vajrapāṇis (*anantair vajrapāṇibhiḥ* 1.13) bows to and implores the Sambuddha to impart the Nāma-saṅgīti of the gnosis-embodiment Mañjuśrī (1.10), which has been proclaimed in the Māyājāla-mahātantra (1.13). The use of the genetive form Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya is not only ambiguous but also misleading. Mañjuśrī pronounces a number of sūtras, e.g. the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra: "At that time Maitreya Bodhi-

sattva reflected thus: "How does the World-honoured one display an appearance so marvelous. What is the cause and reason of this auspicious sign? Now that the Buddha, the World-honoured one, has entered into his contemplation and such inconceivable and unprecedented wonders appear, of whom shall I inquire, and who will be able to answer? Again, he reflected thus: 'Here is Mañjuśrī, the son of the Law-king, who has been in close contact with and paid homage to former innumerable Buddhas, and who must have witnessed such unprecedented signs as these. Let me now ask him' " (Kato 1975:34).

2. The word *advaya* = Mahāvairocana or yoga-tantra in the AS. In the NS the names pertain to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala and the sapiences of the other four Tathāgatas surrounding him. The word *advayodayāṁ* (4.1) indicates that the NS is related to advaya.

The following equations emerge from a study of the NS and AS:

mantra-naya=caryā-tantra

mahā-mantra-naya=yoga-tantra=advaya 'the incomparable'.

The title of the first work of Saṅ hyaṅ Kamahāyanikan (SHK) is Mantranaya which comprises the caryā-tantra and the Adhyardha-śatikā prajñāpāramitā. The second work of SHK is Advaya-sādhana which deals with yoga-tantra. The expression mahā-mantranaya occurs in NS 6.1 and from it arises Mahāvairocana (*Mahāvairocano...mahāmantra-nayodbhūto...).* Advaya in the title of NS refers to Mahāvairocana of yoga-tantras.

3. The third word is *paramārtha.* In the text of the NS itself we have the epithet *mahārthāṁ nāma-saṅgītiṁ* (2.5). In 10.15 the word *paramārtha* is not translated by Prof. Wayman and the commentary of Narendrakīrti explains it as: "the nontwo source for all the aims of oneself and others": "non-two source" =advayodaya 'arisen of advaya' that is the yoga-tantras. The word paramārtha corresponds to tattva 'essence, core, heart' in the title of the fundamental yoga-tantra Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha.

In the Old Javanese Buddhist kāvya Kuñjarakarṇa 23.3 *paramārtha* means 'in quintessence.' Thus advaya-paramārtha would mean 'the quintessence of advaya or yoga-tantras'. Paramārtha-satya and saṁvṛti-satya are the two truths that are vital to the Mādhyamika system. Murti (1960:244) defines: "Parmārtha Satya or Absolute Truth is the knowledge of the real as it is without any distortion (parama uttamo 'rthaḥ paramārthaḥ. akṛtrimaṁ vasturūpam, sarva-dharmāṇām niḥsvabhāvatā, Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā p. 354). ...It is said: "The paramārtha is in fact the unutterable (*anabhilāpya*), the unthinkable, unteachable, etc." *(yaḥ punaḥ paramārthaḥ so 'nabhilāpyaḥ, anajñeyaḥ aparijñeyaḥ, avijñeyaḥ, ādeśitaḥ, aprakāśitaḥ* etc. from Pitā-putra-samāgama as quoted in Śikṣā-samuccaya p. 256; Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā p. 367)."

Advaya-paramārtha thus refers to the symbolic names and meanings of the system of yoga-tantra centering around Mahavairocana, and as depicted in the Vajradhātu-

mahāmaṇḍala. The fourth chapter of the NS itself points out that it is based on the system of Māyājāla which is a yoga-tantra. The fifth chapter of the NS is entitled the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala-gāthāḥ. Mahāmaṇḍala is a technical term for the first of the six maṇḍalas of the first samaya of the STTS which is divided into four samayas. The various epithets in NS 5.2 are correlated to the deities of the mahāmaṇḍala by the commentary of Smṛtijñānakīrti (Wayman 1985:68):

Anutpādaḥ	Sattvavajrī the letter A, the cause of the mirrorlike wisdom (*ādarśa-jñāna*), voidness gate (*śūnyatā-[vimokṣa]-mukha*).
Vāg-udāhāra-varjitaḥ	Ratnavajrī the letter Ā, the comprehension of the sameness wisdom (*samatā-jñāna*), signless gate (*animitta-[vimokṣa]-mukha*).
Sarv-ābhilāpa-hetv-agryaḥ	Dharmavajrī the letter AṀ, the condition for expressing the discriminative wisdom (*pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna*), wishless gate (*apraṇihita-[vimokṣa]-mukha*).
Sarva-vāk-suprabhāsvaraḥ	Karmavajrī the letter AḤ, clarifying the procedure-of-duty wisdom (*kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*), noninstigation gate (*anabhisaṁskāra-[vimokṣa]-mukha*) (among four gates to liberation).

The commentary leads us to surmise that paramārtha may be an expression for the symbolic names and their esoteric significance, like neyārtha 'hinted meaning' so widely used in the exegesis of tantric texts.

There are two ways of explaining esoteric expressions, according to Tsoṅ-kha-pa: "One according to the 'hinted meaning'(*neyārtha, draṅ ba'i don*), the other according to the 'evident meaning' (*nītārtha, ṅes pa'i don*)' (Wayman 1973:40).

The external representation of a maṇḍala becomes meaningful in contemplation after initiation. Ratnākaraśānti, in his Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhanopāyikā-vṛtti Ratnāvalī nāma, uses the terminology of 'hinted meaning'(*neyārtha*) and 'evident meaning' (nītārtha) which turns out to be the distinction between the conceptualized and then externally-represented maṇḍala on the one hand, and the body maṇḍala on the other (Wayman 1973:86). He (1985:9) further points out: "In short, when the verses of the M-N-S are rehearsed or chanted, as is, they constitute the "profound meaning" (paramārtha); and when identifications are superimposed, they become the "broad meaning"."

4. The compound *nāma-saṅgīti* is equivalent to *nāma-saṁkīrtana* which is "the glorification or incessant repetition of the name of a god, RTL 105; name of a chapter of Śivapurāṇa" (MW). MW records Nāma-māhātmya as the title of a work. There were texts eulogising 12 names of a deity, 108 names, 1000 names. The Nāma-dvādaśī is a ceremony of worshipping goddess Durgā under her twelve appellations. The Bhadrakalpika-sūtra eulogises the thousand epithets of the Buddha: later on converted into statues of Thousand Buddhas. Nembutsu in Japanese has two meanings: (i) Buddhānusmṛti 'meditation on the Buddha', and (ii) invocation of the name of Amitābha Buddha, which came into vogue from the time of Donran (476–542), the first patriarch of the Jodō sect. Nāma-japa is the third of the nine kinds of bhakti. In the Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma it is said: *śrutibhyāṁ smaraṇaṁ dhyānaṁ ca nāma-saṁkīrtane 'ntarbhūtam* (see Joshi 1968:34–37 s.v. *nāma-japa*). Thus the NS is the nāma-japa of the yoga-tantras and as such it can be a chanting of the names of its Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The expression *nāma-saṅgītiṁ... mañjuśrī-jñānakāyasya* (2.5) does not mean 'the chanting of the names of Mañjuśrī jñānakāya', but it signifies 'the names chanted by Mañjuśrī-jñānakāya'. Homage is paid to Mañjuśrī as the proponent of NS in 4.3. It is a common practice to eulogise the enunciator, for instance, Pāṇini's grammar begins with his eulogy: *yena dhautā giraḥ puṁsāṁ vimalaiḥ śabda-vāribhiḥ, etc.*

The commentators were not very clear about the context of the NS and they were also confused about the role of Mañjuśrī. This ambiguity is reflected in differing interpretations by various commentators. A chase for the 'names' of Mañjuśrī tempted some, e.g. Candrabhadrakīrti in his commentary on the 12th chapter on mantra-nyāsa. In his commentary on the third chapter of NS surveying the six families (ṣaṭ-kula) Candrabhadarakīrti has associated these families with Vairocana etc., but in the 12th chapter on mantras he has brought in six forms of Mañjuśrī, which is hardly warranted by the original stanzas. In his commentary on this chapter, Narendrakīrti does not associate the mantra-vinyāsa with the six Mañjuśrī but rightly gives a philosophical explanation.

The NS is a general text of chanting thrice daily. In this sense, it corresponds to the Hindu tri-sandhyā or the three daily prayers. It is a vaitulya text and as usual with this class of sūtras/tantras it was proclaimed by Mañjuśrī/Mañjughoṣa. As the giver of sūtras he was Vagīśvara 'the Lord of Speech', Vādirāja 'King of Speech'. But, in his intense fury as the master spokesman and vanquisher of those who defied the emergent way of Mantrayāna he was the invincible lion (NS 8.25): the Vādisiṁha 'Lion of Speech'. Mañjuśrī was the omnibus author of several Mahayana sūtras, and it was necessary to bring in the Sambuddha to lend sovereign sanctity, commanding authority and absolute sway to the NS.

In the Chinese Tripiṭaka, the titles of majority of the sūtras begin with Fo-

shuo=Buddha-bhāṣita 'spoken by the Buddha'. When the NS was spoken by the Buddha, the role of Mañjuśrī was unsettled and baffled later commentators. Only Chin-tsung-chih (Nj 1370) spells out in unmistakable terms *Wen-shu-su shuo* 'spoken by *(su)* Mañjuśrī'. The Kathmandu edition does not have Mañjuśrī in the title: Advaya-paramārtha-nāma-saṅgīti.

SIX FAMILIES

The intention of the original writer in chapter 3 was not to enumerate families (kula), but to eulogise Mantrayāna in general, which was spoken of as mantra-kula. It was a general statement about the vidyādharas, the three families of Amitābha, Vairocana and Mahāvairocana of the kriyā, caryā and yoga tantras; the families that enshrined the transcendental *(lokottara)*,the Light *(āloka)* that illumined the inner world, etc. When the NS was structured according to the Māyājāla the two stanzas became a chapter with the title *ṣaṭ-kul-āvalokana* 'surveying the six families': which six families were intended originally in the Māyājāla has to be sought out. The two stanzas do not complete a sentence, but they are a protasis anticipating a consequent apodosis. The tenor of the stanzas: 'The Śākyamuni having surveyed the families'..., other stanzas should follow to complete the idea. The concluding clause, so to say, is the fourth chapter in which Śākyamuni pronounces the gāthā comprised of six mantrarāja and arisen from advaya. Gramatically the two chapters 3 and 4 are one unit. The six mantrarāja are the vowels A I U E O AṀ (not counting their long or companion vowels). Every letter is a mantra (*nāsty amantram akṣaram*) and more so the vowels which are mantrarāja. With akṣara (imperishable, final beautitude, Brahma–MW) stationed in the heart the devotee becomes the embodiment of Gnosis, and pays homage to the Lord. The a-dvaya = vi-tula or Vaitulya/Vaipulya, an earlier designation of the tantras. As such the NS was originally not aligned to a specific text, but to the advaya tradition, the three classes of the tantras in general. The philosophical explanations in Smṛtijñānakīrti's commentary are later sophistication of a simple devotional context.

The six families of third chapter are as follows.

mantra-kula	Candrabhadrakīrti	Smṛtijñānakīrti
1. mantra-vidyādhara-kula	Vajrasattva-kula	karma-kula
2. kula-traya (Body, Speech, Mind)	Vairocana-kula	Tathāgata-kula
3. loka-lokottara-kula	Amitābha-kula	padma-kula
4. lokāloka-kula	Akṣobhya-kula	vajra-kula
5. mahāmudrā-kula	Amoghasiddhi-kula	bodhicitta-vajra-kula
6. mahoṣṇīṣa-kula	Ratnasambhava-kula	ratna-kula

In an analysis according to both the commentators they would constitute one maṇḍala. Prof. Wayman (1985:23f.) has termed them six maṇḍalas and added another, namely the seventh, maṇḍala on the basis of wrong interpretation of NS 4.1 *ṣaḍ-mantra-rājana-saṁyuktām* 'accompanied by the six Mantra Kings'. Mantrarājana are vowels which have high *(rājana)* mantric power. The Sanskrit compound means: 'consisting of six syllables', like the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* of Avalokiteśvara. Wayman is being misled in trying to locate six mandalas of Mañjuśrī, while in fact the Māyājāla conceives of it as the Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala. The title of the work confused later commentators and they sought "candidates of Mañjuśrī forms that would go with" a particular heading (Wayman 1985:33).

EVOLUTION OF THE NS AND ITS AFFILIATION TO VARIOUS TANTRAS

The NS underwent a number of changes. Four phases can be discerned in the evolution of the NS:

I. In the first phase, the original comprised 150 stanzas and had no captions. In this early phase it would have ended with the present tenth chapter thereby making up a total of 157 verses.

The general layout of the un-chapterised NS can be worked out as follows:

i. Request for instructions by Vajradhara and reply by Śākyamuni (ch. 1, 2).
ii. Śākyamuni imparts the supreme gāthā of Mantrayāna (ch. 3, 4)
iii. Recitation of advaya names by Lord Buddha (ch. 5–10).

II. In the second phase, the NS was concorded with the Māyājāla-tantra, which is reflected in the chapterisation of the extant version. It was during this phase that the chapters were given titles to correspond to the Māyājāla. The title of the fourth chapter māyājāla-abhisambodhi-krama-gāthāḥ clearly affiliates itself to the Māyājāla. As a yoga-tantra, the Māyājāla pertains to the Vajradhātu maṇḍala which is chapter 5 in the NS. Thereafter follow the Five Jñānas of the Five Tathāgatas in chapters 6–10. The breakup of stanza 6.25 in chapters 6 and 7 betrays an interpretative chapterisation. The specific mention of Māyājāla in the last stanza of the 11th chapter was inducted when the NS was associated with Māyājāla. Chapters 11, 12 and 13 are later additions.

The layout becomes more specific with the chapterisation according to the Māyājāla-tantra:

(i) Solicitation of Vajradhara

1. adhyeṣaṇā	[Vajradhara's] request for instructions
2. prativacana	[Śākyamuni's] reply

(ii) Introduction

3. ṣaṭ-kul-āvalokana	Surveying the six families (conformation to the

essence of Mantrayāna)

4. Māyājālābhisambodhi-krama — Correlation with Māyājāla (within Mantrayāna)
5. Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala — The maṇḍala in general

(iii) The Five Knowledge (jñāna) of the Five Tathāgatas

6. suviśuddha-dharmadhātu-jñāna — Vairocana (C)
7. ādarśa-jñāna — Akṣobhya (E)
8. pratyavekṣaṇā-jñāna — Amitāyus (W)
9. samatā-jñāna — Ratnasambhava (S)
10. kṛty-ānuṣṭhāna-jñāna — Amoghasiddhi (N)

The above represents the classical structure of the yoga-tantras (Tajima 1959:74, 266) as propounded in the STTS. The order of chapters 8 and 9 has interchanged. The six families of Candrabhadrakīrti (Wayman 1985:25) are a later interpretation, and it runs counter to the NS 6.18 (*pañcajñānātmako vibhuḥ*). The jñāna section in the Śaiva āgamas held a prominent place. Likewise the Pañca-jñāna of the Pañca-Tathāgata was specially eulogised in the NS.

(iv) Summing up

11. Pañca-Tathāgata-jñāna-stuti — Eulogy of the knowledge of Five Tathāgatas
12. Mantra-vinyāsa — Disposition of mantras

    12.4, 5, 6 are one sentence. Their forced partition into three by Candrabhadrakīrti is to accommodate his sixfold classification.

13. Upasaṁhāra — Epilogue

    In the first chapter Vajradhara entreats the Buddha to preach and this chapter is its logical conclusion wherein Vajradhara rejoices in gratitude for the promulgation of the pure path as enunciated in the Māyājāla-naya (note naya=tantra).

In the colophons of Sanskrit mss the NS falls within the mahāyoga-tantra entitled Māyājāla, 16,000 stanzas in extent (1 stanza is a unit of 32 syllables). Wayman (1985:5) thinks that the NS "may well have started out as a chapter in a kind of *Māyājāla-mahātantra* which is named in the MNS1.13. The inclusion as a "*Gīti*" (song) chapter in a bigger work is consistent with the basic text of the MNS not being chapterized, e.g. in the carefully edited Dharamsala Tibetan text that I have consulted".

"Māyājāla-tantra represents a transitory period from the yoga group scriptures, beginning with the Tattvasaṁgraha-tantra, to the Guhyasamāja, which is representative of the anuttara-yoga group scriptures" (Nakamura 1980:332). This led to the transition from mahāyoga to anuttara-yoga and consequent insistence on sixfold classification.

III. The third phase is represented by the Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakratantra. It says that the NS has 162 verses (Wayman 1985:42): the last two chapters on mantras and summing up are excluded. Did the Vimalaprabhā use a version

with captions? It needs investigation. Xylographed editions of the Tibetan Canon, or Kanjur, place the NS alongside the Kālacakra-tantra. The NS is classed as an anuttara-yoga-tantra by Bu-ston, Stog Palace manuscript, Derge (Toh. 360), Peking (Wayman 1973:236), Urga no. 362, and others.

IV. In the fourth phase, version of the text is more or less crystallised, but commentaries present divergent exegeses showing correlations to various texts or just variant interpretations without affiliation to a text. NS was couched in such general terms that it was amenable to a wide (or wild) spectrum of interpretations. The differences in the interpretations of various commentaries deserve close study in the future.

Being a text of daily recitation and deeply entrenched in the religious ethos, different tantras were correlated to the NS for a familiar milieu, enduring acceptance, and attested authenticity. To sum up, it was associated with the following classes of tantras:

Yoga-tantras

i. Līlāvajra's lineage, represented by Smṛtijñānakīrti

ii. Mañjuśrīmitra lineage, represented by Candrabhadrakīrti

Anuttara-yoga: Kālacakra-tantra

iii. Kālacakra-tantra. Narendrakīrti's commentary.

iv. Hevajra-tantra. Naropa cites NS in his commentary on the Hevajra (Wayman 1985:6, 10–22).

Anuttara-yoga: Father Tantras

v. Yamāntaka/Yamāri

vi. Guhyasamāja lineage

NS IS NOT THE NAMES OF MAÑJUŚRĪ

The NS gained wide popularity because of the limpid flow of its devotional fervour and poesy, besides its non-denominational character. Irrespective of specific affiliation to any deity or school, it could be chanted by all. The epithets were symbolic names of advaya or knowledge exempt from duality. The NS speaks of advaya in 6.6 and other places. Advaya is the philosophical aspect of Mantrayāna, especially of the yoga-tantras. The second text of thè Indonesian work Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan, Advaya-sādhana, is on advaya which is instrinsically linked with the yoga-tantras throughout. The affiliation of advaya was lost in later times and every denomination interpreted the NS in its own light.

The compound advaya-paramārtha was incomprehensible to the common devotee and in course of time it became relegated to the background. The expression Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya came to the fore and confusion arose in the interpretation of the title and ultimately the whole hymn came to be associated with Mañjuśrī, e.g. Wayman's trans-

lation "Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī" as the title of his book.

The role of Mañjuśrī as interlocutor of texts was also missed inspite of the fact that he was locutor in many widely prevalent and important sūtras like the Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā, Aparimitāyur-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra (Wayman 1985:3). In this capacity he is Mañjughoṣa, in which case Mañjuśrī would be his name as a bodhisattva of the Tenth Stage. Vādirāja (king of speech), Vādisiṁha (lion of speech), Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara also hint at his locutorship. Bu-ston, in his interlinear comments at the end of the second chapter (adhyātma) of the Kālacakra, makes the comment "Mañjuśrī, teacher of the condensed tantra" on "You are" in "You are the mother. You are the father..." (Wayman 1985:7)

When Mañjuśrī as locutor was glossed over, the natural development was that the names were misconstrued as the epithets of Mañjuśrī; inspite of the clear statement of Vimalaprabhā that: "Whoever does not know the Nāma-saṅgīti does not know the knowledge body of Vajradhara" (Wayman 1985:8). The six epithets of NS 4.3 were interpreted as names of six Mañjuśrī (Wayman 1985:25). Smṛtijñānakīrti made out seven maṇḍalas of Mañjuśrī in the NS (Wayman 1985:23–35):

ch.		
4.	Māyājāla-abhisambodhi	Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara
5.	Vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala	Nāmasaṅgīti Mañjuśrī
6.	Viśuddha-dharmadhātu-jñāna	Arapacana
7.	Ādarśa-jñāna	Trailokyavijaya
8.	Pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna	Vādisiṁha
9.	Samatā-jñāna	Vādirāj
10.	Kṛty-ānuṣṭhāna-jñāna	Mañjuvajra

The correspondences are forced. Wayman (1985:23) rightly points out: "Smṛti's position is that each of the seven chapters can be interpreted as a maṇḍala, so there are seven. However, I have not found any of these authors willing to explain all six or all seven maṇḍalas. In practice, they mainly have maṇḍala rituals going with the Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, the Arapacana group, and the Vajrabhairava cult of the fierce Mañjuśrī, in short, three maṇḍalas, no matter whether they think there are six or seven".

To associate the NS with Mañjuśrī, paragraphs of prose were inserted in some versions (e.g. in Minayeff's edition) to extol the contemplation of the deity Mañjuśrī. The prose interpolations are a later composition than the NS and they are lacking in the Peking diglot edition as well as the Dharmasala edition, though they were translated by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (Wayman 1985:42–46). Mañjuśrī became a complex puzzle in the maze of generalities of the NS.

Most of the interpretations of the NS make it conform to their system. The

chapterisation and concordance of the NS to the Māyājāla-tantra must have been an early attempt in this direction. The efforts of Smṛtijñānakīrti to correlate the NS to Mañjuśrī are evidently a *tour de force*. Other commentaries also imposed their world-view on the NS.

NS AS A GENERAL HYMN OF ADVAYA NAMES

The rise of the Mahāsaṅghika Lokottaravādins lead to qualitative changes in the perceptions and precepts, rituals and plastic arts of Buddhism. Regional accents became a part of the main flow of Buddhism. Śākyamuni became Śākyasiṁha:

Mayā hi sarvaṁ jetavyam ahaṁ jeyo na kena cit/
Mayaiva māno voḍhavyo jinasiṁha-suto hy aham//

Matics (1971:191) translates the above stanza of the Bodhicaryāvatāra 7.55 as follows:

> All is to be conquered by me, I am not to be conquered by anyone—
> This is the pride which I shall bear, for I am a son of the Conqueror-Lion.

Batchelor (1979:95) renders it as:

> I will conquer everything
> And nothing at all shall conquer me!
> I, a son of the Lion-like Conqueror,
> Should remain self-confident in this way.

The above stanza shows the confrontation that the new order had to contend with. This is reflected in the Kathāvatthu 17.10 (trans. 321) where the views of Vetulyakas are controverted, and in several other works and inscriptions.

The new order was designated as Vaitulyavāda (Pali Vetullavāda) whose texts were Vaitulya/Vaipulya sūtras. Vi-tula(=*a-tula*) signified incomparable: they were different from the existing sūtras as well as beyond compare or superior to them. The main characteristics of the Vaitulya/Vaipulya sūtras were:

i. The Buddha was in essence transcendental (*lokottara*).
ii. His Enlightenment was termed *abhi*-sambodhi instead of Bodhi/Sambodhi.
iii. Emphasis on the symbolism of light. In the Vaipulya-sūtra Lalitavistara as the Buddha goes into samādhi, rays emanate from his head which illumine all the heavenly worlds. The Sanskrit vidyā-rāja is translated into Sino-Japanese as myō-ō 'light-king' where vidyā is light. The Vaitulya-sūtras were later termed tantras; and their central deities Amitābha, Vairocana and Heruka are all symbols of light.
iv. The Vaitulya texts are spoken by Bhagavān Buddha/Sambuddha to Vajradhara/Vajrapāṇi and they were transmitted by Mañjuśrī/Mañjughoṣa. A multitude of bodhisattvas assembled on the mythic mount Vimalasvabhāva to the south of

Rājagṛha to compile the Mahāyāna sūtras. The Council was presided over by Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī repeated the Abhidharma, Maitreya the Vinaya, and Vajrapāṇi the sūtras. The apostles of the Buddha have been replaced here by divine bodhisattvas.

The vast Vaitulya tradition crystallised into a triple classification of: kriyā, caryā and yoga-tantras on the analogy of the Śaiva Āgamas which had four pādas or sections: vidyā/jñāna, kriyā, caryā and yoga, further subdivided into several paṭalas/prakaraṇas. For example, the Mātaṅga-pārameśvar-āgama and Mṛgendr-āgama have four pādas each. In Buddhism, the four were mistaken to be (or perhaps intentionally treated as) four divisions. The fourfold classification, or the earlier threefold, led to complications in assigning a text to a specified division, as in fact, every text had an element of ritual (kriyā), conduct or praxis (caryā), yoga, and knowledge (jñāna). Criteria of classification were developed, but the feasibility of assigning an exclusive division was difficult. So a text could fall in two divisions, and various editions and manuscripts of the Tibetan Canon (Kanjur and Tanjur) in fact show variations in the placement of tantras. In the period preceding classification, some texts were of such a general nature that it was easy to interpret them as expressions of different tantras.

The Nāma-saṅgīti was a general Vaitulya text and it is rightly placed at the beginning of tantras in the Peking edition of the Kanjur, as generalia. The title of the Nepalese edition Advaya-paramārtha-nāma-saṅgīti means 'the chanting of symbolic names of advaya'. Commentary on the Sutrālaṅkāra 6.1 says that paramārtha 'absolute meaning' is advayārtha 'non-two meaning' (Wayman 1984:335). Advaya 'without a second, sans compare' means vi-tula 'incomparable', i.e. it is a recitation of Vaitulya epithets. It has been the daily recitation-book of Mantrayāna Buddhists, chanted thrice: in the morning, afternoon and evening. Originally it was a hymn of 150 stanzas, like the Śatapañcāśatka 'Hymn of 150 Verses' of Mātṛceta. Both Tāranātha and "Bu-ston relate that Candragomin (? sixth century AD), arriving at the great monastery of Nalanda, was asked what sciences he knew. He replied that he knew the grammar of Pāṇini, the Mañjuśrīnāmasaṁgīti, and the Hymn of 150 Verses" (Bailey 1951:17). They contributed largely to the propagation of the Dharma. The Adhyardha-śatikā prajñāpāramitā or Naya-sūtra, about 150 stanzas in extent, is recited daily by dedicated devotees of Shingon in Japan to our day. Kulatraya (NS. 3.1) simply means the three kulas of Amitābha, Vairocana (of caryā-tantras), and Mahāvairocana (of yoga-tantras). The three families later became tantra-traya (Nāgarakṛtāgama, Krom 1927:2.305).

In conclusion we may say that it was a general Mantrayāna text, that flowed out of the spontaneity of devotion to find verbal expression of the ineffable. The pocket edition from Kathmandu, published recently, has the appropriate title Advaya-paramārtha-nāma-saṅgīti.

30. THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ḤJAM-DBYAṄS-BZHAD-PA

Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I is well-known for his masterly manuals of study (*yig-cha)* which are highly esteemed among the Gelukpa. These manuals form the academic curricula in the universities of Tibet (including Kham and Amdo), Inner and Outer Mongolia, Buryats, Kalmuks and other regions inhabited by the Mongols. They go by the name of *Sgo-maṅ yig-cha,* and embrace every branch of Buddhist philosophy. The vast geographic expanse of the study of the manuals of the great Master entitle him to a unique position in the Lamaist world. The present note intends to outline a biographic sketch of the saint-scholar and to give a survey of his works.

From a short life-sketch, which has been very kindly sent to me by academician Dr. Rinchen of Ulanbator, we learn that Ḥjam-dbaṅs-bzhad-pa I[1] Ṅag-dbaṅ-brtson-ḥgrus dpal-bzaṅ-po was born in the 22nd Earth-Mouse year of the eleventh rab-byuṅ cycle (AD 1648) in the area Mdo-smad Rgaṅ-gyaḥi-ltiṅ-riṅ (*sic).* His father was Dpal-śul-kha-ḥdal-dpaḥ-ḥbum-rgyal (*sic)* and his mother's name was Thar-mo-byams. At the age of seven, he studied the alphabet with his uncle bhikṣu Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, and within a short time he mastered reading and writing. At the age of thirteen, he became a pravrajita under Vinayadhara Ye-śes-rgya-mtsho. He took the vows of a śramaṇera (*dge-tshul)* under the same scholar. He kept his vows assiduously as if they were the apple of his eye (*mig-ḥbras ltar bsruṅ).* At the age of 21, in the Ape year (AD 1668) he proceeded to Tibet for his studies. He paid obeisance to the two Jo-bo at Lhasa. He had audience with the Panchen Lama Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, the Dalai Lama Blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho and other eminent gurus. He took his final vows of a śramaṇera (*dge-tshul)* with the ācārya of Sgo-maṅ college of the Drepung Monastery. In that very year he got admitted into the sacred Sgo-maṅ college and devoted himself assiduously to his studies. Attaining the 26th year, he went to Gsaṅ-phu for his degree of Dkaḥ-bcu. At the age of 27 he got his full ordination *(bsñen-par-rdzogs-pa 'upasampanna')* from the Great Fifth (Dalai Lama) and became a

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[1]See Günther Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* (Leipzig, 1958), pp. 288–89; G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls,* p. 260 n. 234. Rock 1956.39–41 gives the biography from Chinese sources.

The Second Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa was Dkon-mchog-ḥjigs-med-dbaṅ-po-ye-śes-brtson-ḥgrus-grags-paḥi-sde-dpal-bzaṅ-po. He is known by his short title 'Kun-mkhyen sku bar-ba' (Kun-mkhyen /*sarvajña* is the usual appellation of the Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa incarnations). His date is AD 1728–91: "The Author of the Hor chos ḥbyuṅ" by G.N. de Roerich, *JRAS* 1946:194. His works are listed by Kloṅ-rdol in his *Bkaḥ-gdams-pa daṅ dge-lugs bla-ma rag-rim-gyi gsuṅ-ḥbum mtshan-tho* ('A catalogue of the works of Kadampa and Gelukpa Lamas': *TWB* 6555). A complete list of his works appears in Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* 1963:207f.

Vinayapati. From his 29th year he entered the Smad-rgyud College and sat at the feet of eminent masters like Ācārya Blo-gros-rgya-mtsho, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lcaṅ-skya Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-ldan,[2] Rgyud-chen Dkon-mchog-yar-ḥphel. He heard their discourses on the sūtras and tantras and became an unsurpassed scholar. From the age of 33 to 55 he sat in meditation in the Dge-ḥphel ri-khrod, a cave near Drepung, and attained siddhi. At 53, in the Iron-Dragon year (AD 1700) he came to the Seat of Holy Sgo-maṅ. He led this college to fame. At the age of 60 he retired from this position. At the age of 62 he returned to his country Mdo-smad with the idea of constructing a new monastery over there. The following year he got the title of *Erdeni nom-un qaγan* and a seal from the Fifth Dalai Lama. In that very year he constructed a new monastery at a place called Bkra-śis-ḥkhyil. A donor gave him a square felt tent *(phyiṅ-gur gru-bzhi)* in which 800 people could congregate. He made it an assembly hall. More than 300 disciples gathered to hear the dharma. He made Dkaḥ-bcu-pa Ṅag-dbaṅ-bkra-śis the abbot of the grva-tshaṅ. At the age of 69 he opened a Tantra College at Bkra-śis-ḥkhyil. At the age of 73 he got the title of *Bstan-pa-ḥdzin-ciṅ-skyoṅ-bar-byed-paḥi*[3] *Erdeni nom-un qaγan* and a golden seal from Emperor K'ang-hsi *(Bde-skyid)*. From his birth to his nirvāṇa he toiled for the welfare of beings of the universe. He wrote 15 pothis which are a nectarine subsistence for the learned in China, Mongolia and Tibet. At the age of 74, in the Iron-Ox year of the 12th rab-byuṅ (AD 1721) he attained nirvāṇa.

Now we give a selective survey of the *gsuṅ-ḥbum* or collected works of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-bzhad-pa I. The full titles in Tibetan appear in the author's *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* 1963:200–206.

The first pothi (*KA*) of his *opera omnia* begins with his short versified biography in 7 folios. It continues with a commentary on the vision *(mnal-lam)* of the great Tsoṅ-kha-pa (3f.), a guide catalogue of the famous Dgaḥ-ldan monastery (14f.), tables of Tibetan years (11f.), astrological tables (26f.), gsol-ḥdebs of lamas (23f.), stotras of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, yi-dam, and dharmapālas (20f.), introduction to the various siddhāntas *(grub-mthaḥ)*. Hence come two kāvya works of 3 and 30 folios respectively. There are works on pratiṣṭhā (*rab-gnas*) in 94 and 9 folios, the eight caityas (4f.), earth-ritual (13f.), Nāgeśvararāja (7, 2f.), the insertion of dhāraṇīs in images (11 f. with a supplement of 7 folios). A treatise on Sanskrit (*legs-sbyar*) (8f.), is followed by two introductories to metrics (2f., 5f.). Then a fairly big commentary (*ṭī-kā-chen)* on the Kalāpa (82f.), question-answers of the great Lotsaba Blo-bzaṅ-ḥod-zer (3f.), the crucial points of the four grammatical works (*sgra-mdo chen-po bzhi*, perhaps Kalāpa, Cāndra,

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[2]A list of his works appears in Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* 1963:184f.

[3]The Chinese title is given in Rock 1956:39.

Sārasvata and Pāṇini, 3f.) and a résumé on differentiating the three genders (5f.). The first volume closes with a short collection of blessings (8f.).

Pothi 2 *(KHA)* opens with essential points regarding the guruyoga called Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma[4] (6f.) and continues with seven treatises on the different aspects of the Guhyasamāja like utpannakrama (55f.), sampannakrama (14f., 15f.), and pañcakrama (13f.). The utpannakrama of Śaṁvara is dealt with in 11 folios. Six works on Vajrabhairava include his sampannakrama (34 f.), abhisamaya (5 f.), sevāsādhana (22f.). Propitiation of the śānta and krodha Mañjuśrī (Vajrabhairava is the wrathful aspect of Mañjuśrī, *TWB* 6004) is dealt in three treatises (29, 20 and 7f.). The volume ends with question–answers of Blo-gros-rgya-mtsho (2f.) and an exposition of *Ḥpho-badaṅ groṅ-ḥjug* (the translation of a soul, by the efficacy of charms, from one body to another just vacated by death—S.C. Das, *Tib. Eng. Dict.*, p. 849b).

In pothi 3 (*GA*) the first work is on *chos-ḥkhor* (9f.), followed by the method of guru-worship (23f.), a guide to the bodhipatha (51f.), question–answers to the big and small Lam-rim (24f.), instructions for the triśaraṇagamana (8f.), exposition of abhiṣeka *(dbaṅ)* (14f.), supplement on the ekavīra Vajrabhairava (10f.), supplement to Bari-lot-saba's centuple abhiṣeka *(brgya-rtsa)*[5] (36f.), comments on the anujñā *(rjes-gnaṅ)* of Narthang brgya-rtsa (5f.)[5], vidhi for Vaiśravaṇa, etc. (53f.), text on the abhisamaya and anujñā of Sgrub-thabs-rgya-mtsho 'Ocean of Sādhanas' (19f.). Dalai Lama Blo-bzaṅ-rin-chen-tshaṅs-dbyaṅs-rgya-mtsho's reply to a question of the author (8f.), commentary on a question–answer of Red-mdaḥ-ba[6] (15f.), question–answer (10f.), and an elucidation of jātiparivarta/saṅkrānti (*ḥpho-ba,* cf. *TWB* 5252, 5961) (7f.). Hence follow works on logic: Dkar-dmar (56f.),[7] elucidation of elementary logic (*bsdus grva)* (28f.), a short exposition of the Prāsaṅgika school (?, 10f.), a short elucidation of the difficult points of the second chapter of the Pramāṇavārtika (6f.), introduction to the siddhāntas (*grub-paḥi-mthaḥ),* the siddhāntas of the Mādhyamikas (*mthaḥ-ḥbral,* cf. *TWB* 5548.11), introduction to 108 topics in the Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā (4f., cf. *TWB* 6542), some technical terms (6f., cf. *TWB* 6545).[8]

[4]For the Dgaḥ-ldan-lha-brgya-ma see *TWB* 5827, 6056, 6064, 6106–07, 6219, 6263, 6432, 6989, 6998, 7021, especially 6105 and 6261.

[5]For Snar-thaṅ brgya-rtsa see *TWB* 5618(4), (38), for Mitra's brgya-rtsa *TWB* 6227, 6231, Blo-sbyoṅ glegs-bam brgya-rtsa *TWB* 6969.

[6]He was the guru of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, A. Ferrari, L. Petech, H. Richardson, Mk'yen brtse's *Guide to the Holy Places of Tibet* (Rome), 1958:127 n. 264.

[7]A. Vostrikov, Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contributions to the Bibliography of Tibet, *BSOS* VIII (1935):61; G. Tucci, ibid., p. 137.

[8]The *gsan-yig* are 'a record of what Buddhist doctrines he learnt from which teachers' (*TWB* 5825). It is the same as *thob-yig*, which class is described in G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, p. 124 and A. Wayman, *Outline of the Thob-yig Gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, in *Indo-Asian Studies*, edited by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira (New Delhi, 1961):1.109f.

Pothi 4 *(ṄA)* begins with a collection of the available opuscules giving the gsan-yig[8] of the author (60f.). The next work gives the author's *gsan-yig* of the Kanjur sūtras (34f.), followed by his *thob-yig* of the tantras (46f.). The method of painting the thaṅkas (*ras-bris*) of Tsoṅ-kha-pa (26f.), a commentary on the Lam-rim (71f.), miscellaneous writings (15f.), maxims (13f.), on Prātimokṣa (*So-thar,* 7f.), exposition of bali (35f.), ? (4f.), glosses on Darpaṇācārya's Raktayamārijīva-tattvopadeśa (Tanjur, Toh. 2037) (5f.), explanations of the Dohākośa (14f.) and of pratiṣṭhā (4f.), sādhana of iṣṭadevatā (*yi-dam,* 87f.), offerings (*gsol-mchod*) to Guardians of the Law (*bstan-sruṅ)* (22f.), praṇidhāna and āśīrvacana of Vajrapāṇi (4f.).

Pothi 5 *(CA)* contains only the long chos-ḥbyuṅ of Vajrabhairava in 417 folios.

With pothi 6 *(CHA)* we come to the *yig-cha* or obligatory study manuals,[9] which have made our author so very famous. This pothi contains the detailed consideration of the Vinaya in two parts, the first part (*gzhi stod)* in 316 folios and the second (*gzhi smad*) in 158 folios.

Pothi 7 (*JA*) contains the critical study (*mthaḥ-dpyod*)[10] of the 3 chapters of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra (I chapter 290f., II chapter 43f., III chapter 24f.). The remaining chapters are continued in pothi 8 (*ÑA)* (IV chapter 113f., V chapter 38 f., VI chapter 6f., VII chapter 7f., VIII chapter 102 f. + 68 f. —in the works of Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan also the eighth chapter is commented upon in two parts: *TWB* 6813 and 6814).

Pothi 9 *(TA)* is solely devoted to the critical exposition of Madhyamakāvatāra in 442 folios.

Pothi 10 (*THA*) contains a critical study, along with interpretations of words and meanings *(tshig don mthaḥ-dpyod)*[11] of the eight chapters of the Abhidharmakoṣa (I chapter 107f., II chapter 102f., III chapter 122f., IV chapter 127f., V chapter 61f., VI chapter 60f., VII chapter 42f., VIII chapter 45f.).

Pothi 11 *(DA)* contains a comprehensive critical study of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's celebrated *Draṅ-ṅes*[11] (= *TWB* 6831) in 143 folios, followed by a synopsis in 22 folios. Two critical studies on pratītyasamutpāda (58f., 17f.), an exposition of the Prasannapadā (*Tshig gsal)* (69f.), a general introduction to Vinaya (120f.) and a survey of the Four Truths *(bden bzhi)* (16f.) brings the volume to a close.

Pothi 12 (*NA)* contains an elucidation of the *bsam-gzugs (caturdhyānas* of *rūpadhātu* and of *ārūpyadhātu*, cf. *TWB* 5417, 6823) (14f., 28f.), *thos bsam sgom gsum* (19f.), concise explanation of *Draṅ-ṅes*[12] (42f.).

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[9]See Vostrikov p. 73.

[10]For the detailed definition of *mthaḥ-dpyod* see Vostrikov p. 73.

[11]See Vostrikov pp. 72–73.

[12]*Draṅ-nes* is *TWB* 5396. It gave rise to an enormous commentarial literature (Vostrikov p. 63).

Pothi 13 *(PA)* contains a critical exposition of the Pramāṇavārtika (I chapter 305f., II chapter 113f., III chapter 17f.).

Pothi 14 *(PHA)* is devoted to the siddhāntas (*grub-paḥi-mthaḥ*). The first is a short introduction to the subject in 16 folios, followed by the voluminous *Grub-mthaḥ-chen-mo*[13] in two parts of 290 and 240 folios each.

The last pothi 15 *(BA)* begins with a guruyoga (16 f.), esoteric biographical[14] notes, etc. (5f., 4f., 6f.), stotra of *rgyud chen* (?, 5f.) and Vinaya rites (20f.). Then we have mtshan-ñid works: Seventy Topics (of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra) (22f.), *Rtags rigs* (63f.), *Blo-rigs*[15] (36f.), *bsdus chen* (56f.), the *rtsa chig* (11f.). Now comes the lexicographical section: a gloss on the Tibetan lexicon *Ṅag-sgron*[16] (42f.), *Amarakośa (Mṅon-brjod Ḥchi-med-mdzod,* 112f.—here there is no indication of the nature of the work). The collected works end with a tract on monastic regulations (*bcaḥ-yig,* 4f.).

The above collected works are detailed according to a xylographed dkar-chag from the library of the Ganden Monastery at Ulanbator (Mongolia). It was photographed by the author in 1957. The gsuṅ-ḥbum is also described by Kloṅ-rdol in his *Bkaḥ-gdams-pa daṅ Dge-lugs bla-ma rag-rim-gyi gsuṅ-ḥbum mtshan-tho* (*TWB* 6555, *RA* of his complete works, 19a line 5 to 20b line 4). Herein the titles are nicknames and their order does not seem to conform to a xylographed edition. The lists of Kloṅ-rdol, as a general rule, do not seem to follow any edition of the collected works treated, but present a very general survey.

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[13]See Vostrikov p. 73.

[14]For *gsaṅ-baḥi-rnam-thar* "secret biography, an account of mystical experiences and visions" see A. Ferrari, ibid., introd. xix.

[15]See extracts in Stcherbatsky, *Indian Logic* 2.323f.

[16]Ṅag-sgron is a Tibetan lexicon of Dpal-khaṅ lotsava. It has been duplicated in the cursive Tibetan script by the Freedom Press, Darjeeling under the title *Dpal-khaṅ lo-tsa-bas mdzad-paḥi Bod-kyi brdaḥi bye-brag gsal-bar-byed-pa Ṅag-gi-sgron-ma zhes-bya-baḥi don cuṅ-zad mchan-bur btags-pa Byis-pa-dgaḥ-baḥi mgur bzhugs-so.*

31. CONTENTS OF TWO TIBETAN HIPPOLOGICAL TREATISES

In 1957 during an expedition to the Mongolian Peoples' Republic we had the pleasure of meeting several traditional and modern scholars who had a deep knowledge of their cultural heritage, besides a rich recollection of the oral traditions which are fast disappearing but afford clues to unsolved problems. During a conversation I was told that Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-ḥbyor the versatile polymath had written a horse-treatise. On returning to India I looked into the collected works of this celebrated historian and to my surprise it appeared in the supplementary pothi, side-captioned as KHA. From the very title it is apparent that the work is styled on the Classical tradition. For its full appreciation it is necessary to survey the contents of the only Classical text contained in the Tibetan Tanjur in pothi DO of the Sūtra division (Cordier III.500). The full title in Tibetan is *Rtaḥi-tsheḥi rig-byed śā-li-ho-tras bsdus-pa* which is a translation of the Sanskrit *Śālihotrīyāśvāyurveda-saṁhitā*, that is an opus on horse medicine by Śālihotra the great sage (*draṅ-sroṅ-chen-po*) of India who first wrote on this branch of veterinary science. Śālihotra, the son of Hayaghoṣa (*Rta skad*), propounded it to his disciple-son Suśruta (*Legs thos*) whose saṁhitā on human surgery has earned him a pre-eminent position in medical history. The hippological treatise is translated from Sanskrit which was in the indravajrā metre and was divided into eight sections (Tib. *gnas*=Skt. *sthāna*) like Indian medicine in general. The sections were subdivided into 192 chapters (Tib. *leḥu*=Skt. *adhyāya*). Unfortunately all the eight sections are not extant. Only 3 sections exist, the first and the last two:

Section	Name	Chapters
1	Sūtra-sthāna *(mdo-yi gnas)*	40
7	Siddhi-sthāna *(grub-paḥi gnas)*	14
8	Rahasya-sthāna *(gsaṅ-baḥi gnas)*	23

While the translation of the Sanskrit original into Tibetan was done by imperial command of Bkra-śis-lha-lde-btsan, it is available today in the form it was revised by the great translator *(zhu-chen-gyi lotsaba-chen)* Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po.

The contents of the three sections are indicated below with correspondences in three Sanskrit works, namely, Aśva-vaidyaka of Jayadatta, Aśvaśāstra of Nakula, and Śālihotra of Bhoja. The Peking edition of the Tanjur has been used for Tibetan.

SECTION 1 (*Sūtra-sthāna*)

Chapter	Ends on folio
1. Origin of āyurveda	5a7

2. Ethics of teaching 6b8
3. Enunciation of the contents [cf. Jay. p.1] 7b2
4. Mythic origin of horses [cf. Nak. p. 8] 15b1
5. Birth [cf. Jay. p. 34] 20a6
6. Nature? *(raṅ-bzhin)* of horses [cf. Jay. p. 146 *prakṛti-jñāna]* 21a3
7. Birthplace or provenance [cf. Jay. p. 25, Nak. p. 66] 21b4
8. The four classes 24a2
9. Characteristics of the limbs [cf. Jay. p. 2, 5, Nak. p. 18] 27a2
10. *bstan-pa-rnams bśad-pa* 28a7
11. Measurements (*tshad gzhal-ba)* [cf. Jay. p. 24 *daśākṣetra,* Nak. p. 130 *aṅga-māna,* Bho. p. 5 *aśvapramāṇa]* 30a4
12. Ten limbs (cf. chapter 11) 30b5
13. Differentiation of the auspicious and inauspicious 31b2
14. Measures*(tshad)* (cf. chapter 11) 33b7
15. Feeding [cf. Jay. p. 49, Bho. p. 13] 35b2
16. *Mdzes-pa* 36a8
17. Characteristics [cf. Nak. p. 21 and references in ch. 9] 37b7
18. Colour [cf. Nak. p. 91, Bho. p. 1] 40b1
19. Forehead marks *(zhur-mdoṅs)* [cf. Nak. p. 43 *puṇḍra*] 42a7
20. Auspicious and inauspicious marks 44b1
21. *śa raḥi mdog gi khyad par* 45a6
22. Multiple-coloured horses [cf. Nak. p. 34 *miśrita-lakṣaṇa*] 48a3
23. Horses suitable for kings [cf. Nak. p. 100, Bho. p. 7] 49b1
24. Examination of the eyes [cf. Jay. p. 80] 50al
25. Examination of teeth 50b4
26. *gtsug brtan pa* 55b3
27. Determination of age (*na-tshod*) [cf. Nak. p.82 *vayojñāna,* Jay. p. 21 *āyur-vayo-jñāna*] 60a3
28. Determination of the span of life *(tshe)* [cf. Nak. p. 113] 60b8
29. Smell [cf. Nak. p. 49] 61b3
30. Neighing (?, *skad gsaṅs)* [cf. Nak. p. 47] 62a6
31. Good and bad gait [cf. Nak. p. 52, Bho. p. 6] 63b1
32. Strengthening the body [cf. Bho. p. 17] 64b1
33. Galloping (*rgyug-pa)* [cf. Nak. p. 120 *dhārā*] 66b3
34. *gra-ma-can brtag-pa* 68b4
35. Defects to be avoided (*ñes-pa-chen-po=mahādoṣa)* [cf. Nak. 54] 70b8
36. Examination of the vitality of horses (*sñiṅ-stobs=sattva)*

[cf. Nak. p. 52, Jay. p. 27] 71b7
37. Sheen (*gzi-mdaṅs)* [cf. Nak. p. 50 *chāyā-lakṣaṇa*] 72b2
38. Examination of the blood stock (*rigs*) [cf. Nak. p. 66 *kula-lakṣaṇa*] 74a4
39. *ston-ka-pa* 78b5
40. Trade 80a5

SECTION VII (*Siddhi-sthāna)*
1. Anupāna (fluid vehicle in medicine) 82a8
2. Merits and demerits of salts 83b7
3. *chu-śor-baḥi nad gso-ba* 85b4
4. The qualities of milk 87a2
5. Butter treatment [cf. Jay. p. 68 *gḥrta-vidhāna*] 88b5
6. Sudorifics [cf. Jay. p. 64] 91a3
Tib. *dugs* is *sveda(na)* in Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya 1.4.6, 4.11, 8.16 etc.
7. White mustard oil (*don grub*=Skt. *siddhārtha)* 91b1
8. Cauterisation (*me btsaḥi las=agnikarma* Aṣṭ. 1.1.38) [cf. Jay. p. 55] 94a6
9. Enema or purging [cf. Jay. p. 61] 100b8
Tib. *mas-btaṅ-ba* corresponds to Skt. *nirūha* (Aṣṭ. 1.14.5, 19.35...) and *basti* (Aṣṭ.1.1.26, 4.21)
10. Diseases due (?) to instruments [cf. Jay. p. 55] 102b5
11. Nourishment *(bṛta-ba)* and milky enemata (*ḥo-maḥi ḥjam-rtsi*) 104b1
Tib. *brta-ba* is *tarpaṇa, bṛṁhaṇa* in Aṣṭ.1.18.47, 24.21, 4.29, etc.
Tib. *ḥjam-rtsi* is Skt. *anuvāsana* which is oily enamata, as opposed to *nirūha* which is not oily.
12. The merits of good lubrication [cf.Jay. p. 65] 107b4
13. Aphrodisiacs 110b1
14. Treatment of *sbubs* diseases 112a1

SECTION VIII (*Rahasya-sthāna)*
1. Determination of age and life-span from the lines 114a2
2. Forebodings of death (*ḥchi-ltas*=Skt. *ariṣṭa)* during disease [cf. Jay. p. 72 *vedhāriṣṭa*]. 116b7
3. Forebodings of death in health [cf. Jay. p. 70 *svasthāriṣṭa*] 118a3
4. 121a5
5. Powders of various kinds including *triphala* 123b6
6. The important oils (?, *snum-chen-po)* 124a1
7. Medicated oils of different plants 127a7

8. Oils derived from plants [cf. Jay. p. 617] 130a1
9. Formentations *(sman-khu)* 130b1
   In Aṣṭ. 1.22.13 Tib. *sman-khu* is *rasakriyā* which means "inspissation and application of fluid remedies or fomentations, Suśr." MW.
10. Indigestion [cf. Jay. p. 109] 130b5
11. *so-sor-btuṅ-ba* 131a2
12. Anupāna (*rjes-su-btuṅ-ba*). *Anupāna* is a "fluid vehicle in medicine; drink taken with or after medicine". 131a3
13. Merits of enema or purging (cf. above VII.9) 131b3
14. Sternutatories *(sna-sman*=Skt. *nasya* Aṣṭ.1.16.8, 20.30...) [cf. Jay. p. 63, Bho. p. 16] 132a5
15. Unctuous enema (*ḥjam-rtsi*=Skt. *anvāsana* Aṣṭ.1.19.54, 77...) [cf. Jay. p. 61]
16. Plastering with powders *(phye-mahi-lde-gu*=Skt. *cūrṇalepa)* 133a8
17. Caustic treatment 133b5
18. Barley alkali treatment *(nas-tshig ḥkhus-paḥi thal-pa)* [cf. Jay. p. 55] 134a3
    Tib *nas-tshig ḥkhus-paḥi lan-tshva*=Skt. *yavaśūkaja (=yavakṣāra)* Aṣṭ. 1.6.150. *Thal pa*=Skt. *bhasma. Yavakṣāra* "an alkali prepared from the ashes of burnt green barely-corns, Suśr" MW.
19. Treatment with salts 134b2
20. Treatment with *triphala,* myrobalan (*harītakī)*, bdellium *(gu-gul)*, and garlic *(sgog-skya*=Skt. *rasona* Aṣṭ. 1.10.35). [cf. Jay. p. 146 *rasona-kalpa*, p. 148 *guggulu-kalpa]* 138b4
21. *go-cha-la-sogs-paḥi khur-bstan-pa* 139b5
22. Method of yoking to a chariot [cf. Jay. p. 27, Nak. p. 121, Bho. p.7] 140b6
23. *rnam-par-bzlas-pa bstan-pa* 141a5

The above text is longer than all the three printed Sanskrit hippological works; namely, *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta, *Aśvaśāstra* of Nakula and *Śālihotra* of Bhoja. The Śālihotra of the Tanjur must have been an extensive and comprehensive treatise on horses in its day and its full text was a rarity even then. While the first section informs us about horses in all their aspects, the last two sections are strictly medical in character and go into great detail. The Tibetan text was transmitted to the Mongols in a Mongolian translation by Ye-śes-bkra-śis of Left Sönid.

In the eighteenth century, the prolific writer Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-śes-dpal-ḥbyor, celebrated as a historian by his *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*,[1] wrote a short treatise on

[1]*Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, p. xiii f., gives his biographic details.

the examination of horses entitled *Rgya-gar-paḥi lugs bstun rta-dpyad dpal-g.yaṅ zhes-bya-ba*, which occurs at the end of the supplementary volume (*lhan-thabs)* of his collected works printed at Hohehot, Inner Mongolia. The entire text is in 70 verses, which have been serially numbered for convenient reference though there is no numeration in the original xylograph. The sections are indicated in the xylograph by the sign ꣾ.

The title makes it clear that the examination of horses is according to the Indian method. Homage to Vaiśravaṇa is followed by synonyms of the horse which are different from those in the classical lexicon Amarakośa, except *myur-ḥgro=turaga, ḥgros-legs=sādhuvāhin* (st. 1,2). In st. 4 ff. the horses are classified according to the dominance of the three humors: phlegm, bile and wind (cf. Jay. p. 76, Bho. p. 9). In stanza 9 the horses are alternately classed into the four castes, namely: brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra (cf. Śāl. I.8)*. Stanza 10 commences a new section dealing with the different limbs (cf. Śāl.1.9). St. 23 gives the characteristics of a mare. Stanza 24 starts a new section on the colours of horses (cf. Śāl. I.18). The next section commences with st. 30 and deals with marks on the forehead (cf. Śāl. I.19). The following sections give the inauspicious (*ṅan:* st. 37), auspicious (*sis*: st. 39), low (*dman*:st. 42), and very auspicious (*śin-tu-śis*: st.43) characteristics. St. 49 deals with the defects of horses (cf. Śāl. I.35). The section starting with st. 56 defines the measurements of the body of a horse (cf. Śāl. I.11 and I.14). In the concluding stanza 58 of the section the dimensions are specified in figures for metric economy. Stanza 61 begins the section on the age of horses (cf. Śāl. I.27), followed by a section on their span of life as in the Śāl. I.28. Here too, the span of life is not expressed in words but in figures to promote metric brevity. The final section pertains to the food of horses (cf. Śāl I.15). The medical treatment of horses is not considered at all.

The text of Sum-pa-mkhan-po is reproduced in the following pages for further research into hippologies written in the Tibetan and Mongolian languages. The present note is to stimulate studies on the horsemanship of the Mongols, among whom the animal commands reverence and affection besides being an important factor in their rise as a world power of the ancient world.

Presented to the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 1964.

*Śāl. is short for the Śālihotra of the Tanjur.

༦༦། །ཕྱི་གར་པཎི་ལུགས་བསྟན་རྩ་དཔྱད་ དཔལ་གཡང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།

1. རྣམ་ཐོས་སྲས་ལ་བཏུད་དེ་རྩ་ཡི་དཔྱད། ཉྭང་འདུས་འགོང་ན་རྩ་ལ་ལམ་ལས་རྒྱལ། རྣ་ཅན་ཕྱི་ར་འགྲོ་རྣ་ཟ་འགྲོས་ལེགས་མཁྱོགས། འཕྲོག་བྱེད་ལས་ཇི་གས་དཔལ་མོའི་བུ་ཡང་ཟེ་བ།།১

2. གསེབ་འཕྲད་ཚོད་མངལ་འབྱུང་འདུས་དབུས་སེམས་ཞུགས། རྡེའུ་ཆགས་ཁ་ཁྲག་རྒྱང་ཕྱེས་མཆི་མའང་འབྱུང་། ཟླ་བཅུའམ་བཅུ་གཅིག་མངལ་གནས་ལྷགས་པར་བོད། མཁྲིས་རྟྭང་ས་ས་འདའམ་འདྲིས་ཁྱབ་སྦུ་མདོག་འཆར།།১

3. ཚོད་མ་བོང་འདྲིས་དྲེའུ་དེ་བཞིན་རིམ། ཀོ་རིགི་ནི ཀི་ས་ཏ་ཞེས་དང་། ཆུ་བུར་ཅན་གྱགས་དེ་ལས་སྣར་བོང་སྐྱ། ཆེ་ཆད་དྲེའུ་བོང་སོགས་གཞན་རྣའི་སོ་གཉིས།།১

4. རྩ་རིགས་གསུམ་སྟེ་ཕྱུ་ཐུམ་དལ་འཆོར་སྟན། རྩ་མིག་ཞི་ཆུལ་གཉིད་ཆེ་དཀའ་དུབ་བཟོད། འདུལ་སྣ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་ཆུང་བཏན་གཞོགས་གཉིས་འགྲེས། མི་བུབ་འོབ་སོགས་མཆོད་བགྲོད་ཕོ་ར་ང་བཞིན།།

5. གྲང་དགའ་མིར་འཇམ་རྩ་འཐབ་སྟན་གཉིད་ཆུང་། གཞོགས་གཅིག་འགྲེས་ཇེས་ལྟོག་འགྲེ་རྒྱལ་འཇིགས་ཐུབ། བསྐབ་གང་མི་བཇེད་དུབ་བུབ་མཁྲིས་ར་ང་བཞིན། མི་བཏན་འཇིགས་སྣ་གཉིད་མེད་ཇ་ཇོག་ས་བ།།

6. ས་ཐོབ་ཆུང་ཐུད་ཞན་བུབ་མང་ལ་མ་དུབ་ཐ། ཙུག་ཅིང་འདུལ་དཀའ་སོ་འདོབ་གཞོགས་གཅིག་འདྲེས། དགྱིས་མདོག་མི་མཇེས་འཁྲིག་དགའ་ཆུ་བཞིན། དེ་འདྲེས་འདྲེས་འབྱུང་བཟང་འགྲོང་ཐ་གསུམ་ཡོད།།

7. གཞན་ཡང་གཟི་མདངས་ལྷོང་ས་ཐོབ་གཙང་ཐ་ཆེ།

མཇེས་དུལ་མི་ཉལ་ལངས་གཉིད་ལྷོག་ངལ་བཟོད།
ལོག་མྱུར་མི་བཏྲེད་ཅི་ནུས་ཟོས་ཆུས་མཆོག
སྐྱོན་ཡོན་འདྲེས་ལྷན་ལོག་ལའང་བསྟན་བཏྲེད་མྱུར॥৯

8. དཔའ་འདྲའང་དད་ངས་སྐྱེན་ལྷག་བཤུས་འབད་མྱུར་འགྲོ།
རྡར་སྦང་མཚན་ལུས་ཕབ་ཉལ་འཁྲིག་དགའ་འགྲེང།
ཆུབ་འདྲའང་འཇིགས་མྱུར་ན་སྟ་གསོ་དཀའ་ལྷོད།
ཉིན་མཚན་བཀྲང་གཉིད་ལྷགས་མི་ཆོར་ཐ་མ॥৮

9. ཡང་ན་བྱམ་ཟེ་ཆུལ་ཇེའུ་གདོལ་རིགས་ཏ།
དྲི་ཟ་གཙོད་སྲོན་ཕྲིན་པོ་ཀ་ཟ་འདྲ།
ཞི་ཆུབ་མདོག་དགྱིབས་སྐད་སྲོད་གཉིད་ཟས་འཁྲིག
དཔད་ལྡར་གཙང་ཆོགས་སྲ་ཕྲི་དྲིས་ཀེས་ཟེར॥৯৫

10. ལུས་ཆ་ས་ས་ལི་དཔྱད་ནི་མགོ་མཚམས་མཇེས།
ཕུམ་ལེགས་ཁྱད་པར་གདོང་སྲབ་ཟུར་བཞི་ཡངས།
དཔལ་ཆུས་གཉེར་མེད་མི་ལྷོང་འགྱམ་ཡངས་སྲབ
ཕུག་རོན་མིག་མཚུངས་རིང་འཇམ་ཟུར་ནག་དྲངས॥১০

11. ལྷགས་སྲབ་སྲིན་ཐོ་ལས་ཇི་འཕུག་རིང་ལ་ནག
ནོ་རིང་ལ་ཕུ་ཕུང་གཉེར་མེད་ཅི་ནོ་སྲབ
ཐལ་ཡངས་སྲབ་ཏྲུམ་དབུགས་བདེ་མཚལ་དང་ཏྲུམ
འཇུམ་ནི་དབུས་སྲབ་འགྱམ་གཉིས་མཐོ་མཇེས་དང॥১১

12. མཁུར་ཆོས་དབུས་སྲབ་ཀ་ཆུས་རིམ་ཞིང་ཆ
མ་མཆུ་འཕུང་མིན་ཡ་མཆུ་ཆེ་ཏྲུམ་ཆུས
ཁ་འགྱམ་སྲབ་གཉིན་ཏྲུམ་ཡངས་འབྱར་བུག་ཁིས
མཁུར་འགྱམ་འབྲེལ་མཇེས་འགྱམ་གླང་རིམ་ཡངས་སྲབ॥১২

13. ཁ་ཆེ་དྲི་ཞིམ་ཏོན་དམར་ཆུ་ཉུང་བཅུམ
ས་སྲ་ས་ལྷམས་དང་ནང་མཐོ་སྲབ་རིས་གསལ
མཆི་ནོ་འགྱམ་ཏྲུམ་དཀར་སེར་ཞན་ལྷག་མིན
ལྷ་ཆ་ཅུང་མཐུག་དངོས་དམར་རིང་མཉིན་སྲབ॥১৩

14. ཀུན་དམར་རིས་ཟབ་ལྷོ་ཞུ་ཆུང་འཇམ་རིང་དམར
ངོག་འཇམ་ལྷུམ་འཁྲིལ་མང་ཉུང་རིང་ཐུང་ངན

ཐུ་འཐུག་དང་མཉན་ཁ་རི་ཤར་རྒྱ་ལྷུམ།
ཡོག་རྒྱུ་སྟོན་ལས་གཙང་ཚོལ་མདུད་རྒྱ་མཁན་དང།།ཀ

15. ཕྱ་རིང་རིམ་རྒྱ་ཕྱོག་ངོས་ཤ་ཐུབ་གུག
ངོ་ཆ་ཆུས་མཁྲིགས་ལུམ་མདོ་མཐུག་ཡངས་འབྲེལ།
ཟེའུ་ཏ་ཅང་མཐོ་མེན་གཙུག་བྱང་དེ།
ཟེའུ་ལྷག་ཕྱག་ནུབ་ས་ཤ་ཆུས་དང་འབྲེལ།།ཀཅ

16. དཔྱང་མགོ་ཆ་ཆུས་མི་མངོན་ཅང་མཐོ་རྒྱ
དཔྱང་ས་རྒྱ་ཆུས་རིམ་ཕ་ཆེགས་འབྲེལ་དང།
ཡུས་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཆེགས་མི་མངོན་དམ་བཀུག་བདེ།
ཆེག་གང་རིམ་རྒྱ་ཤ་ས་ཆུ་མི་གསལ།།ཀཆ

17. ཆེའུ་ཆུབ་འགྲེང་ཐང་རྒྱ་ཆེགས་མི་མངོན།
ལོང་དང་ཐོ་ཤ་མཁར་རིང་པོ་ཀང་འབྲེལ་མཉམ།
ཆེའུ་ཆེ་རིང་རྒྱ་དབུས་ཟང་ལྷོང་ཆོའུ་ཐུས་གཡོག
ཨོ་ཤ་མཐོ་ས་མཐུག་མདོ་ཤ་ཅིག་རྒྱ་ཟོ་འདྲ།།ཀཉ

18. ཨོ་ཐོ་མ་ཤས་ཆུབ་ཐུང་དབུས་ཟབ་ཏོ
མཐེལ་ས་ཐལ་མཚམས་མཇེས་ཐྲེས་ཐལ་བུབ་འཕྱར
ཕྱ་ཤོང་ཁ་ཆུས་ཐ་འོག་མཉམ་ཞིང་ཡངས
ཆུབ་ཤཙུང་ཅང་དམའ་ཤལ་ཆེགས་མཐོ་ཅམ་ཆུས།།ཀད

19. ཆོགས་ཤུ་ཐ་འཇ་མཆོགས་པར་མི་མངོན་ཁྱབ
ཤས་ཁྱིམ་རྒྱ་ཡངས་ལྷ་རྒྱ་བུ་མེད་ཐུང
མཇུ་ཏོ་ཏང་ཀུས་ཞུམ་རིང་ཐུང་མིན
ཆུབ་ལས་ཅང་མཐོ་ས་རྒྱ་ཏུས་མི་མངོན།།ཀཏ

20. ཙོང་ཏོ་མཉམ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཡངས་ཇ་ཆ་འདེགས
བ་ཐུ་རིང་མཉན་མ་ཉམས་མདོ་ཤ་ཅིག་བཟང
ཀུབ་ཟབ་རྒྱ་མཇེས་ཤཉེ་མེད་ཐང་ཤོང་བདེ
ཀུབ་ཅོས་ཆ་ཆུས་མི་མངོན་ས་ལ་འབྲེལ།།ཁ

21. དཔྱི་ཡངས་དཀྱུས་རིང་ལྷགས་ཐུབ་ཤ་ཆུས་ཇོགས
ཇེ་ང་ར་ས্ট্ঠ্ঠ্ঠ

ཏ།ཁ་མཁན་གྱུ་ཁེད་ཅུང་འཕྱང་པོལ་ལ་འདུ།།གདན

22. ཡོ་མཚན་ཆ་བ་སྒོམ་ལ་རིམ་གྱིས་ཕྱ།
འཇམ་ཐུང་ཆུ་བཀལ་ངུབ་ཚོ་འབྱིན་མྱུར་ལྟང།
ཤུབ་ཡངས་ཀ་ཆེ་གཏིང་རིང་མདོག་གཅིག་ཟླུམ།
ཆོགས་གང་མན་ཆད་ལ་ཀུང་དང་འདྲའོ།།ཅ

23. ཁོད་མའི་མཚན་གསལ་ཐུག་ཡངས་མངལ་ནད་ཁེད།
ཞུ་ཟླུམ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ས་ཁོགས་རན་འོ་ཆུས་ལེགས།
ཁོད་ལུས་སྒོམ་ཀྱང་སྲབ་འདྲ་སྲབ་ཀྱང་མདང།
གསལ་བས་ཡོ་ཡས་དབྱིགས་ལེགས་མདོག་མཛེས་ས།།ཅཅ

24. ཀ་དོག་ལྷགས་ཐུ་ཏ་ཏོག་ཀུན་དཀར་དང།
ཀུན་དམར་ནག་ས་ཁ་གཞི་བཞི་དེ་དག་འདྲེས།
མང་ཡང་མདོ་ར་དྲིལ་དེ་བཞི་གང་ཟུང་གསལ།
དཔལ་ཡོན་གཡོག་ཅན་ཁ་བ་ནག་གྲགས་དང།།ཅཆ

25. དཀར་པོ་ཆ་ཐོ་ཏ་ཏོག་ནག་གམ་ཐོ།
ཤ་ར་བ་གྲགས་ཐ་ཏ་ཏ་ཀ་ཤམ་མདོག་གཞན།
ཐུང་མདོག་དྲངས་མཛེས།ངང་ས་ཁ་ཁ་ཤར་ནག།ཅཅ

26. ཁ་པོ་གཡས་དཀར་ཤ་ཆ་གཡོན་ཕྱོག་ཡོད།
ཐུང་དཀར་ཐ་ཏ་ནག་ཐ་ཏ་ཏ་ཀ་ཐུང་མདོག་གཞན།
ནག་པོ་ཀང་བཞིའམ་ཐ་ཕ་ཐ་ཏ་ཀ་ངང།
ནག་པོ་མདོ་ལྟན་ཐ་ཟུང་ཕ་གཉིས་དཀར།།ཅཇ

27. ནག་པོ་ར་དཀར་ཕྱོག་ཆུང་ཡ་ཤིས་དེ་བཞིན།
མདོག་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་དེ་དག་ཐ་ཏ་ར་ངང།
ནག་པོ་ཀ་མིག་ཏོ་ཆ་ཐ་ཡང་ཡང་དཀར།
ནག་གམ་ཐ་ཏ་ཀ་ཀང་ལ་ཏ་ཀ་བ་ཟ།ང།།ཅཉ

28. ཏ་ཀ་ཀ་ཐ་ཕ་ཕ་ཀ་ཡང་ཁ་ཁ
ཤ་ཁ་ཅ་ནན་ངང་ཀ་ཤ་ཁ་ཏ་ཅ་ངང།
ཐ་ལ་ཏ་ཏ་ནག་ཏ་ཐ་ཕ་ཐ་ཀ་ཁ
ཁ་ཁ་ཕ་ཅ་ནན་ངང་ཆ་ཏ་ཅ་ངང།།ཅཀ

29. མདོག་གཞན་ཏ་ཏོག་དམར་རམ་ནག་ལེབ་ཁྱབ།
དཀར་ཀྱང་གཞན་མདོག་གིས་མཆན་ཁ་ས་ལོང་ནག
ཏ་ཙ་མདོག་གཞན་ཀོང་རེའམ་གསུམ་སྟེབ་དཀར
ཏ་དཀར་སོགས་ལ་ནག་ཐིག་ཆུང་ཡང་ངན།།ལ།ཟ

30. ཁྱར་ནི་མཆུ་ལྟག་ནས་ཕམ་ལ་གོང་ནས
ཕྱམ་བར་དཔལ་ལ་ཟླིན་ལ་གདོང་བར་མ་ངེས
དེ་ཡང་ཁིད་ལ་གཡུང་དྲུང་རལ་གྲི་གཤུ
མེ་ལོང་གདུགས་ཏུམ་མིག་མང་ཉན་ལ་ཡངས།།ཟ

31. གདོང་ག་ཅམ་མམ་ཆ་བཅས་མགོ་དཀར་ལེགས
མདོག་ཉན་ལ་ཡོ་ཆད་དཔལ་ཆག་ལུར་ཉལ་ཟླ
ཉལ་ལ་ཕ་ཁ་ཁ་ལ་ཁ་ཡོན་ཆ་ཏ་ཀར་ཡོར་ནས
དབྱ་ཀ་ཀ་ཁ་ཁ་ལ་ཉ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ཡོད་ངན།།ཟ

32. དཔལ་ཐའི་མདོང་ཀྱང་ཟ་ཟ་ར་ཁ་ཁ་ལ
ཆ་ལ་མཆན་ཏ་ལ་ང་ཚ་ཇ་ཏ་ཐ་ཤ
ཁ་ཁ་ལ་ཁ་ཡོ་ཁ་ར་ཐ་ལ་ཁ་ལ
ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ཁ་ཡ་ངན།ལ།ཟ

33. ཐིག་ལ་ཏ་ཀ་ཏ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ
ཏ་ཀ་ཡ་ཁ་ཁ་ཁ
ལ ལ ལ

དབྱིས་ཀྱང་མི་སྡུག་རྒྱས་ལ་ལྟོས་ཆ་མི་སྟོམས།
འཕོར་ཞན་རྩོལ་དང་གནས་ཀྱང་གྲྭ་བོ་སྣ།
མ་མཆུ་ལུང་འགྱམ་ཟ་ཡུམ་མཆི་སྦྱན་མཁར།།[36]

37. རྣ་གཡོན་དཔྱང་གཡོན་འཇིང་ལྟག་མཁལ་ཟེའུ་ཀྱི།
ཟེའུ་ལྟག་ཕུས་མཚན་དཔྱི་ལྟ་ཆོའུ་ཚད་ཀྱ།
བཏུ་ཕ་ཇི་ངར་མཚས་ཀུལ་ལུས་ཕྱིད་རེ།
ཙོང་ཏོ་མཇུག་ཏོ་ང་རྩལ་ཡོད་ཏྲ།།[37]

38. གཐུག་ལ་བཏན་བཅུ་མི་བཏན་མང་ཡོད་ཅིང་།
དབྱིས་ལའང་འདྲེས་འཁྱིལ་ཁ་འབུས་ལྟག་ཀང་བཅུ།
ཤིང་ལྟམ་ལྟམ་ཕྱིད་ཉ་ཕྱིས་འདྲ་བཅུད་ཡོད།
གནས་དབྱི་དཔལ་བར་གཅིག་ནས་བཞི་བར་དང་།།[38]

39. ཁ་འགྱམ་ཆ་ཆ་མགོ་མཐའ་དཔྱང་གཉིས་རེ།
དཔལ་མཚམ་ལྷོག་ཀྱིད་ཁྱུད་ལྷོང་ལ་རེ་རེ།
བྱང་ལ་གཐུག་བཟང་གསུམ་སྟེ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཤིས།
ཆ་ཅི་ལུར་འགྱམ་ལུར་གོང་མཆི་སྦྱན་སྒྲིན།།[39]

40. སྣ་ཕོར་སྣ་ཅི་ལཁར་ཆོས་འགྱམ་སྲེ་ལོང་།
མིག་དང་ལྷེའུ་ལྭང་ཅེའུ་ཆུང་ཅོ་ལོགས་དཀྱ།
ཕུས་མཚན་ཀུལ་ཐོས་གཉིས་གཉིས་ས་དྲུག་དང་།
སྣ་གདོང་ཡ་མཆུ་མཆུ་ལྟག་དཔྱང་སྣ་ཐྲིང།།[40]

41. ས্ལ་མདུང་ཟེའུ་ཟེའུ་ལྟག་དྲུག་མདོ་ཀུལ
ལ্ལ་ཁ་མཇུག་ས্ལ་ཐ্ལ་འོག་རེ་བཏུ་གསུམ
ཆིག་ཀང་ཆིག་ཀང་ཕ্ལ་མ་ཆོའུ་ཆོ
ཆོའུ་ས্ལ་ས্ལ་ཕ্ལ་ཀང་ཁ་བཞིའི་བཏུ་དྲུག།[41]

42. ས্ལ་ང་ཙཱ་ཆ্ལ་ཁའི་གཉིས་རེ་བཞི
མཆུ་ས্ལ্ས་ཟུང་ས্ལ་གནས་གསུམ་དོན་དྲུག་དགུ
ཀུན་ས্ལ্ম་གོ་དྲུག་ཅེས་ཀ্ལ্ལ་འགྱམ་ཐ্ལ་ཐ্ལ
འབ্ལ্ལ་ས্ལ্ལ་ཀ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ལ্ল্ল্ল

ལན་འགྱེལ་ཁ་འབུས་ཀ་ཕྱིས་གཡས་འགྱེལ་གསལ།
གཏུག་ལྟག་སྦུ་ཐུག་གཡོན་ནའང་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཤིས།།᠂᠒

44. འཚོ་ར་རྐང་བཞྭས་ཐོ་མ་ངལ་བློའི་དུས་མིན་བརྟགས།
དེ་ཡང་ཆེ་གསལ་ལ་ནས་དྲངས་མཚོ་ར་ཏིང་ར།
འཇམ་འདྲིལ་མི་འཆང་ངང་ཅོལ་ཆུ་ཐུ་འདྲ།
གཡས་ས་བལ་ཅམ་ཕ་ས་བཟང་མཐོང་མང་འཚོ་ར།།᠂᠓

45. གང་འཚོ་ར་གཞན་མང་གཞན་འཚོ་ར་ཇེས་འཚོ་ར་ཁང་བཟང་།
ཕུ་བ་འཇོ་ར་དར་ང་ར་ཐུང་ཞན་ལྷོ་ད་ཆགས་དང་།
ཐུང་ཁྱུ་བོད་འདྲ་ཐུ་ར་དང་གཡོན་བལ་ས་འཚོ་ར།
ང་ན་མཐོང་མང་འཚོ་ར་མི་གསལ་མི་ལ་ཏ་ཏ།།᠂᠔

46. འགྲོས་ལ་ལྷ་འགྲོ་གཞོ་མ᠒མ་གཞོ་ཀ་ཏུང་དང་།
ལྷོ་ད་པ་ཀ᠓ཁ་འགྲོས་བཞི་ཟེ་ར་དཔུང་ཅམ་འདེ་གས།
འཁྱམ་རེངས་ཁོམ་འཚོ་ལ་འགྲོས་ཕུ་ཐ་ཏ་མོང་ཐང་།
ཁྱི་ཕག་འགྲོས་འདྲ་ཆུ་ཐ་ཕུ་ཐ་ཁང་ཏ་ཏ།།᠂᠖

47. མགོ་མཁྲིན་ཆོ་ག་འདེ་གས་ཆུ་ཐ་ལུས་ཏ་མི་ཀཡོ།
ཁོམ་ཐ᠒ར་བར་མཚམས་ཆེད་ས᠒མ་ནེ᠒ལ་ལེའི་འགྲོས།
མགོ་དྲང·····ཐ᠒ལ་ར་ཐ་བཐ᠒ད་བདག་མ᠒ན᠒ས᠒ལ།
ཆི་དུ་ཐ་ཆ᠒ ནང་ཆི་ཆ᠒ཐ᠒ ཐ᠒ལ᠒ཏ᠒ ཐ᠒ལ᠒ཏ᠒ ཐ᠒ལ᠒ཏ

ཤིན་ངན་མ་བཅོས་མ་བསྒྲོད་ཡུལ་བཅས་འཕོང་།།མ་

51. མཁང་ཁར་ཀ་མཚན།ཏ་ནག་མིག་ཀང་བ།
ངོ་མ་མཆུ་ཁ་འགྱམ་མཚན་ཆེག་མགོ་གདོང་ནག
ཀན་ཕྱེད་ནག་གམ་ཁ་གོ།ལྷགས་ཏ།ང་ན།
ལྷག་འདྲའམ་མདོག་གཞན་དེ་འདྲའི་མིག་ལ্ལ་མཚུངས།།ཨ

52. ས་ཆ্ལ་ཁ་ཁིངས་ལ্ལ་ཞན་ཆག་ལ্ལ་ངོ།
ཎག་ཏ্ལ་ཏ্ལ་ར་ག্ལ་ཀ্ལ་ཡ་ས་ར
ང་ངོ་མ་ཆ্ལ་འམ་ར་ལ་ཅ།ངོ།ཏ্ལ་ཎ
ལ་ལ্ལ་ཤ་ཆ্ལ་ཆ্ལ་ཡ্ལ་ཅ্ལ་ཀ্ལ་ཀ্ལ্ལ་ཅ།།ཨ

53. ཆ্ལ་ཁ্ལ্ལ্ལ་ར্ལ্ལ་ས্ལ্ལ་ཕ্ལ্ལ্ལ་ལ্ལ་ཅ།
ཤ্ལ্ল
ཆ্ল্ল্ল

58. ལུས་དཀྱུས་ཁ་ཕྱི་མཁྱེན་ཀ་ཤ་ཟེ་ཞུ་ལྷག་ཕ་ཆུབ་ཚོ་ཏོ།
འབྲེག་ཁ་ཏ་ཀ་ཕ་ལོ་མཚན་ཁ་ཅ་འཕྲག་སོ་ཀ་ བསྡུང་ཁ་མོ་ཀ་ཁ་ལུང་།
ཕུས་ཆེག་ས་ཕ་ཆེག་གང་ཁ་ཅ ཆེ་ཞུ་ཆེ་ཕ་ཆེ་ཞུ་ལ་ཕ་ཚོ་ཀས་ཕ།
ར་ར་ཚད་ལྷན་ལུས་འཚམ་ཀ་ཆུས་བསྟན་ས།།ལ།ཡ

59. མདོ་ར་ན་མཚན་ཉིད་བཟང་ཚད་ཆེད་དཀའ་ཡང་།
མདོ་གཏུག་ཏུ་ཀས་མཚན་ཀིང་ངན་གཏན་མེད་ལ།
ལུས་ཆུས་ཚད་ལྷན་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ཕ་ཟ་མདངས་ཏ།
གཏུ་ཀ་མདོ་ཀ་ཆ་ཆུས་ང་ངོ་ད་ཏ་ཕ་ལ་ཀ་ལ་ཀ།།ཡ

60. ཀས་ལ་ཕ་ཟ་ལ་ཁ་ཀ་ཕ་ཁ་ལ་ཁ་ཁ་ཕ་ཁ།
ཡི་ད་ད་ཀ་ཀ་ལ་ཡན་ལ་ཀ་ད་ཀ་ཁ་ངོ་ཀ་ད་ལ།
ཀ་ཀ་ཁ་ལ་ཁ་ཆ་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་ལ་ཁ་ཀ་ལ་ཕ་ལ།
ཏ་ལ་ཕ་ད་ཀ་ཆ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་ལ་ཀ་ལ།།ཅ

61. ཏ་ལ་ལ་ཀ་ཏ་ཀ་ཀ་ཆ་ད་ཁ་ད་ལ་ད་ཆ་ཀ་ཉ་ཀ།
ཀ་ཆ་ཀ་ལ་ལ་ད་ཀ་ཀ་ཉ་ཀ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་ཁ।
ཀ་ད་ད་ལ་ཀ་ཉ་ཀ་ལ་ད་ད་ཀ་ལ་ཆ་ཁ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ
ཀ་ར་ཀ་ཉ་ཀ་ཁ་ཆ་ཁ་ལ་ཀ་ལ་ཀ་ཀ་ལ་ད་ལ།།ཏ

62. ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་ད་ལ་ཀ་ད་ཀ་ར་ལ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ་ཀ་ཁ་ཀ
ཏ་ལ་ཆ་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་ཆ་ཀ་ལ་ལ་ཀ་ཀ་ལ
ཀ་ར་ཁ་ལ་ལ་ཉ་ཀ་ཀ་ལ་ཁ་ཀ
ཁ་ཁ་ཁ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ན་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ་ཀ।।ཏ

63. ཆ་ལ་ཀ་ཉ་ཀ་ལ་ལ་ཀ་ཁ
ལ་ལ་ཆ་ཁ་ཀ་ཀ་ཁ་ཁ་ལ
ད་ཀ་ལ་ཆ་ད་ཀ་ལ་ད་ཁ
ཆ་ཁ་ཁ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ད་ལ।।ཏ

64. ཆ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ད-ལ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ
ལ-ལ-ཁ-ཁ-ཀ-ཉ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ
ཁ-ཁ-ཆ-ཆ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ-ཁ
ཁ-ད-ད-ལ-ལ-ལ

65. ཁ་ཆོ་ཆད་རྟེའུའི་སྒྲོམ་ལྷོད་ཉལ་ལང་དྲི།
སོགས་ཀྱིས་རགས་ཅམ་ཤེས་ཀྱང་ཞིབ་པར་ནི།
མཆུ་ལྟག་སོར་བཞིའི་འཆམས་རིས་ལས་ཤེས་ཏེ།
གྲྭན་སོར་གཅིག་ཡོད་ལོ་གཅིག་གཉིས་གཉིས་ཆེ།།৬৪

66. འཆི་བཞིན་འཕྲོང་དགེ། དེ་དམལ་གཉིས་ཆ་ཡོ།
གཉིས་ཡོ། ས་ཕྱིད་ཁར་ཆུང། སོར་གསུམ་ཡོད།
ནས་འདུ་སྒོམ་ཡོད། མཆུ་ལྟག་དང་མཉམ་གྲྭན།
མི་ཏོད་ཟུང་དང། ང་འདུ་སོར་གཉིས་ལྟོག།৬৬

67. ནས་འདུ་འཕྲོང་རིས་སོར་ཕྱེད། ཐུ་རོག་ཇིས།
དེལ་ཅམ་གྲྭན་གྲོང་རྡའི་མཆོག། རི་མོ་གསུམ།
སྟེང་འོག་ཐུང་རེ། དེ་འདྲ་གྲྭན་མི་མཉམ།
དེ་མཚོམ། རིང་མཉམ་ལྟ་ཡོད། མཚན་ཀུབ་འདུ།།৬৯

68. ཐུག་ཅམ། ལྷག་ཐུ། ཤུས་ཐ་ལ། ཁ་ཟླ་ཏོ་ཏྲི་ཁས།
ཕོ་ཐང། ཀ་ཏཱ་ཅས་འདུ། མཆོད་ཐོང་རིས།
ཟླ་ཀ་ཐཱ་ར། ཀཡུང་ཏྲུང། འཁོར་ལོ་ཏོ་ཇེའི་དབྱིས།
ཏ་ཀ་ལྟ་ཡོད་ས་ཀཉིས་བར་ལོན་ནོ།།৬৭

69. ཟས་ཆད་མང་ཉུང་མ་དན་ཆུད་འགགས་ལྷོས།
ལུས་ལྷོབས་མདོག་འཕྲོས་དབང་ཐོ་ཆེར་གནོད་པས།
ཉིན་ཞག་རེ་ལ་ཙ་ཕྱམ་ལྷང་བཅུད་བཙུ།
ཙ་ལོན་རེའི་ཕྱེད་ཐུག་སོགས་བོར་ཁྲི་བཞི།།৬৮

70. བཟའ་ཕྱམ་ཕྱེད་དང་གཉིས་སོགས་ཆུ་ཚ་བཅས།
ཐ་མ་ཞུས་ཇིས་ཕྱི་མ་ལྟེར་བ་བཅེས།
ནད་འཚོས་ས་ས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ནད་ཆེང་ལ།
དགུན་ལུག་དཔྱིད་ར་དབྱར་བའི་འོ་ཐུད་ཤེས།།৭০

ཅེས་ཏ་དཔྱད་དཔལ་གཡང་ཞིས་བྱ་བ་འདི་ཡང་སྒམ་པ་མཁན་པོས་བྲིས་པའོ།། ||

32. A CONSPECTUS OF THE MONGOLIAN TANJUR

1. In the *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 24/1952 Walther Heissig gave a list of the exemplars of the Mongolian Tanjur that were known to exist in Mongolia, China and Japan. Most of them were in Inner Mongolia. Since then conditions have changed and the monasteries of Inner Mongolia have been subject to revolutionary upheaval. Heissig refers to eight mostly complete copies of the Mongolian Tanjur in the Wang-ye-fu in the Qaratsin-Gebiet (Wang Banner), Chi-ning-szu Monastery, I-hua-szu Monastery, Ch'ien-te-mu-ni miao, Yüan-chüeh-szu Monastery, Ku-la-ha-chi miao, Hui-ning-szu Monastery, and Chi-ching-szu Monastery.

According to the information kindly conveyed to me by Prof. Lubsanvandan in 1960 some of the Mongol Canon reached the research libraries in Hohehot (Köke Qoto), the capital of Inner Mongolia. For example, in the Institute for Mongol Language and History at Hohehot there is a complete copy of the Tanjur and three Kanjurs. Again in the National Library of Hohehot there is a complete set of the Mongol Kanjur and as well as of the Tanjur. In the University of Hohehot there are two copies of the Mongol Kanjur, one in the general library and another in the seminar. It will be interesting to note that in the Institute for Mongol Language and History there are some volumes of the Ligdan Khan Kanjur (UAJ. 24.122–23, 130).

2. Following the plan adopted by Louis Ligeti in his *Catalogue du Kanǰur Mongol imprimé* (Budapest 1942), the eminent Mongol scholar Rinchen prepared a descriptive catalogue of the Mongolian Tanjur. This catalogue is ready in the Mongolian script. It runs into 1729 pages of foolscap size, which are now in the possession of Raghu Vira in five bound volumes. On the reverse of one of its pages, on the basis of oral tradition it is annotated that the Mongol Tanjur was based on the Derge edition of the Tibetan Tanjur. The Tibetan Tanjur of Derge has been rightly held in the greatest respect for its accuracy by the learned monks of the lamaist world and the aforesaid oral tradition in respect of the Mongol Tanjur seems to be just a reflection of the general esteem. A comparison of the arrangement of the volumes in the Mongol Tanjur clearly points to the Peking Red Tanjur of Tibetan as the basis. The Mongol Tanjur has the same system of dividing as the Tibetan: the first division is the *Bstod-tshogs* (the stotras or Odes), followed by the *Rgyud-ḥgrel* (commentaries on the tantras) and the *Mdo-ḥgrel* (commentaries on the sūtras). Each division is numbered by letters of the Tibetan alphabet in both the languages: the stotras are contained in 1 volume, the tantra-commentaries in 87 volumes and the sūtra-commentaries in 136 volumes. In Tibetan, pothi *Tsha* (18) of the

Rgyud-ḥgrel is split up into two volumes: the Mongol version too follows suit in having *Tsha* in two volumes. Another astonishing correspondence is that the text or texts included in the various volumes tallies exactly in both the Tanjurs. For instance volume *Gi* of the tantra (serial no. 35) begins with *Piṇḍīkṛtasādhana* and ends with *Śrāddha-pralāpa nāma stava* in both the languages. All facts point to the complete dependence of the Mongol on the Peking Red edition in Tibetan.

3. In *Zur technischen Durchführung der mongolischen Tandjur Übersetzung* (UAJ 27.222–34) W. Heissig gave an idea of the 43 volumes deposited in the Kyoto University of Japan. The complete set of the Mongolian Tanjur in the State Library, Ulanbator was known to him, just through the catalogue of the library, *Ulus-un nom-un sang-un ači-yin anggi-dur büküi mongγol anggi-dur bičimel ba darumal nom bičig üd-ün büridkel*. In 1955 Raghu Vira and in 1957 the author had the privilege of visiting Ulanbator and seeing the Mongol Tanjur which was then lying in the general reading-room of the State Library in the Academy of Sciences. Hereunder follows a conspectus of all the 226[1] volumes of the Tanjur in Ulanbator. References to Rinchen's manuscript catalogue mentioned above, are followed by references to P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, parts 2, 3 (Paris 1909, 1915) to indicate the texts included in each volume of the Mongol Tanjur till its full-fledged catalogue is published.

Ulanbator vol. no. Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier	Ulanbator vol. no. Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
1. Stotra, ka	—	II. 3	10. Tantra, ta	52	30
2. Tantra, ka	I. 1	15	11. Tantra, tha	57	31
3. Tantra, kha	1	15	12. Tantra, da	58	31
4. Tantra, ga	3	15	13. Tantra, na	60	31
5. Tantra, ṅa	7	17	14. Tantra, pa	79	39
6. Tantra, ca	30	24	15. Tantra, pha	107	51
7. Tantra, cha	41	27	16. Tantra, ba	142	66
8. Tantra, ja	45	28	17. Tantra, ma	147	67
9. Tantra, ña	50	29	18. Tantra, tsa	149	67

[1]The sets of the Mongolian Tanjur in the I-hua-szu and Ch'ien-te-mu-ni miao consisted of 227 (sic) volumes according to W. Heissig, UAJ 24(1952).123 and 130. The 227th volume must have been the Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra of AD 1763 (Ch'ien-lung's year 28). It is of the same format as the Tanjur and is sometimes found along with the sets of the Canon. It consists of the cover-folio +5+182+the final cover folio with the illustrations of the four Lokapālas. Its marginal signature on the left is *Ñi Eldeb Usnir Baγatur-a yabuγči* and on the right it is in Chinese 首楞嚴経. This addition has not been noticed earlier. Cf. L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, no. 889.

Ulanbator vol. no.	Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
19,20.	Tantra, tsha	I. 152	II. 69
21.	Tantra, dza	159	71
22.	Tantra, wa	161	71
23.	Tantra, zha	172	75
24.	Tantra, za	218	88
25.	Tantra, ḥa	238	98
26.	Tantra, ya	255	106
27.	Tantra, ra	266	108
28.	Tantra, la	278	113
29.	Tantra, śa	II. 321	131
30.	Tantra, sa	324	131
31.	Tantra, ha	328	132
32.	Tantra, a	332	133
33.	Tantra, ki	333	134
34.	Tantra, khi	334	134
35.	Tantra, gi	335	134
36.	Tantra, ṅi	352	141
37.	Tantra, ci	357	144
38.	Tantra, chi	361	144
39.	Tantra, ji	362	145
40.	Tantra, ñi	364	146
41.	Tantra, ti	366	146
42.	Tantra, thi	376	151
43.	Tantra, di	388	156
44.	Tantra, ni	395	159
45.	Tantra, pi	402	160
46.	Tantra, phi	460	188
47.	Tantra, bi	505	204
48.	Tantra, mi	522	211
49.	Tantra, tsi	541	219
50.	Tantra, tshi	562	230
51.	Tantra, dzi	611	258
52.	Tantra, wi	613	258
53.	Tantra, zhi	II. 613	II. 258
54.	Tantra, zi	617	260
55.	Tantra, ḥi	618	260
56.	Tantra, yi	619	260
57.	Tantra, ri	621	261
58.	Tantra, li	621	261
59.	Tantra, śi	628	262
60.	Tantra, si	636	265
61.	Tantra, hi	639	266
62.	Tantra, i	645	268
63.	Tantra, ku	661	277
64.	Tantra, khu	674	283
65.	Tantra, gu	676	284
66.	Tantra, ṅu	III. 688	290
67.	Tantra, cu	691	291
68.	Tantra, chu	696	292
69.	Tantra, ju	707	297
70.	Tantra, ñu	710	297
71.	Tantra, tu	773	336
72.	Tantra, thu	821	370
73.	Tantra, du	877	III. 3
74.	Tantra, nu	1003	80
75.	Tantra, pu	1034	98
76.	Tantra, phu	1058	117
77.	Tantra, bu	IV. 1079	131
78.	Tantra, mu	1088	139
79.	Tantra, tsu	1098	160
80.	Tantra, tshu	1098	161
81.	Tantra, dzu	1100	161
82.	Tantra, wu	1100	161
83.	Tantra, zhu	1101	162
84.	Tantra, zu	1124	175
85.	Tantra, ḥu	1163	206

Ulanbator vol. no.	Original Signature	Rinchen	Cordier
86.	Tantra, yu	IV. 1194	III. 227
87.	Tantra, ru	1203	233
88.	Tantra, lu	1222	247
89.	Sūtra, ka	1260	273
90.	Sūtra, kha	1264	274
91.	Sūtra, ga	1267	275
92.	Sūtra, ṅa	1267	276
93.	Sūtra, ca	1268	276
94.	Sūtra, cha	1270	276
95.	Sūtra, ja	1274	277
96.	Sūtra, ña	1279	279
97.	Sūtra, ta	1283	280
98.	Sūtra, tha	1285	281
99.	Sūtra, da	1287	282
100.	Sūtra, na	1289	283
101.	Sūtra, pa	1291	284
102.	Sūtra, pha	1292	284
103.	Sūtra, ba	1295	285
104.	Sūtra, ma	1298	286
105.	Sūtra, tsa	1307	290
106.	Sūtra, tsha	1320	296
107.	Sūtra, dz	1327	299
108.	Sūtra, wa	1331	300
109.	Sūtra, zha	1331	301
110.	Sūtra, za	1331	301
111.	Sūtra, ḥa	1335	301
112.	Sūtra, ya	1341	303
113.	Sūtra, ra	1346	305
114.	Sūtra, la	1351	306
115.	Sūtra, śa	1354	307
116.	Sūtra, sa	1361	310
117.	Sūtra, ha	1365	312
118.	Sūtra, a	V. 1374	316
119.	Sūtra, ki	V. 1390	III. 324
120.	Sūtra, khi	1400	331
121.	Sūtra, gi	1413	336
122.	Sūtra, ṅi	1458	361
123.	Sūtra, ci	1464	364
124.	Sūtra, chi	1465	365
125.	Sūtra, ji	1467	366
126.	Sūtra, ñi	1473	369
127.	Sūtra, ti	1477	371
128.	Sūtra, thi	1477	371
129.	Sūtra, di	1477	371
130.	Sūtra, ni	1481	372
131.	Sūtra, pi	1482	372
132.	Sūtra, phi	1483	373
133.	Sūtra, bi	1487	375
134.	Sūtra, mi	1489	376
135.	Sūtra, tsi	1489	376
136.	Sūtra, tshi	1491	376
137.	Sūtra, dzi	1495	378
138.	Sūtra, wi	1497	378
139.	Sūtra, zhi	1498	379
140.	Sūtra, zi	1499	379
141.	Sūtra, ḥi	1501	379
142.	Sūtra, yi	1503	380
143.	Sūtra, ri	1507	382
144.	Sūtra, li	1508	382
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33. CHRONOLOGY OF BUDDHISM IN SIBERIAN BURYATIA

1660. Beginning with this year refugees started coming from Khalkha Mongolia, bringing Buddhist statues with them (pp. 142, 148).

1667. Immigrant Khalkha tribes ceased to be administered by their own chieftains and came under the Verkhneudinsky Zemstvo Court along with the Buryats (p. 143).

1689. The newly arrived Khalkha tribes became Russian citizens by a treaty concluded with the plenipotentiary of the Russian Czar on 16 January 1689 (p. 143).

1696. The last fugitives came and joined the six Buryat tribes. The names and number of Buryat tribes changed (p. 142).

1701. Andaqai departed from the kingdom of Tusiyetü Qaγan and took with him his cousin Lama Sanǰai for spreading dharma in Buryatia. The Lama organised a congregation in a yurt hall on the western bank of the river Kimni for the people in Tamči, Ödüngge, Selengge, Yongqur and Bultamur (pp. 6, 149).

1710. Lama Quvaraγ, Zay-a-yin of the Čongγol tribes set out to Urga and further to Tibet for studies (p. 155).

1711. Jaya Lama Gedun-damba-darje, the deputy khampo of the Čongγols was born (p. 5).

1720. At the annual gathering of the Gomang monastery of Lhasa, fifty Tibetan Lamas got involved with Left Ögeleds and were expelled. They started for Mongolia. On the way they became acquainted with a hundred Mongols, who pledged brotherhood in faith and accompanied them to Buryatia. They started recitation of śāstras in Mongolian and Tibetan, performed religious services and gave precepts (pp. 7, 149, 150).

1725. Jaya Lama Gedun-damba-darǰe accompanied by Baγatur-un šangǰudba and Daqului-yin rabǰamba went for studies to Urga. On the day of their arrival, lightning struck the palace of the Boγda. On investigation with the help of an astrologer, they discovered that it was caused by the arrival of three curiously dressed strangers. They were ordered to leave the palace at once. The three left for different places. Baγatur-un left for the Qošiγu kuriye of Sečen qaγan to study astrology. Daqului-yin rabǰamba went to Amdo to study ritual, and Jaya Lama joined the Gomang monastery in Lhasa (p. 5).

1727. Frontiers were demarcated and entry into Buryatia was possible only after reporting to Irkutsk and even Moscow, and obtaining permission therefrom (p. 6).

1736. The Rabǰamba Lama, one of the fifty Tibetans who migrated in 1720, constructed a yurt temple for the Sartaγul, Tabunangγud and Ataγan tribes on a westen hill, on the right side of Borgiya. The same was done by lamas everywhere and the local au-

thorities highly appreciated these activities (p. 149).

1740. Sanǰai Lama passed away before 1740. The congregations which he had started at Kimni in 1701, slackened after his nirvāṇa. By this time J̌imba the son of Aγaldai of the Qataγin tribe returned to his country after completing his education at the Mañjuśrī monastery (p. 7).

Lama Zay-a-yin returned from Tibet after getting the degree of gsaṅ phud dkaḥ bcu, obtaining his initiation as a bhikṣu from the Seventh Dalai Lama and getting permission from the Panchen and Dalai Lamas to construct monasteries in his mother country. He brought with him holy statues and scriptures. At Čökü-yin yeke niγu the Noyan Lama J̌oni-yin Phunčog was having a congregation in a yurt. Invited to a philosophical discussion, Lama Zay-a-yin defeated the Noyan Lama. The assembly invited Zay-a-yin to the high seat and honoured him (p. 6).

1744. Lama Zay-a-yin together with the astrologer Baγatur-un returned to Čongγol, and acquired a place for a small temple. Later on, it was enlarged into a big monastery in Tibetan style (p. 152). This Čongγol-un Baldan-brayibungling had 11 temples later on with Mahākāla as its dharmapāla (p. 137). It had a well-equipped printery (nos. 1195–1271).

1748. J̌imba Lama thought that the right side by the Kolung Lake was beautiful but not being able to decide he invited two Lamas to select a place for the construction of a monastery on the Kolung Lake (p. 7). The astrologer Baγatur-un made astrological calculations and found an auspicious site. Lama Zay-a-yin differed, but the astrologer said: "It is very good that such a fine place has been found for propagating the Dharma of Buddha, which is eternal. I and you are not eternal. We shall be reborn here". With these words the astrologer struck an arrow at the spot to mark that it had been selected (p. 152). The Kolung-un Γandang darǰaling had 17 temples and its guardian deity was Śrīdevī/Lha-mo (p. 137).

1752. The Czar respected Dharma and the government admitted to citizenship the 150 Lamas who had come in 1720. They were confirmed complete lamas, exempt from taxes. No limits were set to young men who could be consecrated as lamas (pp. 7, 149, 150).

1760. Dambadarǰiy-a Zay-a-yin was made the first Khambo Lama, after he had an audience with the Czar. He obtained the right to consecrate monks and to spread the Dharma as he liked. On his return, he received 150 lamas under his supervision (pp. 154, 155).

Bultämür-ün Damčoi rabǰaling monastery was built. Its presiding deity was Dharmarāja (Chos-rgyal) and it had 17 temples (p. 137). It also had a printery (no. 1681–92).

The monastery Tosu Γaltai-yin Dasi čoyingqorling was also constructed in this year with Śridevī (Lha-mo) as the guardian deity. It had 4 temples (p. 137).

1762. The temple in Kimni was deserted and its lamas scattered (p. 149).

1766. The monastery of Qotun Kǐjingge-yin Dasi lhundub-ling was constructed with Śrīdevī (Lha-mo) as its guardian deity. It had 3 temples (p. 137).

1769. The monastery Aru Keriyetü-yin Γandang darǰa-ling was founded with Dharmarāja (Chos-rgyal) as its guardian deity. It had three temples (p. 137).

1772. Lamas of the Hill Temple on the western bank of the outskirts of Selengge scattered. The Ataγan tribe seized the statue of its guardian deity Jamsarin, which became the guardian deity of Egetü and Öčiyetei (p. 149).

1774. The monastery J̌ede-yin Lhundub dasigling was established with Jamsarin (Lcam-sriṅ) as its guardian deity. It had 19 temples (p. 137). It also had a printery (nos. 1558–1653).

1776. The monastery Ača-yin Tübden darǰa-ling was founded with 9 temples (p. 137).

1777. Khambo Lama Zay-a-yin attained nirvāṇa in his 67th year. After this, Čorji Lama Sodnampil of the same Čongγol monastery succeeded on the seat of Khambo. He sat for three years. The people of Kölüng monastery contested to have their man as Khambo. Both parties went to Irkutsk to present their case. Buda-yin Bilig-tu of Kölüng won the case by his intelligent speech. 'Paṇḍita' the title of his teacher Aγaldai-yin J̌imba and 'Khambo' the title of the Čongγol Deputy Khambo, were unified into *Buriyad-un šasin-u eǰen Pandita Khambo Lama* which continues to this day (pp. 8, 154, 155).

1780. Lama J̌imba Aqaldai-yin of the Qatagin tribe of Kölüng had studied at Urga and on his return he became the disciple of Khambo Lama Zay-a-yin. In 1780 he sat on the throne of Khambo for 16 years till he passed away in 1796 (pp. 154, 155).

The monastery J̌iγasutai-yin Dasi-rabǰaling was founded with Śrīdevī as the guardian goddess. It had 10 temples (p. 137) and xylographic plates (nos. 1317–20).

1793. The monastery An-a-yin Γandang šaddub-ling was established. Mahākāla (Mgon-po) was its guardian deity (p. 137). It had three temples and a rich printery (nos. 990–1027).

1796. The Paṇḍita Khambo Lama J̌imba Aqaldai-yin attained nirvāṇa (p. 154).

1797. In 1797 Čorǰi Danǰangγavang Isiǰamchu-yin became the next Pandita Khambo Lama (p. 154).

1803. The monastery Dünǰin-ü Γandang-darǰa-ling was constructed with Śrīdevī as its guardian deity and two temples (p. 188).

1805. Three monasteries were founded:

Sartaγul Bulaγ-un Γandang-punčuγ-ling with Caturmukha (Zhal-bzhi) as its

guardian deity, 4 temples (p. 137), and a printery (nos. 1404–19).

Öciyetei-yin Darǰa-rabǰa-ling with Jamsarin (*Lcam-sriṅ)* as its guradian deity, four temples (p. 137), and a printing house (nos. 1425–42).

Günei-yin Dasi-darǰa-ling with Dharmarāja (*Chos-rgyal)* as its guardian (p. 138). It had two xylographs (nos. 1668–69).

1808. Paṇḍita Khambo Lama Čorǰi-Danǰangγavang Isiǰamču-yin passed away after having been on the throne for 11 years (p. 154).

1811. The monastery Iruge-yin Čoyidun-darǰa-ling was founded. Its guardian deity was Śrīdevī (*Lha-mo)* and it had 10 temples (p. 137). Its printery had the blocks of Suvarṇaprabhāsa etc. (nos. 1693–96).

1812. The Paṇḍita Khambo Lama received a letter from His Majesty the Czar Alexander Pavlovich with a request for prayers for victory over the enemy. He performed the gürim worship. For this help, he received a letter of thanks (p. 155).

1814. The monastery Alayir-un Dasi-čoyingqor-ling was founded. Its guardian deity was Śrīdevī *(Lha-mo)* and it had 7 temples (p. 138).

1816. The famous Aγu-yin Dasi-lhundub-ling was established. Its guardian deity was Jamsarin (Lcam-sriṅ). It had 21 temples (p. 138). It had a wide range of publications (nos. 134–298).

1828. Two monasteries, Tarbaγatai-yin Dasi-tübdeng-ling and Onon Berče-yin Damba-darǰa-ling, were established. Dharmarāja (Chos-rgyal) was the guardian of both and each had 2 temples (p. 138). The Onon monastery had xylographic blocks (nos. 1654–64).

1829. The monastery Quǰirtai-yin Gempil-tarba-ling was founded with Śrīdevī as its guardian (p. 138). It had 2 temples and printing blocks (nos. 1678–80).

1831. The largest number of monasteries were established during this year. The six monasteries were:

	Guardian deity	*Temples*	*Xylographic blocks*
Gegetü-yin Damba-brayibung-ling	Jamsarin	4	1443–1557
Kuderi-yin Tubden-darǰa-ling	Śrīdevī	2	1276–89
Čilaγutai-yin Γandang-darǰa-ling	Jamsarin	2	—
Čičan-a-yin Γandang-čoyimpol-ling	Śrīdevī	9	764–969
Qokiγurtai-yin Dasi-lhundub-ling	Śrīdevī	2	1125–37
Cuγulγ-a-yin Šaddub-sarbaba-ling	Śrīdevī	2	1166–94

1832. Three monasteries were founded during this year:

Ulqun-u Dasi-gempel-ling	Dharmarāja	—	1674–77

Barguǰin-u Gendun-šaddub-ling	Jamsarin	2	1290–1307
Cegeǰi Buryaltai-yin Dondub-ling	Jamsarin	2	1670–73

1834. The monastery Čügel orun-a Dasi-čoyimpol-ling was established with Dharmarāja (Chos-rgyal) as its guardian deity and 4 temples (p. 138). Its printery xylographed numerous texts (nos. 299–648).

A gigantic statue of Maitreya was erected at Boγda-yin küriye which was 80 cubits high (p. 151).

Paṇḍita Khambo Lama Siregetü Čorǰi Danǰang-γavang Isiǰamcu-yin passed away. He was succeeded by Čorǰi Tübden Badm-a-yin from the Qori Γaltai-yin monastery as a 'pomošniγ mkhambo' or Assistant Khambo (p. 154).

1835. Two monasteries were founded: (i) Yangγaǰin-u Dasi-sarbaba-ling with Śrīdevī and Jamsarin as presiding deities, 4 temples and printing blocks (1308–16), and (ii) Cangaγ-a Bulaγ Dasi-punčuγ-ling with Śrīdevī as presiding deity, 14 temples and printing blocks for five titles (1420–24).

1837. The monastery Tüngken-ü Dasi-rabǰa-ling was founded. Its guardian was Dharmarāja (Tha-hog chos-kyi-rgyal) and it had two temples (p. 138).

1838. Egetü-yin Damčoi-rabǰa-ling was established with Dharmarāja (Chos-rgyal) as guardian and with 4 temples (p. 138). It xylographed several texts (nos. 649–763).

Čorǰi Čoyivang Yisiǰamcu-yin was made the Paṇḍita Khambo Lama (p. 154).

The Examiner of Religious Affairs, a baron, visited all the monasteries and presented them statues and the red printed Prajñāpāramitā *(Yum)*. He returned with an order to improve religious affairs (p. 150).

1841. The Mongol Qorčin Lama Naran Qutuγtu, the incarnation of Nāgārjuna, was invited to the monastery of the First Tabunangγud tribe and there he consecrated Včir erke (p. 149).

1842. Naran Qutuγtu constructed Miraǰan bumbara bumqan in Borgiyia. In the last month of summer, he built an obo on the mountain Burin Khan and ordered sacrifices to be offered on its foundation-day. He forecast that "after thirty years the Emperor will visit your country and you will be able to go on horseback to worship Bogdo straight from your horse" (p. 149).

1844. The second storey of the An-a-yin Γandang-šaddub-ling was taken down and Čangnid (philosophy) temple was constructed in stone (p. 153).

1848. Kamer Junker, Examiner of Religious Affairs, came with his companions to inspect the state of Dharma. He stayed for more than a month in the Selengge Duma and once set out to inspect the monastery of Khambo Lama. There was no divine service and the temples were locked. In the steppe they questioned herdsmen. They drove back in their uniforms and medals and called the taisha Vampilun and ordered him to summon

the lamas for worship. He reprimanded the corrupt lamas and confiscated all their rights and titles. Ordained lamas were confirmed at the request of Pandita Khambo, and they were graded in five ranks according to their piousness (p. 151).

The first *cham* dance was performed at the Iruge monastery (p. 152).

1853. Regulations relating to the Lamas in Eastern Siberia were affirmed on 15th May 1853. The head of Buddhism was Paṇḍita Khambo Lama, with his permanent residence at Gusinozersky monastery, and 34 monasteries under his supervision. In these monasteries there were 176 small temples and prayer halls (p. 147). The Gusinozersky was repaired (p. 137) during this year.

1858. The Čilaγutai-yin Γandang-darǰa-ling was repaired (p. 138).

1860. Siregetü Čoyirab Vangcöγ-un of Qori Γaltai-yin monastery became the Pandita Khambo Lama. He continued in the see for 11 years (p. 154).

1862. The Cügel orun-a Dasi-čoyimpol-ling monastery was repaired. It may be recalled that the Paṇḍita Khambo Vangčoγ was consecrated here (p. 138).

1869. Cham dance was performed in the monastery of Paṇḍita Khambo (p. 152).

1870. A 44-cubit high image of Maitreya was erected in the monastery of Paṇḍita Khambo (p. 151).

Cham dance was performed at the Ataγan monastery (p. 152).

1871. Siregetü Vasili-yin became the Paṇḍita Khambo (p. 155).

1872. On June 15 ex-Paṇḍita Khambo Vančoγ together with Gabǰu Marqa-yin of Qori-yin Čilaγutai monastery, came to honour the third Prince Alexander Alexandrovich in the neighbourhood of Selengge town, in a yurt with interior silk decorations. All keepers of Buryat monasteries and other Buryat citizens came to greet the Prince with images, religious and other objects (p. 150).

1873. On 22nd February gelung Čoyidar Marq-a-yin, a štad lama of Eastern Kubud's tribes Qori-yin Ačaγad monastery, was confirmed as Paṇḍita Khambo, as he had the highest education (p. 155).

1876. Siregetü Dampil Γombo-yin of the Kölüng monastery was designated the Paṇḍita Khambo (p. 155).

The J̌ede-yin Lhundub-dasi-ling was repaired (p. 137).

1882. The Toryud queen came to offer worship to the Paṇḍita Khambo, and obtained the consecration of Kālacakra in his monastery (p. 150).

Repairs of the two monasteries, Canaγ-a-Bulaγ Dasi-punčuγ-ling and Cegeǰi Buryaltai-yin Dondub-ling, were carried out (p. 138).

1884. The monasteries Sartaγul Bulaγ-un Γandang-punčuγ-ling and Tüngken-ü Dasi-rabǰa-ling were repaired (pp. 137, 138).

1887. Cham dance was performed at Gegetei monastery (p. 152).

1889. Cham at Bulaγ monastery (p. 152).

1895. Paṇḍita Khambo Dampil Γombo-yin passed away, after having been on the See for 19 years (p. 155).

1896. Gelung Čoyinǰung Irügeltü-yin, of Qori Čilaγutai monastery, became Paṇḍita Khambo (p. 155).

1911. The Congγol monastery was constructed with stone (p. 153).

LIST OF BANDIDO HAMBO LAMAS OF BURYATIA
(from 1766 onwards)

1.	Damba Darǰa J̌aya-yin	1766–77
2.	Sodnompil Ketürkei-yin	1777–85
3.	Jimba Agaldai-yin	1785–97
4.	Demchug Yeshi Jimsu-yin	1797–1809
5.	Gavang Yeshi Jimsu-yin	1809–39
6.	Shoyivong Dorji Yeshi Jimsu-yin	1839–59
7.	Sandeleg Vanchig-un	1859–72
8.	Shoyiǰi Jilsang Vasili-yin	1872–73
9.	Shoyidur Markhai-yin	1873–77
10.	Dampil Gombo-yin	1877–95
11.	Shoyinǰong Dorǰ Irügeltü-yin	1895–1910
12.	Dashi Dorǰ Itegel-ün	1911–17
13.	Namǰil Layidab-un	1917–19
14.	Gürüǰab Cerempel-ün	1919–22
15.	Šhirab Bani-yin	1922–25
16.	Danǰa Müngke Jab-un	1925–46
17.	Lubsang Nim-a Darm-a-yin	1946–56
18.	Yeshi Dorǰi Shirab-un	1956–63
19.	Jimbal Dorǰi Gombo-yin	1963–

The page numbers refer to Rinchen, *Four Mongolian Historical Records*, New Delhi, 1959 (International Academy of Indian Culture). The figures preceded by 'nos' refer to the list of texts xylographed by the monastic printeries of Buryatia, again in the same work of Rinchen.

34. GAṆEŚA IN TIBET

Within two centuries of the advent of Buddhism in Tibet, several Sanskrit texts had been rendered from Sanskrit into Tibetan. A hill dialect became a Classical language with the creation of a sophisticated Tibetan vocabulary to render the complex thought of Buddhism. Pemakarpo's history of Buddhism states that a commission was set up in the Ḥon-caṅ-rdo Palace, south of Lhasa. The efforts of translation for the preceding two centuries were systematised in the lexicon Mahāvyutpatti. Under orders of King Khri-lde-sroṅ-bstan (AD 816–38) a lexicon was prepared by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śīlendrabodhi, Dānaśīla and Bodhimitra of Aparānta, Ratnarakṣita and Dharmatāśīla of Tibet, Jñānasena, Jayarakṣita, Mañjuśrīvarman, Ratnendraśīla and others of Tibet, after the texts of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, enriched by terms from the works of Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, etc. by Śāntrarakṣita, Ye-śes-dbaṅ-po of Sba in Khams, Rgyal-sñan-ña-bzaṅ of Shaṅ, Minister Khri-bshar Saṅ-śi of Sba, Jñāndevaghoṣa, and Khyi-ḥbrug of Lce. The completed work was presented to the King by Dpal-gyi-yon-tan and Tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdzin (Cordier 3.487). In its chapter on popular deities (*laukika-devatāḥ)*, the Tibetan word for Vināyaka is Log-ḥdren (Mvy. 3165). The context is *Kārttikeyaḥ, Mahākālaḥ, Nandikeśvaraḥ, Bhṛṅgiriṭiḥ,* Vināyakaḥ, *Dhanadaḥ, Devī....*

Synonymic lexicons were as popular in Tibetan literary circles as they were in India. In the 13th century, Kīrticandra and Lotsava Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan of Yarlung translated the Amarakośa into Tibetan. It has the following eight synonyms:

Log-ḥdren bgegs-kyi-rgyal-po daṅ/Ma-gñis-pa daṅ tshogs-kyi-bdag/
mche-ba-gcig-pa ha-la-gnas/ lto-ba-ḥphyaṅ daṅ glaṅ-poḥi-gdoṅ/

Its Sanskrit text is:

Vināyake vighnarāja-dvaimātura-gaṇādhipāḥ/
apy-ekadanta-heramba-lambodara-gajānanāḥ//

(Lokesh Chandra, *The Amarakośa in Tibet*, New Delhi 1965, introd. p. 34)

The Amarakośa was translated again in the 17th century by Si-tu-paṇ-chen in Derge in Eastern Tibet. Si-tu realised the inadequacy of the translation in the Tanjur and his new version was a superb achievement on par with Classical translations. Si-tu knew Sanskrit to perfection, and he is appropriately known as Chos-kyi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas 'the Source of Dharma', Gtsug-lag-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba 'the Light of the Ārṣa Dharma'. He had studied the Siddhānta-kaumudī of Bhaṭṭojī-dīkṣita in Nepal and he introduced a new depth in Tibetan grammatical studies. Thus Si-tu's translation of the Amarakośa has a precision that is unique in the entire history of Lotsava's art. His translation of the afore-

said stanza has the caption *Dbaṅ-phyug-gi bu che-ba Tshogs-bdag-gi miṅ-la* 'the names of Gaṇapati, the elder son of Īśvara'. Here the name Tshogs-bdag/Gaṇapati has been used, and to this day it is his most popular designation (Das 1902:1033). He translated: *Heramba* as *Zhi-bar-gnas,* in which Zhi-ba is Śiva. Its basis is the commentary Vyākhyā-sudhā: *haḥ śaṅkare harau...*

In 1641, Ṅag-dbaṅ-ḥjig-rten-dbaṅ-phyug-grags-paḥi-rdo-rje of Tsang compiled a dictionary on the basis of several Sanskrit and Tibetan lexical works. He has listed the sources utilised in the colophon and calls himself a mahākavi. The short title is Mṅon-brjod Mkhas-paḥi-rna-rgyan 'the ear ornament of scholars', which it really is. Selection of words, comprehensive coverage and readily accessible classification have kept it ever popular for centuries. Several editions were xylographed over the whole of Tibet. It was used extensively by Das 1902, and the author has reproduced it photomechanically (1965). The synonyms of Gaṇapati appear on folios 10b and 11a of the xylograph. Alongwith synonymy, the Puranic stories of Dvaimātura and Ekadanta are cited as comments. The Tibetan lexicographers took pains to record the Puranic legends connected with the formation of words. The sixteen synonyms with their Sanskrit correspondences are:

Ma-gñis-pa = Dvaimātura
Khams-gsum-pa = Traidhātuka
Bgegs-kyi-byed-po = Vighnakṛt
Dgra-sta-ḥdzin = Paraśudhara
Mche-ba-gcig-pa = Ekadanta
Glaṅ-poḥi-gdoṅ = Gajānana
Pṛṣṇaḥi-ra-caṇ = Pṛṣṇaśṛṅgin
Lto-ba-hphyaṅ = Lambodara
Tshogs-mchog-rje-bo = Gaṇādhipa
Lus-gñis-pa = Dvikāya (?)
Rdo-rjeḥi-mchu-can = Vajratuṇḍa
Ha-la-gnas = Heramba
Log-ḥdren = Vināyaka
Bgegs-kyi-rgyal-po = Vighnarāja
Tshogs-bdag = Gaṇapati
Dbaṅ-phyug-bu-che = Īśāna-jyeṣṭhaputra (?)

There are a number of stories about Dvaimātura. In the Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa, the two mothers are Puṣpakā and Dīpavatsā (Śabdakalpadruma 2.773). Bhanujī-dīkṣita's Vyākhyāsudhā commentary on the Amarakośa says: *Durgā-cāmuṇḍā-bhyāṁ pālitatvāt/gaja-mukhatayā hastinyā apatyatvāt/gaṅgāyā apatyatvād vā/* The Ti-

betan lexicon gives yet another legend. Śaṅkara had two consorts Umā and Gaṅgā. Gaṅgā had a son. Umā went to see him but could not see his head. In anger, Umā said: 'You be without a head!' So it came to be. Questioned later, she said: 'Cut off the head of the first corpse you find in the north and affix it.' No body was found, and so the head of an elephant was affixed. Because Umā treated him, he was called 'one with two mothers' (dvai-mātura). Moreover, he is said to have the two mothers Durgā and Cāmuṇḍā. The Sanskrit sources of these legends have to be traced, but it is evident that many legends about Gaṇeśa were well known in Tibet.

In 1771, the king of Derge in Eastern Tibet requested the Sakya Lama Bstan-ḥdzin-rgyal-mtshan to prepare a new dictionary for the study of Sanskrit, which is called Prajñā in short. Its full title is: Legs-par-sbyar-ba lhaḥi-skad daṅ gaṅs-can-paḥi brdaḥ śan-sbyar-ba: dri-bral nor-buḥi me-loṅ (Vimala-maṇi-darpaṇa). It gives the following synonyms of Gaṇeśa, alongwith their Tibetan equivalents: Vināyakaḥ/ Vighnarājaḥ/ Dvai-māturaḥ/ Gaṇādhipaḥ/ Ekadantaḥ/ Herambaḥ/ Lambodaraḥ/Gajānanaḥ/ Candrāpīḍaḥ (Zla-baḥi-thod-can)/ Mahānaṭaḥ (Gar-chen)/ Śamirohaḥ (Zhi-ba-skyes)/ Śailadhanvā (Brag-gzhu-can /Ral-ḥkhyams)/Atharvan (Srid-sruṅs/Srid-sruṅ-ḥdzin)/ Nandivardhanaḥ (Dgaḥ-spel)/ Guhyakeśaḥ (Gsaṅ-ba-baḥi-bdag-po) / Ugraḥ (Drag-śul-can)/ Kālañjaraḥ (Dus-kyi-rgan)/ (Prajñā 2.16–17). The first eight names are from the Amarakośa, and in the same order. He has added nine names, which aver that there were other sources for Gaṇeśa in the Sakya denomination. This denomination had a continuous tradition of Sanskrit studies, besides rare Sanskrit manuscripts and Indian statues of the Pala period. The Sakyas were closely connected with India. The Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi of Sakya Pandita (AD 1182–1251) alludes to Puranic legends which are narrated at length in its commentaries.

Tshe-riṅ-dbaṅ-rgyal (AD 1697–1763) complied a Tibetan–Sanskrit dictionary in the alphabetic sequence of Tibetan words. He held high positions in the Tibetan government and in 1751 he was one of the four ministers of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. For a while, he was the Prime Minister of Tibet. His dictionary has only one prevalent name: Tshogs-bdag/Gaṇapati (Bacot 1930:142b1).

Das (1902:1032b) gives Tshogs-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug/Gaṇeśvara.

We have cited the synonyms of Gaṇeśa from Tibetan lexica spanning several centuries, to show that every Tibetan lexicon has an entry or entries for Gaṇeśa.

The special place of Gaṇeśa is evident since the arrival of Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna in Tibet. A disciple of a number of mahāsiddhas, an adept in tantric sādhana, Atiśa began the Tibetan renaissance. He saw Sanskrit texts in Tibet which had disappeared in India. Goddess Tārā revealed to him in a dream that Ḥbrom-ston would be his most outstanding disciple. Inspired by this and entreated by Ḥbrom-ston, Atiśa journeyed to Tibet where

he passed away in 1054. Atiśa translated texts on Gaṇeśa, like the Mahāgaṇapati-tantra, with the collaboration of Rgyal-baḥi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas (Toh.666). Alongwith Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus-seṅ-ge he rendered Ājñā-vinivarta-gaṇapati-sādhana (Toh. 3741) of Indrabhūti who lived around AD 717 (Bhattacharyya, Sādhanamālā 2, introd. 42). The second translation was finalised at Yambu-karta ri or Svayambhu mountain in Kathmandu, according to the catalogue of the Peking Tanjur (Cordier 3.88 no. 36).

Atiśa also translated Amoghavajra's Gaṇapati-guhya-sādhana/ Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po gsaṅ-baḥi sgrub-thabs (Toh. 3738). His collaborator was Nag-tsho lotsava Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba, who had escorted him to Tibet. Its colophon specifies: Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po spreḥuḥi mgo-can-gyi sgrub/Kapiśīrṣa-gaṇapati-sādhana. The epithet 'monkey-headed' is noteworthy.

Atiśa translated his own composition Gaṇapati-guhya-sādhana. No collaborator is named (Cordier 3.220 no. 55).

In the 8th century Kānhapāda (Sādhanamālā 2, introd. 43) wrote the Gaṇapati-cintāratna-sādhana (Cordier 3.219 no. 52). Atiśa had taken its copy with him to Tibet, according to the colophon. Though its translator is not specified, it is not impossible that Atiśa did it into Tibetan. Its Tibetan title is Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po yid-bzhin-nor-buḥi sgrub-thabs. The Cintāratna (or Cintāmaṇi) Gaṇapati is a new form.

Atiśa translated Avadhūti-pāda's Gaṇapati-sādhana Mahācakra nāma/ Tshogs-kyi-bdag-poḥi sgrub-thabs ḥkhor-lo-chen-po zhes-bya-ba (Cordier 3.215 no. 37). The colophon names Dharmakīrti of Suvarṇadvīpa as its author. The Tibetan stylist was Nag-tsho lotsava and its translation was undertaken at the instance of Rgyal-baḥi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas.

Suvarṇadvīpaka Dharmakīrti was the guru of Atiśa (Ferrari 1958:78 n. 6). His Krodha-gaṇapati-sādhana/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po khro-boḥi sgrub-thabs (Cordier 3.221 no. 59) is available, but its translator is not mentioned.

Atiśa promoted the rites of Gaṇeśa in Tibet by himself writing hymns, translating them and creating their lineages of transmission. We shall mention four works by him:

Gaṇapati-rāgavajra-samaya-stotra/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po chags-pa-rdo-rje dam-tshig-gi bstod-pa (Cordier 3.88 no. 34) in collaboration with Nag-tsho lotsava.

Gaṇapati-sādhana Daridra-nidhiprada nāma/Tshogs-bdag-gi bsgrub-pa dbul-baḥi gter-sbyin zhes-bya-ba (Cordier 2.351 no. 92).

Sunipuṇa-mahādeva-vighnarāja-sādhana/ Śin-tu-myur-baḥi lha-chen-po bgegs-kyi-rgyal-poḥi sgrub-thabs (Cordier 3.218 no. 46). The colophon gives another title: Bgegs sel-baḥi sgrub-thabs/ Vighna-vināyaka-sādhana.

Gaṇapati-śānti-sādhana/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po zhi-baḥi sgrub-thabs (Cordier 3.219 no. 51). This was translated by the Great Translator Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, who had studied with 75 teachers in India. He is the Prince of Tibetan Pilgrims to India. He was

eighty-four years of age, when Atiśa reached Guge. Even at 84 springs, he started learning meditation from Atiśa (Snellgrove 1957:192). The colophon states that it is the meditation of Śānta Gaṇapati on the basis of the Siddhi-sambhava-tantra. Atiśa gave its empowerment to his chief disciple Ḥbrom-ston Rgyal-baḥi-hbyuṅ-gnas, who in turn initiated Spyan-sṅa-pa Tshul-khrims-ḥbar (AD 1033–1103).

In the eleventh century, Gayādhara of Kashmir went to Tibet and initiated Ḥbrog-mi into Lam-ḥbras (Blue Annals 112, 207). The main temple of Sakya (lha-khaṅ-chen-po) had a large image of Gayādhara (ibid. 207). The tantric cranium used by Gayādhara was preserved in the small Sakya temple Gduṅ-phud-chos-ḥkhor (Ferrari 1958:55, 135 n. 344). Gayādhara commanded special veneration as the guru of Ḥbrog-mi. He translated into Tibetan six texts on Gaṇapati by Kānhapāda:

Vināyaka-rāja-sādhana/Bgegs-kyi-rgyal-poḥi sgrub-thabs (Cordier 3.216 no. 38), with the help of Gyi-zo Zla-baḥi-ḥod-zer.

Vināyaka-rāja-sādhana, also with Gyi-zo. This is extracted from the Vajraḍāka-tantra (Cordier 3.217 no. 41).

Gaṇapati-stuti/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po-la bstod-pa (Cordier 3.217 no. 42).

Mahāvināyaka-rūpopadeśa-cintāratna/ Bgegs-bdag-chen-poḥi sku-bri-baḥi man-ṅag yid-bzhin-nor-bu zhes-bya-ba (Cordier 3.217 no. 43). It details the procedure of making an image of Mahāvināyaka. It was translated with the help of Gyi-zo.

Gaṇapati-bali-vidhi/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-poḥi gtor-maḥi cho-ga, again translated by Gayādhara and Gyi-zo.

Vināyaka-homa-vidhi/Bgegs-bdag-kyi sbyin-sreg-gi cho-ga rab-tu-bśad-pa (Cordier 3.217–18 no.45). In this Gayādhara was assisted by Śākya-ye-śes. Gayādhara actively furthered the meditation, ritual and fire-rites of Gaṇeśa in Tibet.

The Tibetan Kanjur has a Gaṇapait-hṛdaya/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-poḥi sñiṅ-po (Toh. 665) in its tantric section. Both its author and translator(s) are not indicated. Its repetition in the collection of dhāraṇīs (Toh. 1084) indicates its popularity in the rites.

The Tanjur has a number of texts on Gaṇeśa, some of which have been detailed above. There are five other texts whose Tibetan translators are not known and so their time cannot be ascertained.

Vināyaka-graha-nirmocak-opadeśa/Log-ḥdren-gyi gdoṅ-las thar-par-byed-paḥi man-ṅag (Cordier 2.344 no. 49), by Jñānavajra. It is in the section of Ba-ri's Vidāraṇī-dhāraṇī of the kriyā-tantras (Cordier 3.546). Ba-ri Rin-chen-grags lived 1038–1109? (Lalou 1933:198).

The Tanjur has four more texts in its tantra section (pothi ḤU):

Gaṇapati-cakra-sūrya/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-poḥi ḥkhor-loḥi gsal-byed (Cordier 3.218 no. 48). It is a work of Ḍombi-Heruka. Sūrya in the title does not mean 'sun' but a work

that sheds light on the cakra of Gaṇapati.

Gaṇapati-homa-vidhi/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-poḥi sbyin-sreg-gi cho-ga (Cordier 3.220 no. 53). Its author as well as translator is unknown. It is a sādhana connected with Cullī.

Gaṇapati-stuti/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po-la bstod-pa, by Kānhapāda (Cordier 3.220 no. 54).

Gaṇapati-stotra/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po-la bstod-pa, by Amoghavajra (Cordier 3.220 no. 56).

In the twelfth century, two hymns by Candrakīrti were translated into Tibetan by Vairocana the pandita from India and Diṅ-ri Chos-kyi-grags-pa. Chos-kyi-grags-pa was a contemporary of Abhayākaragupta, with whom he translated the Kālacakr-āvatāra (Cordier 2.22 no. 29). Abhayākara wrote the Munimatālaṅkāra in AD 1114 (B. Bhattacharyya, Niṣpannayogāvalī, introd. p. 11). Thus the Tibetan translator lived in the 12th century.

Mahāgaṇapati-dhātutrika-rakta-vaśīkuru-sādhana/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po-chen-po khams-gsum dbaṅ-sdud dmar-poḥi sgrub-paḥi-thabs (Cordier 3.220 no. 57). According to the Tibetan the correct Sanskrit name would be Rakta Trailokya-vaśaṁkara Mahāgaṇapati. Another title of the work is Kāmeśvara-gaṇapati-sādhana. Three illustrations are given on folio 103a of the xylograph. Candrakīrti's source for this sādhana was Gaṇapati-mahākalpa-seka-paṭala. Candrakīrti's other work is Kāmeśvara-stotra/Ḥdod-paḥi-dbaṅ-phyug-gi bstod-pa (Cordier 3.221 no. 58). Its translator is not mentioned.

Gaṇapati-samaya-guhya-sādhana/Tshogs-kyi-bdag-po dam-tshig gsaṅ-baḥi bsgrub-thabs (Cordier 3.221 no. 60) details three rituals of Gaṇapati, catuḥsādhana, and Vighnavināyaka-sūtra. The line of transmission is given: Nāgārjuna→Candrakīrti→Tathāgatarakṣita→Janakaśīla.

Vairocana, the great yogin from Kosala, translated his (?) Subudha-deva-mahā-vighna-vighnarāja-sādhana/Śin-tu-myur-baḥi lha bgegs-chen-po bgegs-kyi-rgyal-po bsgrub-paḥi-thabs (Cordier 3.218 no. 47). The short title in the colophon is Vighnavināyaka-sādhana.

In the twelfth century, Sarvajñaśrī went to Tibet, and under his guidance Chag lotsava (AD 1153–1216) translated Sanskrit works into Tibetan. Sarvajñaśrī translated the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī/ Rdzogs-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor-gyi phreṅ-ba (Cordier 2.371 no. 2) at the Smon-ḥgro monastery. Later, Ratnarakṣita and Ravīndra of India revised this translation with the help of Chag Chos-rje-dpal (AD 1197–1264). Gaṇapati is described in three maṇḍalas of this text:

i. Four-armed White Gaṇapati in the Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara-maṇḍala
ii. Cranium-holding Gaṇapati in the Bhūtaḍāmara-maṇḍala
iii, iv. Kaumārī-samāpanna Gaṇeśa in the Kālacakra-maṇḍala.

The first Gaṇapati rides a mouse, is white, has the face of an elephant, wears the serpent

as a sacred thread, and has four hands holding trident and sweets in the right, axe and radish in the left hands (NSP. 62). The second Gaṇapati in the Bhūtaḍāmara-maṇḍala rides a mouse, is white, has the head of an elephant and three eyes, has the crescent atop his hair, and his four arms hold a radish and axe in the right hands, while the two left hands wield a trident and cranium (NSP. 72). In the two vāk and kāya submaṇḍalas of the Kālacakra, Gaṇeśa embraces Kaumārī. In the vāk-maṇḍala, he rides a peacock (NSP. 87). In the kāya-maṇḍala, he sits on a mouse, is white and his four arms have axe and vajra in the right, mouse and jewel in the left ones (NSP. 89).

Padma-rdo-rje Gliṅ-ras-pa (AD 1128–88, Blue Annals p. 659–64) was a great tantric master of the Kālacakra, Yamāntaka, Śaṁvara and Vajravārāhī. He is known as the Mahāsiddha Saraha of Tibet. His Mgon-poḥi sṅon-stod or hymn to Mahākāla gives the following characteristics of Gaṇapati: complexion like the moon, head of an elephant, three eyes with an amorous gaze, black hair tied with five-coloured bands and decorated with a cintāmaṇi jewel and crescent, large abdomen, four arms with radish, sweets, trident and axe, wears jewels, is decked with flowers, and seated on a mouse emitting jewels. A little further, the eighth folio of the xylograph has: I eulogise Gaṇapati, endowed with the foregoing characteristics. They have been put into verses.

Lotsava Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (AD 1147–1216, Blue Annals p. 211) translated a number of sādhanas at the instance of Kīrticandra in the Sakya monastery. Among them is Gzhan-gyis-mi-thub-paḥi sgrub-thabs (Cordier 3.56 no. 289 = Sādhanamālā 204 on p. 403). It is a sādhana of Aparājitā, who is trampling on Gaṇapati, and hence she is known as Gaṇapati-samākrāntā.

The renowned Sakya Lama Ḥphags-pa (AD 1235–80) obtained imperial recognition from Kubilai Khan of the dominion of Sakya Lamas over Tibet. This created a theocratic government and gave rise to a number of legends about Ḥphags-pa Lama. An elephant lifted up his father in his trunk and seated him on Mount Sumeru. The father was overawed and dare not look down. Assured by Gaṇeśa he cast a glance, and beheld Tibet below. Gaṇeśa said to him: "Out of fright, you have lost the opportunity. Whatever regions you have seen will be ruled by your descendants". His son, the future Ḥphags-pa Lama, became the Imperial Preceptor to Kubilai Khan (AD 1260–94) and laid the foundations of Sakya hegemony over Tibet. Lord Gaṇeśa played a prominent role in the Sakya denomination as the fountain-head of their political sway (Huth 1896:2.139, Grünwedel 1900:64, Hoffmann 1961:137).

In the annals of Gyantse, the ruler of Ra-dza was Dpon Rgyal-mtshan-bzaṅ-po. He had three sons by his wife Lha-mo-dpal. In 1320 his second son Dpal-ldan-rin-chen-pa was born. He was devout and a presence like the King of Yakṣas. His elder brother went for the study of Dharma to Ldan and settled there. He became the Peak Secretary

in the Bzhi-thog palace of the Khaṅ-gsar-pa. In 1334 he invited Ḥphags-rgyal-ba of Dpyal. On this occasion, the two brothers alongwith their mother, took the eight vows and ordination names. The younger brother Dpal-ldan-rin-chen-pa became Ḥphags-pa-rin-chen after ordination. Hereafter he had the vision of Yakṣādhipati Gaṇapati (Tucci 1949:662). It makes clear that Gaṇapati had a unique role in the Sakya denomination.

In the 14th century, Tibetan art reached its full efflorescence in the Gyantse Kumbum, constructed on a foundation of 108 square cubits. Rising to four floors, a campana and top it is a veritable dharmakāya rising in the skies of Tibet. Inscriptions identify the murals and name the artists for the first time in Tibetan art. The 12th chapel on the first floor depicts Mahārakta Gaṇapati, Pīta Gaṇapati and Four Gaṇapatis, according to the Sakyapas (Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* 4/1.194, 4/2.20 inscription, 153 translation, 4/3 pl.188). Likewise, in the 6th chapel on the third floor, Gaṇapati holds sweets, radish, trident and axe (ibid. 4/1.142, 4/2.51 inscription, 193 translation, 4/3 pl. 302). In the 9th chapel of this floor, Gaṇapati appears among the Eight Great Devas (lha chen-po brgyad), with two hands holding an axe and his consort (ibid. 4/1.246, 4/2.54 inscription, 196 translation, 4/3 pl. 308). The 19th chapel of the third floor also has a mural of Gaṇapati with his consort (ibid. 4/1.288).

The last of the great ācāryas to reach Tibet was Vanaratna (1382–1468) whom the Tibetans term 'paṇḍita mthaḥ-ma/the last Paṇḍita'. He reached Tibet in AD 1426 and his wide-ranging activities are recorded in the Blue Annals 2.799f. He passed away in his 85th year in Tibet in AD 1468. His teachings were translated by Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho (1424–82, Blue Annals p. 806, 835). With his help, Vanaratna translated a number of Sanskrit works. Among them is Gaṇeśvara-stava/Tshogs-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug-gi bstod-pa (Toh.1175). Initiated by Vanaratna, his disciple and collaborator initiated others into Gaṇapati, for example, Chos-kyi-grags-pa-ye-śes-dpal-bzaṅ-po on his insistence (Blue Annals 832).

The golden age of Tibetan art in the 15–16th centuries can be witnessed in some of the *objets d'art* from the Dpal-ḥkhor monastery of Gyantse which are now conserved in the National Museum of Ethnology at Leiden (Pott 1951:39–40 pl. II). A manuscript-box of exquisite workmanship shows Gaṇeśa made with red stones and his trunk with blue stones.

The White Chapel/Lha-khaṅ dkar-po at Tsaparang is famous for its murals. A mural shows Gaṇapati with his retinue (Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* 3/2.120 pl. 89, 90).

One of the outstanding manuals for ritual is Vajrācārya-kriyā-samuccaya/Rdo-rje-slob-dpon-gyi bya-ba kun-las-btus-pa (Cordier 3.226 no. 77). It was written by Avadhūtipāda Jagad-darpaṇācārya and translated into Tibetan by Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po with the help of Mahāpaṇḍita Mañjuśrī of Vikramaśilā. It gives the measure-

ments of the images of Gaṇapati (Tucci 1949:299).

Other iconometric texts also prescribe measurements of Gaṇapati. One of the leading icon painters of Tibet, Sman-thaṅ-pa drew murals in the Potala Palace from 1648 onwards during the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Tucci 1949:208). He wrote the Rdzogs-paḥi-saṅs-rgyas-mchog-gi sprul-paḥi skuḥi phyag-tshad, of which only two chapters (7th and 10th) have survived. The measurements of Gaṇapati are prescribed and the various forms in different tantras are detailed (ibid. 293).

Born in AD 1575, Jo-naṅ-pa Tāranātha commenced anew Sanskrit studies, collected Sanskrit manuscripts in India and prepared new translations into Tibetan. He compiled 73 sādhanas into Sgrub-thabs-rgya-mtshoḥi kha-skoṅ-gi gzhuṅ (Cordier 3.251, 550). In them is Mahāgaṇeśa-sādhana/Tshogs-kyi-dbaṅ-ldan-chen-po sgrub-paḥi-thabs, in which he has five faces, ten arms and is white (p. 208).

Tāranātha's Yi-dam-rgya-mtshoḥi sgrub-thabs rin-chen-ḥbyuṅ-gnas (f. 483) describes Gaṇeśa. He also refers to Gaṇapati in the sādhana of Jñāna-Mahākāla: the artist begins the scroll with the pedestal. From the bīja PAṀ arises the lotus (padma). On the lotus is the bīja RAṀ whence rises the sun. From the sun emerges a white elephant who is Gaṇapati, on whom stands the six-armed Kurukullă-jñāna-Mahākāla (Tucci 1949:585).

During the period of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–82) a number of secular Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan, like the grammars of Pāṇini and Sārasvata. Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan-rdo-rje translated the Samudra-phala-prayoga which was recounted by Maheśvara to Gaṇapati (Toh. 4441).

Emperor Ch'ien-lung was a follower of Lamaism and had studied Sanskrit as a prince alongwith Rol-paḥi rdo-rje who later became the Imperial Preceptor. The mother of the Emperor was deeply religious, and on her 70th birthday on 20 December 1761, the Emperor presented her a pantheon of bronzes which are preserved in the Pao-hsiang Lou Pavilion. Among them (Clark 2.153) is an image of Gaṇapati, shown alongside:

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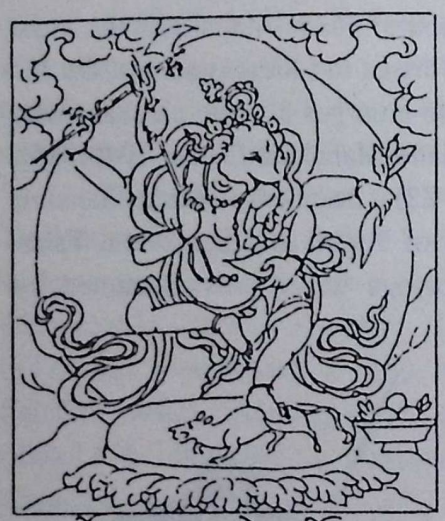
Panchen Lama Bstan-paḥi-ñi-ma-phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (AD 1781–1852/54) wrote a supplement to the sādhanas of Tāranātha under the short title Rin-lhan (fully: Yi-dam rgya-mtshoḥi sgrub-thabs rin-chen-ḥbyuṅ-gnas-kyi lhan-thabs: Rin-ḥbyuṅ don gsal). It is one of the most extensive pantheons running to 989 folios in two volumes

(vol. 1:519 and vol. 2:470). The whole of this work was illustrated and xylographed in Mongolia under the marginal title of Rin-ḥbyuṅ. The first chapter of Panchen's work comprises deities who are auspicious at the beginning. It has Mahārakta Gaṇapati, seated in lalitāsana, on a mouse on a red lotus. His ten hands hold: arrow, goad, vajra, sword,—(?) on the right, and pestle, bow, khaṭvāṅga, cranium and —(?). His two original hands hold a cranium and chopper. This is the form usually seen on thaṅkas. His mantra is: Oṁ āḥ gaḥ hūṁ svāhā/oṁ vārakātāya svāhā/oṁ vakatekadaṁṣṭra bindha hūṁ phaṭ svāhā/oṁ bhrūṁ gaṇapatiye svāhā.



Yellow Gaṇapati occurs in the 15th chapter of Panchen Lama's Rin-lhan 2.93 devoted to sādhanas of deities handed down from Śākyarakṣita. He holds an axe, trident, sweets and radish. His three eyes are full of amour, the nose is red, the body is short and plump, wears a green robe, and a necklace of jewels. The images usually represent this four-armed White Gaṇapati. His mantra is: Oṁ trāṁ ṭha ṭha ṭha hūṁ ja svāhā.

The 17th chapter of the Rin-lhan has sādhanas to wealth-giving deities, like Vaiśravaṇa, Kubera, Jambhala, etc. Among them are three Gaṇapati (185a6– 189a5): Rāgavajra Ājñā-vinivarta Gaṇapati, Atiśa's Four-armed White Gaṇapati and Four-armed Red Gaṇapati.

Rāgavajra A. Gaṇapati has three faces: the middle one of an elephant, the right one of a cat and that on the left of a monkey. His six arms hold: jewels, sword,—, bilva/ wood-apple, axe and wine-vessel. Gaṇapati and his monkey-faced consort are both naked. Their mantra is: Oṁ ga gaṇapati mama ratna-siddhi/ ga ga ga ga ga ga ga ga (8 times)/gaṇapati svāhā/.

Atiśa's Four-armed White Gaṇapati has only one head of an elephant. His four hands hold a radish, rosary, ichneumon, and axe. He wears tiger's skin and rides a mouse. Mantra: Oṁ bhrŭṁ gaṇapati svāhā/ oṁ bharakataye svāhā/ oṁ vakatedaṁṣṭra bhinda hūṁ phaṭ/bhruṁ gaṇapati ratnasiddhi svāhā/.

Four-armed Red Gaṇapati has axe, radish, bilva fruit and rosary. His mantra is: Oṁ ratna ratna/ratno ratno/gaṇapati/ga ga ga ga ga ga ga ga (8 times)/gaṇapati/curu curu/ manupatra/ruru ruru/ ga ga ta ya/gaṇapatiye svāhā.

Mahākāla Gaṇapati is worshipped by the Sakyapas. His four hands have sword, trident, pennant, and noose. Below him are three goddesses: Dark Vetālī in the middle, Dūtī/Pho-ña-mo on the right, and Mṅag-gzhuṅ-ma on the left. Rin-lhan 2.328bf. details his maṇḍala at length. The outermost circle of the maṇḍala has seven goddessess holding tridents and crania filled with blood. Their names are: Brahmāṇī, Indrāṇī, Kaumārī, Mahādevī, Hayāsyā?, —, Mahānāsā. The four portals of the maṇḍala are made of crystal, gold, copper and green stone. They are guarded by four goddesses (Ma-mo) holding vajra and noose. The mantra is: Oṁ śrī-Mahākāla-gaṇapati svāhā/namaḥ śrī-mahākāla-gaṇeśā-ya/namo yoginaṃ/tadyathā/oṁ hili hili/kite kite/citte citte svāhā/oṁ vajrayakṣa śrīmahā-kāla hūṁ jaḥ.

Rin-lhan 2.191b has a sādhana of Six-armed Kurukullă Jñāna-Mahākāla, who wears a loin-cloth of tiger's skin and stands on Gaṇapati (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:39). This Mahākāla removes all obstructions and ill-omens.

The Kargyupa manual of 13 tutelary deities (dgra-lha) Bkaḥ-rgyud-lugs-kyi lha bsaṅs rgyas-pa (f. 78 of the Leiden xylograph) describes Tshoṅ-lha Tshogs-bdag Glaṅ-sna or Lord of Commerce Elephant-headed Gaṇapati. Dgra-lha are tutelary deities who protect the devotee from enemies and also bring them affluence. Here Gaṇapati is the deity of commerce. He is white as a conch, has an elephant's head with three eyes, his right hand holds a bejewelled staff and the left a purse made of ichneumon-skin (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956:331).

Yung-ho-kung is the famous lamasery at Beijing, converted from the palace of Emperor Yung-cheng in AD 1723. Its Tantra Hall had an image of Mahākāla standing on Gaṇapati (Lessing 1942:74).

At times, Gaṇapati can be seen under the feet of Vajrabhairava. Here Gaṇapati is still tied by worldly bonds (Tucci 1949:217).

Mahākāla as a dharmapāla holds a rosary of skulls and stands on one Gaṇapati. In the form of Cintāmaṇi White Mahākāla he is a deity of wealth, holds a cintāmaṇi jewel instead of skull-rosary, and stands on *two* Gaṇapati. Their depiction can be seen in a Leiden xylograph (Pott 1951:97). A large standing lamp from Tibet in the Leiden Museum has multiple-armed Gaṇapatis on the oil-vessel (ibid. 113)

Gaṇapati can be seen under the feet of Black Mañjuśrī. The right foot of Black Mañjuśrī is on the head of Gaṇapati, while the left rests on a lotus-pedestal. Gaṇapati lies on a pedestal with his head turned to the right. He has no characteristics but the head has a crown of matted locks (jaṭā-mukuṭa).

Dṅul-chu Dharmabhadra (1772–1851) wrote a manual on the bali rites of Gaṇapati entitled Dpal-ldan-tshogs-kyi-bdag-poḥi gtor-ḥbul-gyi don bśad-pa (in his collected works, ṄA, TWB 6379).

The 14-volume encyclopaedic sādhana-collection of the Sakya is entitled Sgrub-thabs kun-btus. It was compiled by Jamyang Khyintse incarnate (1820–92) and published from Derge. It has three rjes-gnaṅ/anujñā texts on Gaṇapati:

Dpal-tshogs-bdag sgrub-thabs daṅ rjes-gnaṅ/sādhana and anujñā of Gaṇapati

Tshogs-bdag dkar-po jo-lugs rjes-gnaṅ bya-tshul/anujñā-vidhi of White Gaṇapati of Atiśa.

Tshogs-bdag rjes-gnaṅ gsal sgron-me/anujñā of Gaṇapati.

The Nyingma encyclopaedia Rin-chen-gter-mdzod in 64 volumes has texts on Gaṇapati, for instance, the Gnam-chos jo-lugs tshogs-bdag sgrub-thabs, a sādhana of Gaṇapati of Atiśa.

In the Kham area, Gaṇapati is worshipped as the son of Six-armed Mahākāla in the latter's maṇḍala. According to Chhimey Rigzin Lama of the Nyingma denomination, Kham had the most extensive treatises on Gaṇapati like Tshogs-bdag gnam-lcags spu-gri (c. 300 folios) and Tshogs-bdag gri-gug-ḥdzin-pa (c. 200 folios), lost in the political upheavals.

The images of Gaṇapati were placed at the entrance as auspicious. Near the Vairocana-temple in the vicinity of Tabo lies an image of Gaṇapati which must have been once near the portals. He has two arms, with sweets in the left, and the right arm is broken. The trunk is turned to the right (Getty 1936:42). Gaṇapati is engraved on a wooden door at Tabo. He is painted on the wall of the main entrance to the Lha-khaṅ

(ibid. 42).

Buddhism spread in Mongolia rapidly after Ḥphags-pa initiated Emperor Kubilai Khan. Ever since Gaṇapati has been popular among the Mongols. The ancient portals of the Gandang monastery at Urga had an image of Gaṇapati. The Mongolian Tanjur has fourteen texts on him.

The Rumthek monastery in Sikkim was newly constructed after 1960 by the late Gyewa Karmapa. Gaṇapati is painted on its main entrance. The traditions of Gaṇapati have ever been alive in Tibetan culture.

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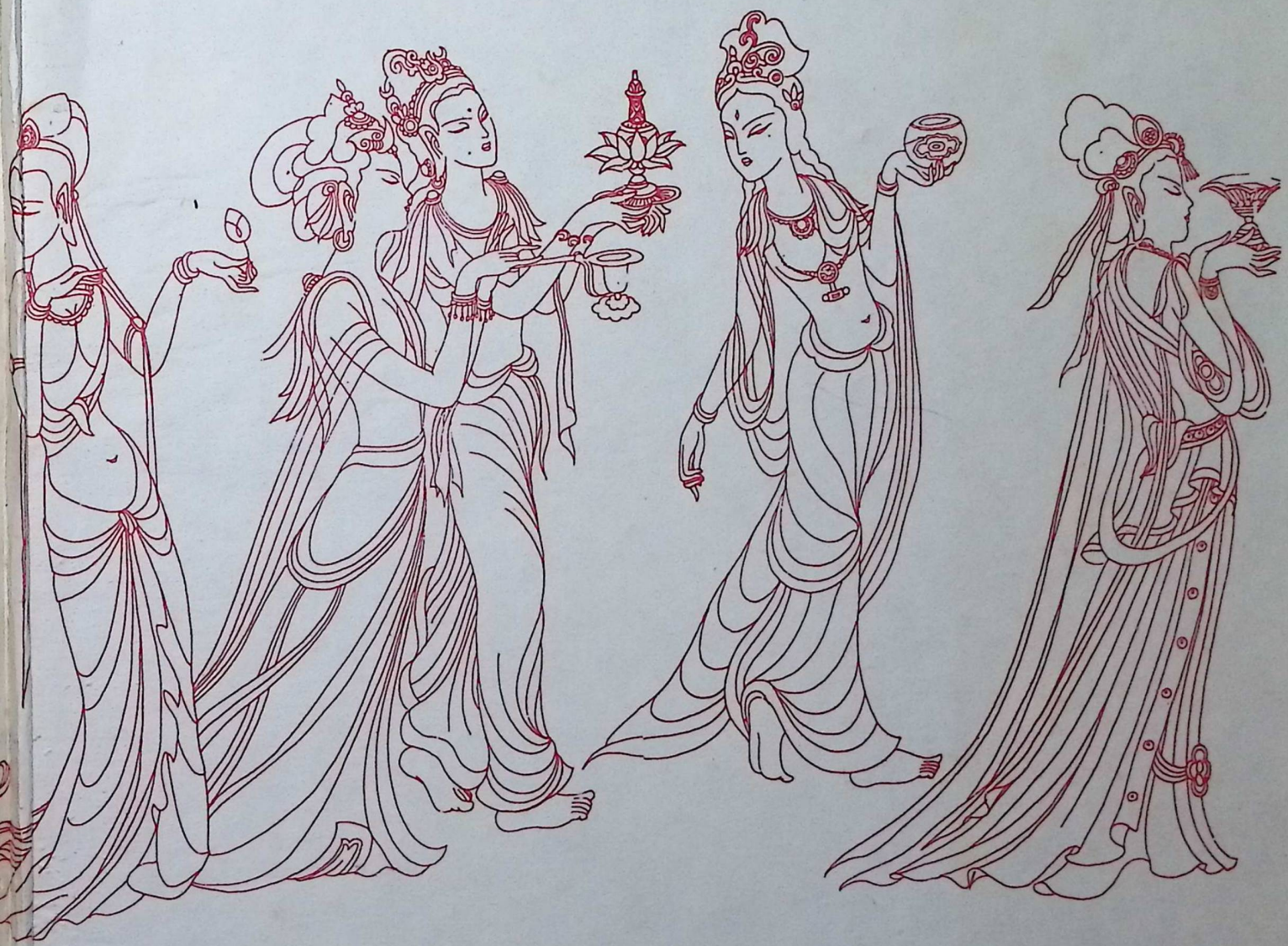
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